

Materia Medica of the first is chiefly of the vegetable Kind; the Virtues of which they procure by the more simple and easy Means, and seldom go beyond Decoction. The latter take in Minerals, Salts, Stones, and even Metals, and Semi-metals: These, they hold, afford more efficacious Remedies, and their Virtues, procured by long, artful, laboured Processes, with the Help of Fire, are had more pure, and in a lesser Compass.

At present the *Galenists* and Chymists are pretty well accommodated, and most Physicians use the Preparations and Remedies of both.

Note, That there is in *London* a celebrated and illustrious Corporation, called the *College of Physicians*, who by several Charters and Acts of Parliament of *Hen. VIII.* and his Successors, have certain Privileges, whereby no Man, though a Graduate in Physick of any University, may, without Licence under the said College-Seal, practise Physick, in, or without seven Miles of *London*; nor even in any other Part of *England*, unless he has taken the Degree in one of the *English* Universities; with Power to administer Oaths, fine, and imprison Offenders, in that or several other Particulars; to search the Apothecaries Shops, &c. in and about *London*, to see if their Drugs, &c. be wholesome, and their Compositions according to the Form prescribed by the said College, in their Dispensatory.

By the said Charter they are also freed from all troublesome Offices, as to serve on Juries, be Constables, keep Watch, provide Arms, &c.

This Society had antiently a College in *Knight-rider-Street*, the Gift of Dr. *Linacre*, Physician to King

Henry VIII. since that they have had a House built them by the famous Dr. *Harvey*, in 1652. at the End of *Amen-Street*, which he endowed with his whole Inheritance in his Life-time; but this being burnt in the great Fire in 1666, a new one was erected at the Expence of the Fellows, in *Warwick Lane*; with a noble Library given partly by the Marquis of *Dorchester*, and partly by Sir *Theodore Mayerne*.

Of this College there are a President, four Censors, and twelve Electors; the Censors have, by Charter, Power to survey, govern, and arrest all Physicians, or others practising Physick, in, or within seven Miles of *London*; to fine, amerce, and imprison them at Discretion.

The Number of Fellows was antiently thirty, till King *Charles II.* increased their Number to forty; and King *James II.* giving them a new Charter, allowed the Number of Fellows to be enlarged, so as not to exceed fourscore; reserving to himself and his Successors, the Power of placing and displacing any of them for the future.

The College are not very rigorous in asserting their Privileges; there being a great Number of Physicians, some of very good Abilities, who practise in *London*, &c. without their License, and are connived at by the College: Yet, by Law, if any Person not expressly allowed to practise, take on him the Cure of any Disease, and the Patient die under his Hand, it is deemed Felony in the Practiser.

In 1696, the College made a Subscription to the Number of forty-two of their Members, to set on foot a Dispensary, for the Relief of the sick Poor: since that they have erected two other Dispensaries.

P L U M B E R Y.

PLUMBERY, from the Latin *plumbum*, Lead, is the Art of casting, preparing, and working Lead, and of using it in Buildings, &c.

The Lead used in *Plumbery* is furnished from the Lead-Works in large Ingots, or Blocks, called Pigs of Lead, ordinarily weighing about a hundred Pounds a piece. As this Lead melts very easily, it is easy to cast Figures thereof of any Kind, by running it into Moulds of Brass, Clay, Plaster, &c.

But what makes the Basis of the Plumbers Work in Building, are the *Sheets* and *Pipes* of Lead.

The Lead designed for *casting large Sheets* thereof, is melted in a large Caldron, or Furnace, usually built with Free-stone, and Earth, fortified on the Outside with Massive of Shards and Plaster. At the Bottom hereof is a Place sunk lower than the rest, wherein is disposed an Iron Pot, or Pan, to receive what may remain of the Metal after the Sheet is run. The Furnace is so raised above the Area of the Floor, as that the Iron Pot just rests thereon.

The Furnace is heated with the Wood laid within it, throwing afterwards into it the Lead, pell-mell with the burning Coal to melt.

Near the Furnace is the Table, or Mould, whereon the Lead is to be cast. It consists of large Pieces of Wood, well joined, and bound with Bars of Iron at the Ends. Around it runs a Frame, consisting of a Ledge or Border of Wood two or three Inches thick, and one or two high from the Table, called the *Sharps*. The ordinary Width of the Tables is from three to four Feet; and their Length from 18 to 20 Feet.

The Table is covered with fine Sand, prepared, by moistening it with a watering Pot, then working it with a Stick; and at last to render it smooth and even, beating flat with a Mallet, and plaining it with a Shp of Brass or Wood.

Over the Table is a Strike or Rake of Wood, which bears and plays on the Edges of the Frame by means of a Notch cut in either End thereof; and so placed, as that between it and the Sand is a Space proportionable to the intended Thickness of the Sheet. The Use of this Stick is to drive the Matter, while yet liquid, to the

Extremity of the Mould.

A-top of the Table is a triangular Iron Peel or Shovel, bearing before, on the Edge of the Table itself, and behind on a Trestle somewhat lower than the Table. Its Use is to convey the Metal into the Mould; and the Design of its oblique Disposition is, that it may by that Means be able to retain the Metal, and keep it from running off at the fore Side, where it has no Ledge. Some of those Peels are big enough to hold fifteen or sixteen hundred Weight of Lead, and even more.

Things being thus disposed, with a large Iron Ladle they take out the melted Lead, Coals and all, out of the Furnace; and with this, mixed as it is, fill the Iron Peel. When full they take out the Coals, and clear the Lead with another Iron Spoon pierced after the Manner of a Skimmer.

This done, they hoist up the lower Part of the Peel by its Handle; upon which the liquid Matter running off, and spreading itself on the Mould, the Plumber conducts and drives it to the Extremity of the Table by means of the Strike, which the Workmen passes along the Ledges, and thus renders the Sheet of an equal Thickness.

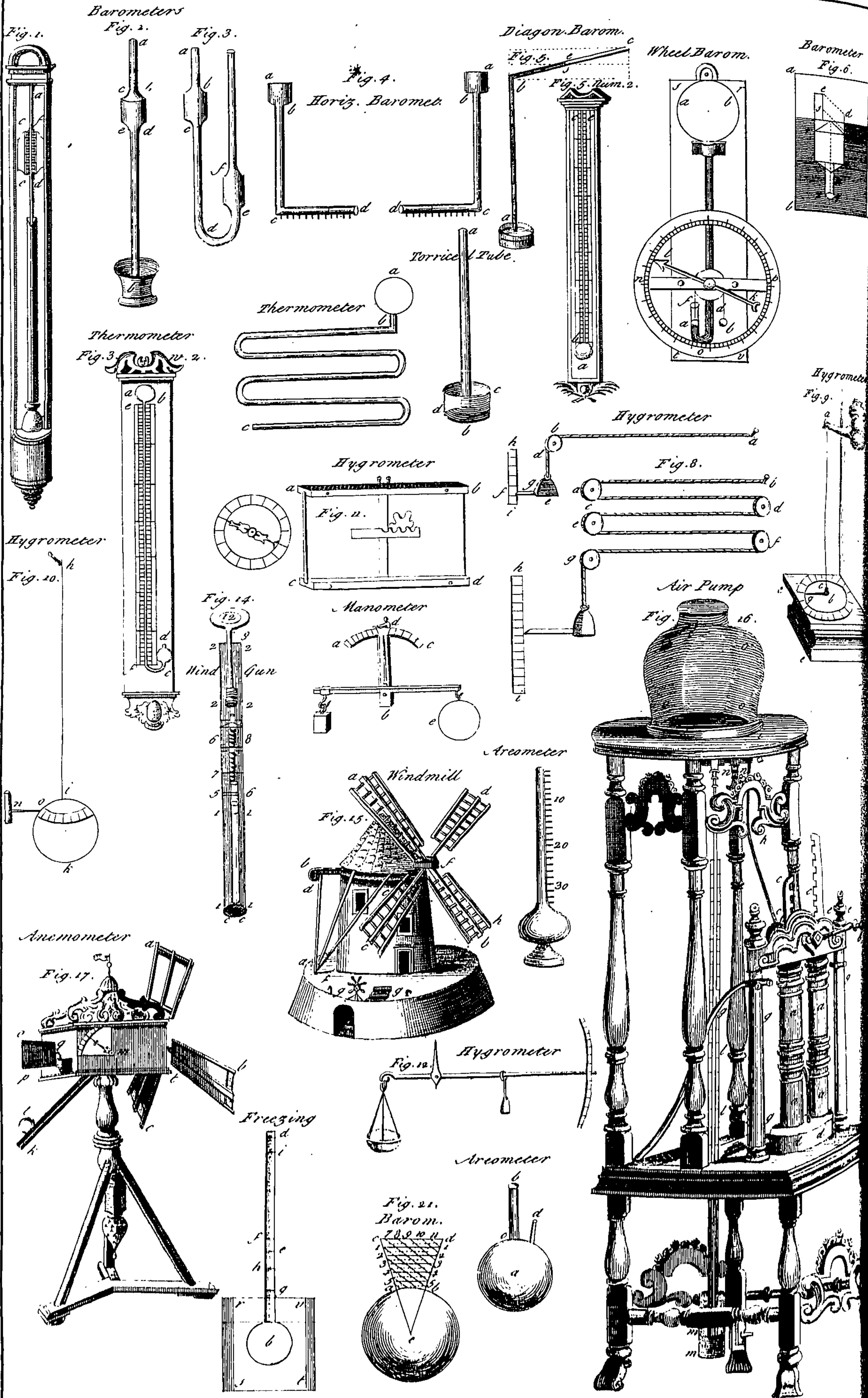
The Sheets thus cast, there remains nothing but to edge them, *i. e.* to planish the Edges on both Sides in order to render them smooth and strait.

To cast *thin Sheets of Lead*; the Table or Mould is of a Length at Discretion, only edged on one Side. Instead of Sand they cover it with a Piece of woollen Stuff, nailed down at the two Ends to keep it tight; and over this lay a very fine Linnen Cloth. The Feet of the Table are uneven, so that it does not stand horizontal, but moderately inclined.

Great Regard is had to the Lead while melting, that it has the just Degree of Heat, so as it may run well, and yet not burn the Linnen. This they judge of by a Piece of Paper; for if the Paper takes Fire in the liquid Lead, it is too hot; and if it be not thrunk and scorched a little, it is not hot enough.

Being then in its just Degree, they have a Strike, but different from that described in the former Article; as serving both for Peel and Strike, to contain and to conduct

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duct the liquid Lead. It is, in Effect, a wooden Case without any Bottom, only closed on three Sides. It is pretty high behind, but the two Sides, like two acute Angles, still diminish to the Tip, from the Place where they are joined to the third or middle Piece, where they are of the same Height therewith, viz. 7 or 8 Inches high. The Width of the Middle makes that of the Strike, which again makes that of the Sheet to be cast.

The Strike is placed a-top of the Table, which is before cover'd in that Part, with a Paste-board which serves as a Bottom to the Case, and prevents the Linen from being burnt, while the Liquid is pouring in. The Strike is so disposed on the Table, as that the highest Part looks to the lower End of the Table, and the two sloping Sides to the higher End.

The Strike is now filled with Lead, according to the Quantity to be used; which done, two Men, one at each Side the Table, let the Strike descend down the Table, or else draw it down with a Velocity greater or less, as the Sheet is to be more or less thick; the Thickness of the Sheet still depending on the Promptitude wherewith the Strike slides down the inclining Mould.

These fine smooth Sheets of Lead are sometimes used between the Joints of large Stones in great Buildings, &c.

As to *Pipes of Lead*, there are some cast without soldering; and others solder'd.

To cast *Pipes without soldering*, they have a Kind of Furnace, consisting of a large Iron Furnace or Cauldron, supported on a pretty high Iron Stand. The Cauldron is encompassed with a Mass of Bricks and Loam; only leaving a Mouth or Passage for the Conveyance of Wood underneath, and lighting the Fire, and another little Aperture behind, to serve as a Vent-Hole.

In this Furnace they melt the Lead, after first heating it with a Fire underneath: To forward the Fusion, they put in burning Faggots along with the Metal. The Metal is skimmed and laden off with the Instruments mentioned above.

Near the Furnace is a Bench, furnished at one End with a little Mill, with Arms or Levers to turn it withal. A strong Girt, armed with an Iron Hook at one Extremity, is fasten'd by the other to the Axis of the Mill, around which it turns when in Motion. On this Bench the Moulds of the Pipes are placed horizontally, and the

Mill and the Girt serve to draw out the Iron Core after the Pipe is cast.

The Moulds of these Tubes are of Brass, and consist of two Pieces, which open and shut by Means of Hooks and Hinges; their inner Calliber, or Diameter, is according to the Size of the Pipe to be made; their Length is usually two Foot and a half.

In the Middle is placed a Core, or round Piece of Brass or Iron, somewhat longer than the Mould, and of the Thickness of the inner Diameter of the Pipe. This Core is passed through two Copper Rundles, one at each End of the Mould, which they serve to close; and to these is joined a little Copper Tube, about two Inches long, and of the Thickness the leaden Pipe is intended to be of. By Means of these Tubes the Core is retained in the Middle of the Cavity of the Mould.

The Core being in the Mould, with the Rundles at its two Ends, and the Lead melted in the Furnace; they take it up in a Ladle, and put it into the Mould, by a little Aperture at one End, made in Form of a Funnel.

When the Mould is full, and the Metal cold, they pass the Hook of the Girt into a Hole at the End of the Core; and turning the Mill with the Hand, draw out the Core. They then open the Mould, and take out the Pipe.

If they desire to have the Pipe lengthen'd, they put one End thereof in the lower End of the Mould, and pass the End of the Core into it; then shut the Mould again, and apply its Rundle and Tube as before, the Pipe just cast serving for Rundle, &c. at the other End.

Things thus replaced, they pour in fresh Metal into the Mould; thus repeating the Operation till they have got a Pipe of the Length requir'd.

But if Plumbers want to make *Pipes of Sheet-Lead solder'd*; they have wooden Cylinders, and Rollers of the Length and Thickness required, and on these they form their Pipes, by wrapping the Sheet around them; soldering up the Edges all along, thus; after grating the Lead well with a Grater, they rub Rosin over the Part thus grated, then pour on it some Solder melted in a Ladle, or else melt it with a hot foldering Iron, smearing those Parts where they would not have the Solder catch, with Chalk, or the Soil of the Hand.—The Solder which the Plumbers use, is a Mixture of two Pounds of Lead with one of Tin.

PNEUMATICKS.

PNEUMATICKS, is the Doctrine of the Air, or the Laws wherein that Fluid is condensed, rarified, gravitated, &c. This is also called by *Wolffius*, *Aerometry*, or the Art of measuring the Air.

To proceed with the same Order in this Treatise I have done in all others, I'll ask first what's the Air, which is the Object of *Pneumaticks*; and enquire afterwards into the Nature and Origin thereof; its mechanical Properties and Effects; from which I'll pass to the Consideration of the same Air; as composing the Atmosphere; and conclude the Treatise, by reducing all this Theory into Practice, by Means of the several different Instruments invented for the Purpose. And to begin by the Definition of the *Air*.

The *Air*, as I consider it in this Place, is a certain subtle homogeneous elastick Matter; the Basis and fundamental Ingredient of the atmospherical Air, and that which gives it the Denomination.

We are obliged to confess, that we know but little of the particular Nature of the aerial Matter, otherwise than by mere Conjecture; having no Way to examine it a-part; or to separate it from the other Matters it is mixed with; and consequently no Way of ascertaining with Evidence, what belongs to it abstractedly from the rest.

Dr. *Hook*, and some others, will have it to be no other than the *Aether* itself; or that fine, fluid, active Matter, diffused through the whole Expanse of the celestial Regions; which coincides with Sir *Isaac Newton's* *Subtile Medium*, or Spirit.

In this View it is supposed a Body *Sui Generis*, ingenerable, incorruptible, immutable, present in all Places, in all Bodies, &c.

Others considering only its Property of Elasticity, which they account its essential and constituent Character, suppose it mechanically producible; and to be no other than the Matter of other Bodies alter'd, so as to become permanently elastick. Mr. *Boyle* gives us several Experiments, which he made for the Production of the Air; taking Production for the obtaining a sensible Quantity thereof from Bodies wherein it did not appear either at all, or in so great Plenty.—Among the several Ways of doing this, the fittest for Practice, he observes, are Fermentation, Corrosion, Dissolution, Decomposition, the Boiling of Water, and other Fluids; and the mutual Action of Bodies, especially saline ones, upon each other. He adds, that various, solid, and mineral Bodies, unsuspected of Elasticity, being plunged in corrosive unelastick Menstrua, will, by a proper Communion of their Parts in the Conflux, afford a considerable Quantity of permanent elastick Air.

Of the same Opinion is Sir *Isaac Newton*; the Particles of dense, compact, and fixed Substances, cohering by a strong attractive Force, are not separable without a vehement Heat, or perhaps not without Fermentation; and such Bodies being at length rarified by such Heat or Fermentation, become true permanent Air.—Thus, the same Author adds, Gunpowder generates Air by Explosion.

We have here, therefore, not only the Materials whereof Air should be made; but the Means of doing it: With Regard to which the Air is divided into real and perma-

permanent; and apparent or transient. For all that which appears to be *Air* does not continue such, is evident from the Instance of an *Æolipile*, the Water of which being sufficiently rarefied by the Fire, rushes out in a sharp whistling Blast, perfectly resembling *Air*, while the Motion lasts; but soon loses that Resemblance, especially in the Cold, and returns by Condensation into its original Water: And the same may be observed of Wine, and other subtle and fugitive Spirits, raised by Distillation. Whereas real *Air* is not reducible by any Compression, Condensation, or the like, into any other Substance besides *Air*.

Water then, though it may put on an aerial Nature for a while, yet is not capable of persisting therein; and the same may be said of other Fluids. The furthest they can go is to become vaporous; which is the Matter of the Fluid rendered much rarer, and put in a brisk Motion. For a Substance to become permanent *Air*, it must be of a fixed Kind; otherwise it is not capable of undergoing the Alteration necessary to be induced into it; but gives Way, and flies off too soon. So that the Difference between permanent and transient *Air*, amounts to the same as that between Vapour and Exhalation; the one, *i. e.* being dry, the other moist, &c.

We can go a little further yet.—This elastick Property of the *Air* is supposed by many Philosophers, to depend on the Figure of its Corpuscles, which they suppose to be ramous; some will have them so many minute Flocculi, resembling Fleeces of Wool; others conceive them rolled up like Hoops, and curled like Wires, or Shavings of Wood, or curled like the Springs of Watches, and endeavour to restore themselves in virtue of their Texture: So that to produce *Air*, must be to produce such a Figure and Disposition of Parts; and those Bodies only are proper Subjects, which are susceptible of such Disposition; which Fluids, from the Smoothness, Roundness, and Slipperiness of their Parts are not.

But Sir *Isaac Newton* puts the Thing another Way; such a Texture, he thinks, by no Means sufficient to account for that vast Power of Elasticity observed in the *Air*, which is capable of diffusing into above a Million of Times more Space than it before possessed. But as all Bodies are shewn to have an attractive, and a repelling Power; and as both these are stronger in Bodies, the denser, more solid and compact they are: Hence it follows, that when by Heat, or any other powerful Agent, the attractive Force is surmounted, and the Particles of the Body separated so far as to be out of the Sphere of Attraction; the repelling Power commencing thence, make them recede from each other with a strong Force proportionable to that wherewith they before cohered; and thus they become permanent *Air*. Hence, says the same Author, it is, that as the Particles of permanent *Air* are grosser, and arise from denser Bodies, than those of transient *Air*, or Vapour: True *Air* is more ponderous than Vapour; and a moist Atmosphere lighter than a dry one.

But after all, there may be still Reason to doubt, whether the Matter thus produced from solid Bodies have all the Properties of the *Air*; and whether such *Air* be not transient, as well as that from humid ones, though not to that Degree. Mr. *Boyle* argues from an Experiment made in the Air Pump, with lighted Match; that those light and subtle Fumes into which the Fire itself shatters dry Bodies, have no such Springs as *Air*; since they were unable to hinder the Expansion of a little *Air* included in the Bladder they surrounded. Yet in some subsequent Experiments, by dissolving Iron either in Oil of Vitriol and Water, or in Aqua fortis; a large aerial Bubble was produced, which had a real Spring, so as to hinder the surrounding Liquor from regaining its Place; and which, by the Application of a warm Hand, readily dilated itself like other *Air*, and broke into the Liquor in several succeeding Bubbles; and even thro' the Liquor into the open *Air*.

The same excellent Person further assures us, he procured a real elastick Substance from divers other Matters; as Bread, Grapes, Must, Ale, Apples, Peas, Beet, &c. or from some Bodies by only burning them in Vacuo, particularly Paper, Hartshorn, &c. which yet, upon further Examination, was so far from being

pure *Air*, that Animals inclosed in it, not only could not respire it without Harm; but even died sooner than in Vacuo, where there was nothing like *Air*.

We may here add an Observation of the Members of the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Paris*; importing that the Property of Elasticity is so far from constituting *Air*, that *Air* is rendered more elastick by the Mixture of some other Matters along with it, than it is in its Purity. Thus, from some Experiments of M. *de la Hire*, at *Paris*, and of M. *Stomcari* at *Bologne*, M. *Fontenelle* assures us, that *Air* moisten'd with Water is considerably more elastick, and expands further than when pure. M. *de la Hire* even found the moist *Air* eight Times more elastick than the dry: But Dr. *Jurin* explains the Experiment another Way, and endeavours to shew that the Conclusion does not necessarily follow from them.

Several are of Opinion, that such *Air*, considered in itself, exists no where in its Purity; and that wherewith we are concerned; and whose Properties and Effects are chiefly considered, is acknowledged by Mr. *Boyle* to be the most heterogeneous Body in the Universe: *Boerhaave* even shews it to be an universal Chaos, or Colluvies of all the Kinds of created Bodies. Whatever Fire can volatilize is found in the *Air*; but there is no Body that can withstand the Force of Fire.

Hence, for Instance, 1. The whole volatile Kingdom must necessarily be found therein; for all of that Tribe, as Salts, Sulphurs, Stones, Metals, &c. are convertible into Fume, and thus capable of being rendered Part of the *Air*.

2. All the Parts of the animal Kingdom must be in the *Air*: For, besides the copious Effluvia continually emitted from their Bodies by the vital Heat, in the ordinary Course of Perspiration; by means whereof an Animal, in the Course of its Duration impregnates the *Air* with many Times the Quantity of its own Body; besides this, we find that any Animal when dead, being exposed to the *Air*, is in a little Time carried whole off, Bones and all. So that the Whole of what before was an Animal, *e. gr.* a Man, an Ox, or the like, is now in the *Air*.

3. As to Vegetables, nothing of that Class can be supposed wanting, since we know that all Vegetables by Putrefaction become volatile, even the earthy or vascular Part in Time follow the rest.

Of all the Effluvia floating in this grand Ocean the Atmosphere, one of the principal are the saline. These Authors commonly conceive, are chiefly of the nitrous Kind; but there is no doubt but that there are of all the Sorts, vitriolick, aluminous, Sea-salt, &c.

Mr. *Boyle* even observes, that there may be many compound Kinds of Salts in the *Air*, which we have not on Earth; arising from different saline Spirits, fortuitously meeting, and mixing together. Thus the Glass Windows of ancient Buildings are sometimes observed to be corroded, as if they had be Worm-eaten; though none of the Salts above-mentioned have the Faculty of corroding Glass.

The sulphurous too must make a considerable Article in the *Air*; on account of those many Volcano's, Grotto's, Caverns, and other Spiracles chiefly affording that Mineral dispersed through the Globe.

Thus far of the *Nature and Origin of the Air*, which no otherwise concerns our present Subject, than as it is the Base thereof, since the special Object of *Pneumaticks* is not the *Air* in general, but only its *Properties and Effects*, as reduced to precise Laws and Demonstrations.

The most considerable of the *mechanical Properties and Effects* of the *Air*, are its *Fluidity, Weight, and Elasticity*.

1. The *Fluidity* of the *Air* is evident from the Passage it affords to Bodies through it; as in the Propagation of Sounds, Smells, and other Effluvia: For this argues it a Body whose Parts give Way to any Force impressed, and in yielding, are easily moved among themselves; which is the Definition of a Fluid.

They who with the *Cartesians* make Fluidity consist in a perpetual Intestine Motion of the Parts, find *Air* also answer to that Character: Thus, in a darkened Room, where the Species of external Objects are brought in by a single Ray; they appear in a continual Fluctuation; and thus even the more accurate Weather-Glasses are

are observed never to remain a Moment at rest.

The Cause of this Fluidity of the *Air*, is attributed by some very modern Philosophers to the Fire intermixed therewith; without which they imagine the Atmosphere would harden into a solid, impenetrable Mass. And hence the greater the Degree of Fire therein, the more fluid, moveable, and pervious the *Air*: And thus as the Degree of Fire is continually varying, according to the Circumstances and Position of the heavenly Bodies; the *Air* is kept by a continual Reciprocation. Hence, in good Measure, it is, that on the Tops of the higher Mountains, the Senses of Smelling, Hearing, &c. are found very feeble.

2. That the *Air* is heavy, follows from its being a Body; Weight being an essential Property of Matter.

But we have infinite Arguments of the same from Sense and Experiment: Thus the Hand, applied on the Orifice of a Vessel empty of *Air*, soon feels the Load of the incumbent Atmosphere. Thus Glass-Vessels, exhausted of their *Air*, are easily crushed to Pieces by the Weight of the *Air* without. So two small hollow Segments of a Sphere, exactly fitting each other, being emptied of *Air*, are pressed together with a Force equal to an hundred Pounds, by the Pondus of the ambient *Air*.

Further, a Tube close at one End, being filled with Mercury, and the other End immersed in a Basin of the same Fluid, and thus erected: The Mercury in the Tube will be suspended to the Height of about thirty Inches above the Surface of that in the Basin; the Reason of which Suspension is, that the Mercury in the Tube cannot fall lower, without raising that in the Basin; which being pressed down with the Weight of the incumbent Atmosphere, cannot give Way, unless the Weight of the Mercury in the Tube exceeds that of the *Air* out of it. That this is the Case, is evident hence, that if the whole Apparatus be included in an Air-Pump, in Proportion as the *Air* is exhausted from the same, the Mercury falls; and gradually letting in the *Air* again, the Mercury re-ascends to its former Height. This makes what we call the *Torricellian* Experiment.

To say no more, we can actually weigh *Air*; for a Vessel, full even of common *Air*, by a very nice Balance, is found to weigh more than when the *Air* is exhausted; and this Effect is proportionably more sensible, if the same Vessel be weighed full of condensed *Air*, in a Receiver void of *Air*.

The Weight of *Air* is continually varying, according to the different Degree of Heat and Cold.—*Ricciolus* estimates its Weight to that of Water, to be as 1 to 1000; *Mersennus*, as 1 to 1300, or 1 to 1356; *Lana*, as 1 to 640; *Galileo* only makes it as 1 to 400. The ingenious Mr. *Boyle*, by a more accurate Experiment, found it about *London*, as 1 to 938; and thinks, all Things consider'd, the Proportion of 1 to 1000 may be taken at a Medium; for there is no fixing any precise Ratio, since, not only the *Air*, but the Water itself is continually varying. Add, that Experiments made in different Places, necessarily vary, in Regard of the different Heights of the Places, and the different Consistencies of *Air* arising therefrom.

It must be added, however, that by Experiments made since before the Royal Society, the Proportion of *Air* to Water was first found as 1 to 840; then, as 1 to 852; and a third Time, as 1 to 860. And lastly, by a very simple and accurate Experiment of the late Mr. *Hawksbee*; the Proportion was settled, as 1 to 885. But these Experiments being all made in the Summer Months, when the Barometer was 20½ Inches high; Dr. *Jurin* thinks, that at a Medium, between Heat and Cold, when the Barometer is 30 Inches high, the Proportion between the two Fluids may be taken as 1 to 800.

Air, then, being heavy and fluid; the Laws of its Gravitation, or Pressure, may be inferred to be the same as in other Fluids; consequently its Pressure must be at its perpendicular Altitude.

This is also confirmed by Experiment. For, removing the *Torricellian* Tube to a more elevated Place, where the incumbent Column of *Air* is shorter; or proportionably shorter Column of Mercury is sustained; it being found to descend at the Rate of one Fourth of an Inch for every hundred Foot of Ascent.

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From hence also it follows, that the *Air*, like all other Fluids, must pass equally every Way.—This is confirmed by what we observe of soft Bodies sustaining this Pressure, without any Change of Figure; and brittle Bodies, without their breaking, though the Pressure upon them be equal to that of a Column of Mercury, thirty Inches high, or a Column of Water of thirty-two Feet. It is obvious, that no other Cause can preserve such Bodies unchanged, but the equal Pressure on all Sides, which resists as much as it is resisted. And hence, upon removing, or diminishing the Pressure on one Side only, the Effect of the Pressure is soon perceived on the other.

To discover the Quantity and Effect of this Pressure on the human Body; we must know that our Bodies are equally pressed on by the incumbent Atmosphere; and the Weight they sustain is equal to a Cylinder of *Air*, whose Base is equal to the Superficies of our Bodies. Now a Cylinder of *Air*, of the Height of the Atmosphere, is equal to a Cylinder of Water of the same Base, and thirty-five Foot high; or a Cylinder of Mercury, twenty-nine Inches high; as appears from the *Torricellian* Experiment; as also from the Height to which Water ascends in Pumps, Siphons, &c.

Hence it follows, that every Foot square of the Superficies of our Bodies, is pressed upon by a Weight of *Air*, equal to thirty-five cubical Feet of Water; and a cubical Foot of Water, being found by Experiment to weigh seventy-six Pound Troy Weight, therefore the Compass of a Foot square upon the Superficies of our Bodies, sustains a Quantity of *Air* equal to 2260 Pound: For $76 + 35 = 2660$; and so many Foot square, as the Superficies of our Body contains, so many Times 2660 Pound that Body bears.

Hence, if the Superficies of a Man's Body contain fifteen square Feet, which is pretty near the Truth, he will sustain a Weight equal to 3990 Pounds; for $2660 + 15 = 39900$, which is above thirteen Tons for the ordinary Load.

The Difference of the Weight of the *Air*, which our Bodies sustain at one Time more than at another, is also very great. The whole Weight of *Air* which presses upon our Bodies, when the Mercury is highest in the Barometer, is equal to 39900 Pounds. When the Difference between the greatest and least Pressure of *Air* upon our Bodies, may be proved to be equal to 3982 Pounds.

The Difference of the *Air*'s Weight at different Times, is measured by the different Height to which the Mercury is raised in the Barometer; and the greatest Variation of the Height of the Mercury being three Inches, a Column of *Air* of any assignable Base, equal to the Weight of a Cylinder of Mercury of the same Base, and of the Altitude of three Inches, will be taken off from the Pressure upon a Body of an equal Base, at such Time as the Mercury is three Inches lower in the Barometer; so that every Inch square of the Surface of our Bodies, is pressed upon at one Time more than another, by a Weight of *Air*, equal to the Weight of three cubical Inches of Mercury. Now a cubical Foot of Water being seventy-six Pounds; a cubical Foot of Mercury is 1064 Pounds = 102144 Drachms; and as 102144 Drachms is to a cubical Foot, or, which is all one, 1728 cubical Inches, so is $59 \frac{1}{2} \frac{2}{3}$ Drachms, to one cubical Inch. So that a cubical Inch of Mercury being very near = 59 Drachms; and there being 144 square Inches in a Foot square, therefore a Mass of Mercury of a Foot square = 144 square Inches, and if three Inches high, must contain 432 cubical Inches of Mercury, which + 59 (the Number of Drachms in a cubical Inch of Mercury, makes 25488 Drachms. And this Weight was a Foot square of the Surface of our Bodies, sustained at one Time more than at another.

Suppose, again, the Superficies of an human Body = 15 Feet square; then would the Body sustain at one Time more than at another, a Weight = $15 + 25488 = 382230$ Drachms (= 47790 Ounces) = 3890½ Pounds Troy.

Hence it is so far from being a Wonder, that we sometimes suffer in our Health, by a Change of Weather; that it is the greatest Wonder we do not always do so.—For when we consider, that our Bodies are sometimes

pressed

pressed upon by near a Ton and a half Weight more than at another, and that this Variation is often very sudden; it is surprizing that every such Change does not entirely break the Frame of our Bodies to Pieces.

In Effect, the Vessels of our Bodies being so much straitened by an increased Pressure, would stagnate the Blood up to the very Heart, and the Circulation would quite cease, if Nature had not wisely contrived, that when the Resistance to the circulating Blood is greatest, the Impetus, by which the Heart contracts, should be so too. For, upon an Increase of the Weight of the Air, the Lungs will be more forcibly expanded, and thereby the Blood more intimately broken and divided, so that it becomes fitter for the more fluid Secretions, such as that of the nervous Fluid, by which the Heart will be more strongly contracted. And the Blood's Motion towards the Surface of the Body being obstructed, it will pass in greater Quantity to the Brain, where the Pressure of the Air is taken off by the Cranium; upon which Score also more Spirits will be separated, and the Heart on that Account too, be more enabled to carry on the Circulation, through all passable Canals, whilst some others towards the Surface are obstructed.

The most considerable Alteration made in the Blood, upon the Air's greater or lesser Pressure on the Surface of our Bodies, is its rendring the Blood more or less compact, and making it crowd into a less, or expand into a greater Space in the Vessels it enters. For the Air contained in the Blood, always keeps itself in *Æquilibrium* with the external Air that presses upon our Bodies, and this it does by a constant Nisus to unbend itself, which is always proportionable to the compressing Weight by which it was bent: So that if the Compression or Weight of the circumambient Air be ever so little abated, the Air contained within the Blood unfolds its Spring, and forces the Blood to take up a larger Space than it did before.

The Reason we are not sensible of this Pressure, is well explained by *Borellus*.—After shewing that Sand perfectly rammed in a hard Vessel, is not capable by any Means of being penetrated or parted, nor even by a Wedge; and likewise that Water, contained in a Bladder compressed equally on all Sides, cannot yield or give Way in any Part; he proceeds, 'In like Manner within the Skin of an Animal, are contained a Diversity of Parts, some hard as Bones, others soft as Muscles, Nerves, Membranes, &c. others fluid as Blood, Fat, &c. Now it is not possible the Bones should be broke or displaced in the Body, unless the Weight lay heavier on one Part than on the other, as we sometimes see in Porters. If the Pressure be subdivided, so that it lay equally all around, upwards, downwards, and Sideways, and no Part of the Skin be exempt therefrom, it is evidently impossible any Fracture or Luxation should follow. The same may be observed of the Muscles and Nerves; which, tho' soft, yet being composed of solid Fibres, do mutually sustain each other, and resist the common Weight. The same holds of Blood, and the other Humours; and as Water does not admit any manifest Condensation, so the animal Humours contained in their Vessels, may suffer an Attrition from an Impulse made in one or more particular Places, but can never be forced out of their Vessels by an universal Compression. It follows, that as none of the Parts undergo either Separation, Luxation, Contusion, or any other Change of Situation; it is impossible any Sense of Pain should ensue, which can only be the Effect of a Solution of Continuity.' This is confirmed by what we see in divers, &c.

The same is further confirmed by Mr. *Boyle*; who including a young Frog in a Vessel full of Water, and intruding so much Air, as that the Water may sustain eight Times the Weight it otherwise would; yet the Animalcule, notwithstanding the great Tenderness of its Skin, did not seem to be at all affected thereby.

To measure the Weight of the Air or Atmosphere, and the Variations therein, in order chiefly to determine the Changes of the Weather, an Instrument was invented, called *Barometer*, from *βαρμε*, Weight; and *μετρον*, Measure; the Description and Phenomena thereof come very a propos under this Article of the Weight of the

Air; left, if we should postpone it, the Reader should have forgot what we have said here on that Subject, before he could be able to reduce it to Practice; therefore,

The *BAROMETER*, is founded on the *Torricellian Experiment*, as it is called from its Inventor *Torricelli*, which is no more than a Glass Tube filled with Mercury, hermetically sealed at one End; the other open, and immersed in a Basin of stagnant Mercury. Now as the Weight of the Atmosphere diminishes, the Mercury in the Tube will here descend; on the contrary, as it increases, the Mercury will again ascend: The Column of Mercury suspended in the Tube being always equal to the Weight of the incumbent Atmosphere.

There are several Kinds of *Barometers*, viz. the common, horizontal, diagonal, wheel, marine, statical, and portable *Barometers*.

The Construction of a common *Barometer* is as follows:—A Glass Tube A B (fig. 1. *Pneumatick Table*) hermetically sealed in A, having its Diameter about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an Inch, and its Length at least thirty-one Inches, is filled with Mercury so justly, as not to have any Air over it, nor any Bubbles adhering to the Sides of the Tube; which is best done by means of a Glass Funnel, with a capillary Tube. The Orifice of the Tube filled after this Manner, so as to overflow, is closely pressed by the Finger, so as to exclude any Air between it and the Mercury, and thus immersed in a wooden Vessel of a convenient Diameter; so however, as not to touch the Bottom: At the Distance of twenty-eight Inches from the Distance of the Mercury, are fixed two Plates, C E and D F, divided into three Inches, and these again subdivided into any Number of smaller Parts. Lastly, the Tube is enclosed in a wooden Frame to prevent its being broke; and the Basin, though open to the Air secured from Dust, and the *Barometer* is compleat.

Many Attempts have been made to render the Changes of the Barometer more sensible, and so to measure the Atmosphere more accurately; which has given Rise to the following *Barometers* of different Structure.

Des Cartes, and after him *Huygens*, used a Tube A B, (fig. 2.) having a cylindrick Vessel C D; one half of which Vessel, together with the upper Part of the Tube, were filled with Water; the other half of the Vessel, and the lower Part of the Tube with Mercury. But here, though the Column suspended was longer, and consequently the Variation greater, yet the Air imprisoned in the Water getting loose by Degrees, filled the wide Space in the Top, and so ruined the Machine.

Huygens then bethought himself of placing the Mercury at Top, and the Water at Bottom, in the Manner following: A D G (fig. 3.) is a bent Tube hermetically sealed in A, and open in G; the cylindrick Vessels B C and F E are equal, and about twenty-nine Inches a-part; the Diameter of the Tube is about a Line, that of each Vessel fifteen Lines, and the Depth of the Vessels about ten; the Tube is filled with Mercury (the common *Barometer* standing about twenty-nine Inches) which will be suspended between the Middle of the Vessel F E, and that of the Vessel B C; the remaining Space to A being void both of Mercury and Air: Lastly, common Water, tinged with a sixth Part of Aqua regis, to prevent its freezing, is poured into the Tube F G, till it rises a Foot above the Mercury in D F.

When then the Mercury rising above the Level of that contained in F E, through the Tube A D, becomes a Balance to the Weight of the Atmosphere; as the Atmosphere increases, the Column of Mercury will increase, consequently the Water will descend; as the Atmosphere again grows lighter, the Column of Mercury will descend, and the Water ascend. This *Barometer* therefore, which is the same with that of Dr. *Hock*, will discover much minuter Alterations in the Air than the common one: For, instead of two Inches, the Fluid will here vary two Feet; and by enlarging the Diameters of the Cylinders, that Variation may be still increased: But it has this Inconvenience, that the Water will evaporate, and so render the Alterations precarious; though the Evaporation be in some measure prevented by a Drop of Oil of Sweet Almonds swimming a top.

On account of this Defect, others have had Recourse to a horizontal or rectangular *Barometer* A B C D (fig. 4.) the Tube whereof is bent in form of a Square B C D, a top

a top of its perpendicular Leg it is joined to a Vessel or Cistern A B; and its Variation accounted on the horizontal Leg C D.

Now here, the Interval or Space of Variation, may be made of any Extent at Pleasure, and so the minutest Change in the Air become sensible. For the Diameter of the Tube C D being given, it is easy to find the Diameter of the Vessel A B, so as that the Scale of Descent in the Tube D C shall have any given Proportion to the Scale of Ascent, in the Vessel A B; the Rule being, that the Diameter of the Vessel is to that of the Tube in a subduplicate reciprocal Ratio of their Scales.

The Diameters then of C D and A B being given, together with the Scale, or Ascent of the Mercury in the Vessel, the Scale of Mercury in the Tube is found thus: As the Square of the Diameter of the Tube, is to the Square of the Diameter of the Vessel, so reciprocally is the Scale of Mercury in the Vessel, to the Scale of Mercury in the Tube.

This, and the preceding Contrivance of *Huygens*, are founded on a Theorem in Hydrostatics, viz. that Fluids having the same Base, gravitate according to their perpendicular Altitude, not according to the Quantity of their Matter; whence the same Weight of the Atmosphere supports the Quicksilver that fills the Tube A D, and the Cistern B as would support the Mercury in the Tube alone.

This last, however, with its Virtues, has great Defects; for, by Reason of the Attraction between the Parts of the Glass and of the Mercury (which *Dr. Jurin* has shewn to be considerable) with the Length of the Scale, (consequently the Quantity of Motion) and the Attraction against its Sides, especially in sudden Rises and Descents, the Mercury breaks, some Parts of it are left behind, and the Equability of its Rise and Fall ruined.

Some therefore prefer the *Diagonal Barometer*, where the Space of Variation is considerably larger than in the common one, and yet the Rise and Fall more regular than in the others. Its Foundation is this: That in a *Torricellian* Tube B C, (fig. 5.) inclined at any Angle to the Horizon, the Cylinder of Mercury, equivalent to the Weight of the Atmosphere, is to a Cylinder of Mercury, equivalent to the same placed in a vertical Tube, as the Length of the Tube B C, to the perpendicular Height D C. Hence if the Height D C be subtriple, subquadruple, &c. of the Length of the Tube, the Changes in the Diagonal Barometer will be double, or triple, &c. of the Changes in the common Barometer.— This Barometer will scarce allow its Tube to be inclined to the Horizon, at a less Angle than 45 Degrees, without undergoing the Inconveniency of the horizontal one.

The *Wheel Barometer* is a Contrivance of *Dr. Hook*, to make the Alterations in the Air more sensible; the Foundation of this is the common vertical Barometer, with the Addition of a Couple of Weights A and B (fig. 5.) hanging in a Pulley, the one playing at Liberty in the Air, the other resting on the Surface of the Mercury in the Tube, and rising and falling with it. Thus is the Motion of the Mercury communicated, by Means of the Pulley, to an Index which turns around a graduated Circle; and thus the three Inches of vertical Ascent, are here improved to five or six, or more, at Pleasure.— But the Friction of the Parts, in the Pulley and Index, is so considerable, that unless the Machine be made with a great deal of Accuracy, it does not answer.

The *Pendant Barometer* is a Machine rather pretty and curious, than useful. It consists of a conical Tube, placed vertically; its upper and smaller Extreme hermetically sealed; it has no Vessel or Cistern, its conical Figure supplying that Defect: For when filled, like the rest, there will be as much Mercury sustained, as is equivalent to the Weight of the Atmosphere; and as that varies, the same Mercury takes up a different Part of the Tube, and becomes of a different Weight.

Thus, when the Weight of the Atmosphere is increased, the Mercury is driven up into a narrower Part of the Tube, by which Means its Column is lengthen'd, and for the Reason just given, its Weight increased. Again, the Atmosphere decreasing, the Mercury sinks into a wider Part of the Tube, by which Means its Column is shorten'd, and its Pressure accordingly weaken'd. Thus the same Mercury is still a Ballance to the Atmosphere under all its Variations.

The Inconvenience of this Barometer, is, that to prevent the Mercury and Air from changing Places, the Bore of the Tube must be very small; which Smallness of the Bore renders the Friction so sensible, as to impede its playing.

The *Marine Barometer* is likewise a Contrivance of *Dr. Hook*, to be used at Sea, where the Motion of the Waves render the others impracticable. It is nothing more than a double Thermometer, or a Couple of Tubes half filled with Spirit of Wine; the one hermetically sealed at both Ends with a Quantity of common Air inclosed; the other sealed at one End, and open at the other.

Now the Air, we know, is able to act on the Spirit of Wine, and raise it two Ways; the one by its Gravity, as in the *Torricellian* Tube; the other by its Heat, as in the Thermometer: If then the two Tubes be graduated, so as to agree with each other at the Time when the Air is inclosed, it will easily follow; that wherever the two agree afterwards, the Pressure of the Atmosphere is the same, as at the Time when the Air was inclosed. If in the Thermometer, open to the Air, the Liquor stand higher, considering withal how much the other is risen or fallen; from the other Cause of Heat or Cold, the Air is heavier; on the contrary, when it is lower, compared with the other, the Air is lighter than at the Time when the Instrument was graduated.

Here the Spaces answering to an Inch of Mercury, will be more or less, according to the Quantity of the Air inclosed, and the Smallness of the Tubes; and may be increased almost in any Proportion.

But it must be remember'd; that the Density and Rarity of the Air, on which this Machine is founded, do not only depend on the Weight of the Atmosphere, but also on the Action of Heat and Cold. This, therefore, can never be a just Barometer, but may properly enough be called a *Manoscope*, an Instrument to shew the Density of the Air.

Nevertheless, the Instrument is said to be of good Use in giving Notice of all bad Weather at Sea, also of variable Winds.

The *Statical Barometer*, or *Baroscope*, used by *Mr. Boyle*, *Otto de Guericke*, &c. is fallacious and liable to be acted on by a double Cause. It consists of a large Glass-Bubble, ballanced by a Brass Weight, in a nice Pair of Scales: For these two Bodies being of equal Gravity, but unequal Bulk, if the Medium in which they equiponderate be changed, there will follow a Change of their Weight; so that if the Air grows heavier, the greater Body being lighter in Specie, will lose more of its Weight than the lesser, and more compact; but if the Medium grows lighter, then the bigger Body will outweigh the less.

The most accurate Barometer yet invented, seems to be that of *Mr. Caswell*; the Structure whereof he describes as follows: Suppose A B C D (fig. 6.) a Bucket of Water, wherein is the Barometer x, r, e, z, y, o, f, m , consisting of a Body $x r f m$, and a Tube $e z y o$; the Body and Tube are both concave Cylinders made of Tin, or rather Glass, and communicating with each other. The Bottom of the Tube $z y$, has a Lead Weight to sink it, so as the Top of the Body may just swim even with the Surface of the Water, by the Addition of some Grain Weights a-top. The Water, when the Instrument is forced with its Mouth downwards, gets up into the Tube to the Height $y o$. There is added on the Top a small concave Cylinder, which we call the Pipe, to distinguish it from the other at Bottom, which we call the Tube: This Pipe is to sustain the Instrument from sinking to the Bottom. In d is a Wire, in $S, d e$, two Threads oblique to the Surface of the Water, performing the Office of Diagonals. Now, while the Instrument sinks more or less, by the Alteration of the Gravity of the Air; there, where the Surface of the Water cuts the Thread, is formed a small Bubble, which ascends up the Thread, as the Mercury of the common Barometer ascends, and *vice versa*.

This Instrument, as appears from a Calculation which the Author gives, shews the Alterations in the Air more accurately than the common Barometer, by 1200 Times. He observes, that the Bubble is seldom known to stand still a Minute; that a small Blast of Wind that cannot be heard in a Chamber, will make it sink sensibly; that a Cloud always makes it descend, &c.

A *Portable Barometer*, is a Barometer so contrived, as that

that it may be carried from Place to Place without being disorder'd.

A *Portable Barometer* was once an extraordinary Thing; at present they are made portable of all Sorts; being so contrived, as that the Mercury may be screwed quite up to the sealed End of the Tube; by which Means it is secured from swagging, and so endangering the Breaking of the Tube. A Contrivance for which we are indebted to Mr. Patrick.

The Phænomena of the Barometer are various; and the Causes assigned for them by several Authors, widely different; nor is its Use in predicting the Weather yet perfectly ascertained.

On the Top of *Snowdon-Hill*, 1240 Yards high, Dr. Halley found the Mercury lower by three Inches eight-tenths, than at the Foot thereof; whence it appears, that at every thirty Yards the Mercury sinks one-tenth of an Inch. Mr. Derham, from some Experiments he made at the Top and Bottom of the *Monument*, allows 32 Yards perpendicular Ascent, to a Fall of the Mercury of $\frac{1}{10}$ of an Inch; whence we have not only a Foundation for determining the Height of the Atmosphere, which on this Foundation (were it equally dense every where) would not be found more than 5 Miles and $\frac{1}{10}$; but also a very accurate Method of measuring the Height of Mountains. Thus, if on the Surface of the Earth the Mercury be at 30 Inches, at 1000 Foot high, it will be at 28, 91 Inches; at 2000 Foot, 27, 86; at 3000, 26, 85; at 4000, 25, 87; at 5000, 24, 93; at one Mile, 27, 67; at 2 Miles, 20, 29; at 5 Miles, 11, 28; at 10 Miles, 4, 24; at 15 Miles, 1, 16; at 20 Miles, 0, 95; at 30 Miles, 0, 08; at 40 Miles, 0, 012; tho' it must be observed, that this is on a Supposition, that the Atmosphere is equally dense every where.

The greatest Height the Mercury has been known to stand at in the Barometer, at *London*, is 30 Inches $\frac{1}{10}$, its least 28 Inches. Its greatest Height at the Observatory at *Paris*, has been found 28 Inches $\frac{4}{10}$; and its least 26 $\frac{4}{10}$, of the *Paris* Foot, which exceeds the *London* Foot by $\frac{1}{10}$. And with these Observations agree others made at *Hall* in *Saxony*, by *Wolfius*. At *Algiers* it rises to 30 Inches $\frac{2}{10}$ or $\frac{3}{10}$, with a northerly Wind, though attended with the greatest Rains and Tempests.

It is true, there is an Experiment wherein the Height of the Mercury is found surprizingly to exceed these Numbers; Mercury, perfectly purged, being suspended in a Tube, in the *Torricellian* Way, at the Height of 75 Feet; though by the least Shake it falls down to the ordinary Height.

The Phænomena of the Barometer, Mr. Boyle observes, are so very precarious, that it is exceedingly difficult to form any general Rules about the Rise or Fall thereof. Even that which seems to hold most universally, viz. that when high Winds blow, the Mercury is the lower, sometimes fails.

Dr. Halley gives us the following Observations: That in calm Weather, when the Air is inclined to Rain, the Mercury is commonly low; in serene, good settled Weather, high.

That on great Winds, though unaccompanied with Rain, the Mercury is the lowest of all, with Regard to the Point of the Compass the Wind blows on. That *Ceteris paribus*, the greatest Height of the Mercury, are on Easterly and North-Easterly Winds. That after great Storms of Wind, when the Mercury has been low, it rises again very fast.

That in calm frosty Weather it stands high.

That the more northerly Places find greater Alterations than the more southern; and that within the Tropicks, and near them, there is little or no Variation of the Height of the Mercury at all.

Dr. Beal observes, that *Ceteris Paribus*, the Mercury is higher in cold Weather than in warm, and usually in the Morning and Evening than at Mid-day.

That in settled and fair Weather, the Mercury is higher than either a little before or after, or in the Rain; and that it generally descends lower after Rain than it was before it. If it chance to rise higher after Rain, it is generally followed by a settled Serenity.

That there are frequently great Changes in the Air, without any perceptible Alteration in the Barometer.

For the Use of Barometers, an ingenious Author ob-

serves, that by their Means we may regain the Knowledge which still resides in Brutes, and which we forfeited by not continuing in the open Air, as they generally do; and by our Intemperance, corrupting the Crasis of the Organs of Sense.

As to the Predictions from Barometers, Dr. Halley has found that the rising of the Mercury forebodes fair Weather after foul, and easterly or north-easterly Wind.

That the falling thereof portends southerly or westerly Winds with Rain, or stormy Wind, or both.

That in a Storm, the Mercury beginning to rise, is a pretty sure Sign that it begins to abate.

Mr. Patrick observes, that in hot Weather, the falling of the Mercury presages Thunder; that when foul Weather happens soon after the Fall of Mercury, it seldom holds long: And the same is observed, if fair Weather succeed presently after its Rise.

Lastly, Mr. Derham, from a long Series of *Barometrical Observations* made by Dr. Scheucher, at *Zurich*, compared with others made at the same Time by himself at *Upminster*, observes, that throughout the whole Year the Mercury was lower at the former Place than at the latter, by sometimes one, and sometimes two Inches; though the Difference at a Medium he computes to be about half an Inch; and thence concludes the Situation of *Zurich* to be near $\frac{1}{4}$ of an *English* Mile higher than that of *Upminster*. He found however, a considerable Harmony between the two; the one usually rising and falling, and that much or little, as the other did; tho' this Harmony is not so compleat as has been observed in Barometers nearer Home, as at *London*, *Paris*, *Lancashire*, &c.

These are the chief Phænomena of the Barometer, to account for which, the Hypothesis that have been framed are almost infinite. Indeed as the Weight of the Atmosphere is generally allowed to be the Foundation of the Barometer, so it is generally granted, that the Alterations in the Weight of the Air, are the Occasion of those in the Barometer; and yet even this does not obtain universally. Dr. Lister, for Instance, accounts for the Changes of the Barometer from the Alterations of Heat and Cold. This, he says, he has often observed, that in Storms, &c. when the Mercury is at the lowest, it breaks and emits small Particles, which he calls a kind of *Fretting*; and argues that in all Times of its descent, it is more or less on the Fret. In this Disorder, he thinks, its Parts are contracted and brought closer together, and for that Reason descend: Besides, in the fretting, they let go little Particles of Air, before inclosed in them; and those rising into the Top of the Tube, the Mercury must sink, both from the Column being shortened by their Escape, and by their laying upon it. Mercury therefore, he adds, rises either in very hot or very cold Weather, between the Tropicks, &c. as being in its natural State; and again, in the intermediate Degrees of Heat and Cold it falls, as being contracted, and as it were convulsed and drawn together. But this Account, however pretty, comes far short of accounting for the Phænomena; nay, in some Respects contradicts them.

The Changes in the Weight of the Atmosphere therefore, must be laid down as the Cause of those in the Barometer; but then for the Cause of that Cause, or whence those Alterations arise in the Atmosphere, will be no easy Matter to determine; there being perhaps no one Principle in Nature that will account for such a Variety of Appearances, and those too so irregular. It is probable the Winds, as driven this or that Way, have a great Share in them; some Share too, Vapours and Exhalations, rising from the Earth, may have; some the Changes in the Air of the neighbouring Regions, and some the Flux and Reflux occasioned in the Air by the Moon.

Dr. Halley thinks the Winds and Exhalations sufficient; and on their Footing gives us a rational Description of the Barometer: The Substance of what may be said on that Head is as follows.

1. Then, the Winds must necessarily alter the Weight of the Air in any particular Country; and that either by bringing together and accumulating a greater Quantity of Air, and so loading the Atmosphere of any Place; which will be the Case as often as two Winds blow at the same Time from opposite Points towards the same Point; or by

by sweeping away Part of the Air, and removing some of the Load, and thus giving Room for the Atmosphere to expand itself; which will be the Case, when two Winds blow at the same Time, and from the same Point, opposite Ways: Or lastly, by cutting off the perpendicular Pressure of the Atmosphere; which happens as often as any single Wind blows briskly any Way, it being found by Experiment, that a strong Blast of Wind, even made by Art, will render the Atmosphere lighter; and accordingly, the Mercury in the Tube under which it passes, as well as in another at a Distance from it, subsides considerably.

2. The cold nitrous Particles, and even Air itself condensed in the northern Parts, and driven elsewhere, must load the Atmosphere, and increase its Pressure.

3. Heavy dry Exhalations from the Earth must increase the Weight of the Atmosphere, and heighten its elastic Force, as we find the specific Gravity of Menstruums, increased by dissolved Salts and Metals.

4. The Air being rendered heavier from these and the like Causes, is thereby the more able to support the Vapours; which being likewise intimately mixed with it, and swimming every where equally throughout it, make the Weather serene and fair; again the Air being made lighter by contrary Causes, it becomes unable to support the Vapours wherewith it is replete; these therefore precipitating are gathered into Clouds, and those in their Progress coalesce into Drops of Rain.

These Things observed, say those who espouse Dr. Halley's Sentiment, it appears pretty evident, that the same Causes which increase the Weight of the Air, and make it more able to support the Mercury in the Barometer, do likewise make a serene Sky, and a dry Season; and the same Causes which render the Air lighter, and less able to support the Mercury, do likewise generate Clouds and Rain.

Hence, 1. When the Air is lightest, and the Mercury in the Barometer lowest, the Clouds are very low, and move swiftly; and when after Rain the Clouds break, and a calm Sky again shines forth, being purged of the Vapours, it appears exceedingly bright and transparent, and affords an easy Prospect of remote Objects.

2. When the Air is heavier, and the Mercury stands higher in the Tube, the Weather is calm, though somewhat less clear by reason the Vapours are dispersed every where equally; if any Clouds now appear, they are very high, and move slowly. And when the Air is heaviest of all, the Earth is frequently found enveloped in pretty thick Clouds, which appear to be formed out of the grosser Exhalations, and which the Air is then able to sustain, though a lighter Atmosphere could not.

3. Hence it is, that the Mercury stands highest in the coldest Seasons, and when the Wind blows from the North, or north-east Corner; for in that Case there are two Winds blowing towards us at the same Time, and from opposite Corners; there being a constant West Wind found in the *Atlantick Ocean*, as the Latitude corresponding to ours. To which we may add, that in a North Wind, the cold condensed Air of the northern Parts is brought hither.

4. Hence, in the northern Regions, the Variation of the Mercury is more sensible than in the southern ones, the Winds being found both more strong, more frequent, more various, and more opposite to each other in the former than in the latter.

Lastly, hence it is, that between the Tropicks, the Variation of the Mercury is scarce sensible; the Winds there being extremely gentle, and usually blowing the same Way.

Now this Account, however well adapted, as pretended, to many of the particular Cases of the Barometer, seems to come short of some of the principal, and most obvious ones, and is besides liable to several Objections.

For, 1. If the Wind were the sole Agent in effecting these Alterations, we should have no Alterations without a sensible Wind, nor any Wind without some Alteration of the Mercury, both which are contrary to Experience.

2. If two Winds be supposed blowing from the same Place, *viz.* London, opposite Ways, *viz.* N. E. and S. W. there will be two others, blowing from opposite Points, *viz.* N. W. and S. E. to the same Place; which

two last will ballance the first, and bring as much Air towards the Point, as the others swept from it. Or thus, in Proportion as the Air is carried off N. E. and S. W. the adjacent Air will crowd in from the other Points, and form a couple of new Currents in the Direction N. W. and S. E. to fill up the Vacancy, and restore the Equilibrium. This is a necessary Consequence from the Laws of Fluids.

3. If the Wind were the sole Agent, the Alterations in the Height of the Mercury would only be relative or topical; there would be still the same Quantity supported at several Places taken collectively: Thus what a Tube at London lost, another at Paris, or at Pisa, or at Zurich, &c. would at the same Time gain. But we find the very contrary true in fact; for from all the Observations hitherto made, the Barometers in several Parts of the Globe, rise and fall together; so that it must be some Alteration in the absolute Weight of the Atmosphere that accounts for the Rise and Fall of the Mercury.

Lastly, setting aside all Objections, the popular Phenomena, the Mercury's Fall before, and Rise after Rain, seem to be inexplicable on the Foot of this Hypothesis: For, suppose two contrary Winds sweeping the Air from over London; we know, that few, if any, of the Winds reach above a Mile high; all therefore they can do will be to cut off a certain Part of the Column of Air over London: If the Consequence of this be the Fall of the Mercury, yet there is no apparent Reason for the Rain following it; the Vapours indeed may be let lower, but it will only be till they come into an Air of the same specific Gravity with themselves, and there they will stick as before.

M. Leibnitz endeavours to supply the Defects of this Hypothesis, with a new one of his own. He asserts that a Body immersed in a Fluid, only weighs with that Fluid while it is sustained thereby; so that when it ceases to be sustained, *i. e.* to fall, its Weight ceases to make a Part of that of the Fluid, which by this Means becomes lighter. Thus, adds he, the watery Vapours, while sustained in the Air, increase its Weight; but when let fall cease to weigh along with it: Thus the Weight of the Air is diminished; and thus the Mercury falls, and Rain ensues.

But M. Leibnitz's Principle, notwithstanding the Experiment he brings to confirm, is false, as has been made appear by a Counter-experiment of Dr. Desaguliers. For a Body, whether specifically equal or lighter, or heavier than a Fluid, while it is immersed in it, whether it be at Rest or in Motion, adds to the Fluid a Weight equivalent to that of an equal Bulk of the Fluid, as follows from that Law in Hydrostatics, that Fluids gravitate according to their perpendicular Altitudes. However, were M. Leibnitz's Principle true, yet it is defective; and that in the same Respect with Dr. Halley's: Nor would it account for the Phenomena more than the other. For, supposing the Vapours by being condensed to be put in a Motion downwards, and so causing to gravitate with the Atmosphere; they will therefore fall, till they reach a Part of the Atmosphere of the same specific Gravity with themselves; and there they will hang as before. If the Mercury falls, it will only be during the Time of that Descent; for these once fixed, the former Gravity is retrieved; or, were it not retrieved, yet no Rain would ensue the Fall of the Mercury.

Some of the most modern Authors speak, on the Causes of the Phenomena of the Barometer, in the following Manner.—Suppose, say they, any Number of watery Vesicles floating in any Part of the Atmosphere over any determinate Portion of the Globe, for Instance, over A B (fig. 21.) if the upper Vesicles be condensed by the Cold of the superior Regions, their specific Gravity will be increased, and they will descend; the horizontal Class, 1, *v. gr.* to 2, 2 to 3, &c. where meeting with other Vesicles not yet precipitated, they will coalesce or run into larger Vesicles, by the known Laws of Attraction. Or if we rather chuse to have the Wind act, let it drive either horizontally or obliquely; in the former Case the Vesicles, Class 8, will be driven against 9; those against 10, &c. or the oblique Class A 7, driven against 5, 8 against 4, &c. by which Means likewise will the Particles coalesce, and form new and larger Vesicles,

ficles, as before; so that their Number, which before was supposed a Million, will now be reduced, *v. gr.* to a hundred Thousand.

But by the same Coalition, whereby their Number is diminished, their specifick Gravity, if we may so call it, is increased, *i. e.* they come to have more Matter in the same Space, or under an equal Surface; as may be easily proved from Principles of Geometry. For in augmenting the Mass of any homogeneous Body, the Increase of Surface does not keep Pace with that of the Solidity; but that of the former, is as the Square of the Diameter; and that of the latter, as the Cube of the same.

But since the same Quantity of Matter is now in a less Space, or under less Dimensions, it will lose less of its Weight by the Resistance of the Medium. This is evident, for a Body immersed in a Fluid, loses nothing of its Weight but by the Friction of its Parts against those of the Fluid; but the Friction is evidently as the Surface, therefore where the Surface is lessen'd, the Resistance must be so too, consequently the Vesicles, whose Gravity before the Coalition was equal to the Resistance of the Medium, now the Resistance is diminished, will descend; and that with a Velocity, in the Ratio of the Increase of the Mass, to the Increase of the Surface.

In their Descent, as they arrive at denser Parts of the Atmosphere, *v. gr.* at 4, 5, &c. their Mass and Surface again will be increased by new Coalitions; and thus by constant fresh Accessions, more than equal to the constant Resistances, they will be enabled to pursue their Journey, through all the Stages of the Air, till they reach the Earth; their Masses exceedingly magnified; and in the Form of Rain.

Now, that the Vapours are got down, let us consider, add they, how the Barometer must have been affected in their Passage, ere any of the Vesicles began to subside, either from the Action of the Cold, or of the Wind, they all floated in the Portion of the Atmosphere A B C D, and all gravitated towards the Center E. Here now, each respectively residing in a Part of the Medium of the same specifick Gravity with itself, will lose as much of its Weight, as is equal to that of a Part of the Medium of the same Bulk with itself, *i. e.* each will lose all its Weight. But then whatever Weight each loses, it communicates to the Medium, which now presses on the Surface of the Earth A B, with its own Weight, and that of the Vesicles conjointly. Suppose, then, this united Pressure keeps up the Mercury in the Barometer, at thirty Inches: By the Coalition of the Vesicles from the Causes aforesaid, their Surfaces, and consequently their Friction, is lessen'd: They will therefore communicate less of their Weight to the Air, *i. e.* less than the whole; and consequently will descend with the Access, *i. e.* with a Velocity equal to the Remainder, as before observed. Now, as the Vesicles can act no otherwise on the Surface of the Earth A B, but by the Mediation of the inter-jacent Air; in Proportion as their Action on the Medium is less, their Action on the Earth will be less. It is also evident, that the Surface of the Earth A B, must be now less pressed than before: And that in Proportion as the Vesicles reserve more of their Weight uncommunicated to the Medium, to promote their own Descent, *i. e.* in proportion to the Velocity of their fallen Vesicles; which is again in proportion to their Bulks. Thus, as the Vesicles descend, the Bulks continually increasing the Friction, and therefore their Pressure on the Earth, and lastly the Height of the Mercury will continually decrease, during the whole Time of the Fall. Hence we see both why the Vesicles, when once beginning to fall, persevere; why the Mercury begins to fall at the same Time; and why it continues and ceases to fall together with them; which were the great *Desiderata* in the Philosophy of the Barometer.

The Asserters of this Theory say, that they see but one Objection that lies against it; which is this, that the Vesicles being put in Motion, and striking against the Particles of the Medium, and one another with some Moment, will meet with a considerable Resistance from the *Vis inertiae* thereof; by which Means their Descent will be retarded, and the Pressure of the Atmosphere retrieved; the Impetus of the moving Vesicles being supposed to compensate for their Loss of Force. Thus a heavy Body sustained in a Fluid by a Hair, and moved up and down therein, presses more on the Bottom, than

when held at Rest; which additional Pressure will be the greater, as the Velocity of the falling Vesicles is greater; a greater Impulse being required to break thro' the *Vis inertiae* of the contiguous Particles, in a less Time, than in a larger.

But they pretend, that they have both Reason and Experiment against this Objection: For besides that, the Velocity of the Vesicles, in these Circumstances, must be very small, and their Impulse inconsiderable; besides that, the *Vis inertiae* of the Air must be very weak, by Reason of its extreme Subtility; and that it must be a very improper Vehicle to convey an Impulse to a Distance, by Reason of its Elasticity: We find, that even in Water (a gross unelastick Medium) and a Piece of Lead, (a ponderous Body which falls with a great Momentum) that even here the Body, in its Descent through the Fluid, gravitates considerably less than when sustained at Rest therein: In which the several Experiments of *Reaumur*, *Ramarzini*, and *Desagulier*, all agree.

III. *Elasticity*. — A Power of yielding to an Impression, by contracting its Dimensions; and upon removing or diminishing the impulsive Cause, returning to its former Space or Figure. This elastick Force is accounted the distinguishing Property of the Air; the other Properties hitherto enumerated, being common to it with other Fluids.

Of this Power we have numerous Proofs. Thus a blown Bladder being squeezed in the Hand, we find the included Air sensibly resist; so as upon ceasing to compress, the Cavities or Impressions made in its Surface, are readily expanded again, and filled up.

On this Property of Elasticity, the Structure, and Office of the Air-Pump depends; which is a Machine, which elucidates all the Experiments made to prove the Elasticity of the Air.

The Invention of this noble Instrument, to which the present Age is indebted for so many fine Discoveries, is ascribed to *Otto de Guericke*, the celebrated Consul of *Magdebourg*; who exhibited his first publick Experiments therewith, before the Emperor and the States of *Germany*, at the breaking up of the Imperial Diet at *Ratisbon*, in the Year 1654.

Dr. Hook, and *M. Du Hamel*, indeed, ascribe the Invention to *Mr. Boyle*; and it is still called in *France*, *Boyle's Machine*; but that illustrious Author frankly confesses *De Guericke* to have been before-hand with him: Some Attempts, he assures us, he had made upon the same Foundation, before he knew any Thing of what had been done abroad: But the Information he afterwards received from *Schottas's Machina Hydraulico-Pneumatica*, published in 1657, wherein was an Account of *Guericke's* Experiments, first enabled him to bring his Design to any Thing of Maturity. From hence, with the Assistance of *Dr. Hook*, after two or three unsuccessful Trials, arose a new Air-Pump; more easy and manageable than the *German* one: And hence, or rather from the great Variety of Experiments, that celebrated Author applied it to, the Engine came to be denominated *Machina Boyleana*, the Machine of *Boyle*.

As to the Structure and Use thereof; its Basis or essential Part, is a metalline Tube, answering to the Barrel of a common Pump or Syringe; having a Valve at the Bottom opening upwards, and a moveable Piston or Embolus, answering to a Sucker of a Pump, furnished likewise, with a Well opening upwards: The whole fitted to a Vessel, as a Recipient.

The rest being only Circumstances chiefly respecting Conveniency, has been diversified and improved from Time to Time, according to the several Views and Addicts of the Makers. That of *Otto de Guericke* being less artful, labours under several Defects, in Respect of the Force necessary to work it, which was very great; and the Progress very slow: Besides that it was to be kept under Water; and allowed of no Change of Subjects for Experiments.

Mr. Boyle, by Degrees, removed several of these Inconveniencies, and alleviated others: But still the making of his Pump was laborious, by Reason of the Pressure of the Atmosphere, a great Part of which was to be removed at every Exuction, after a Vacuum, as they are pleased to call it, was nearly arrived at it. But this Inconvenience has been since removed by *Mr. Hare*, who, by adding a second Barrel and Piston to the former,

mer, to rise, as the other fell, and fall as it rose; made the Pressure of the Atmosphere on the descending one, of as much Service, as it was of Disservice in the ascending one.

Some of the *Germans* have also brought the *Air-Pump* to do the opposite Office of a Condenser: But this is not to make the Instrument so much the better, or more complex.

The *Air-Pump*, as it is now made among us with all its Advantages (fig. 16.) consists of two brazen Barrels or Cylinders represented by *a a a a*; which communicates with each other by a Canal passing between them at *d d*, and with a Receiver *o o o*, by means of a hollow Wire *b b*, one End whereof opens into the Canal of Communication, and the other into a like Canal *n n*, which penetrating the Plate *i i i i*, opens into the Receiver.

Within the Cylinder are two Emboli, or Suckers, made of Brass, and fitted with Cork and Leather to the Cavities of the Barrels, so as exactly to fill the same; each being furnished with its Valve, and terminating at Top in a Rack *c c*, by which it is to be worked.

At the Bottom of either Barrel is another Valve; by which the Air may pass out of the communicating Canal *a d*, and consequently out of the hollow Wire, and the Receiver itself, into the Cylinder below the Piston; from whence by the Valves of the Piston it may proceed into the upper Space of the Cylinder, and thus into the open Air.

For the Application of this Mechanism, the Winch *b b* being turned upwards and downwards, its Spindle *f* catching by its Teeth into the Racks, will rise and depress the two Pistons alternately. Now, the Consequence of depressing a Piston is, that the Air before inclosed between it and the Bottom of the Cylinder, being thus crowded into a less Compass, will, by its elastick Force, which now exceeds the Pressure of the Atmosphere, push up the Valve of the Piston, and thus escape, till what little Remains be of the same Density with the external Air incumbent on the Valve.

This done, and the same Piston being again raised in its Turn, from the Bottom of the Cylinder to the Top; the little Air before left will of Necessity expand itself, so as to possess the whole Space of the Cylinder thus deserted by the Piston: Upon which its Force or Pressure upon the Valve at the Bottom of the Cylinder being now inconsiderable; the other denser Air of the Receiver, hollow Wire, and Canal of Communication, by their superior elastick Force, will lift up the Valve, and thus pass into the Cylinder of rarified Air, till both be of the same Degree of Density.

And thus is the Air in the Receiver diminished at each Elevation of the Piston, by the Quantity of a Cylinder-full; abating for what little remained between the depressed Piston and the Bottom. So that by thus repeating the Operation again and again; the Air in the Receiver is at length rarified to such a Degree, that its Density does not exceed the thin Air remaining in the Cylinder when the Piston is raised: Which done, the Effect of the *Air-Pump* is at an End; the Valve cannot now be opened, or if it could, no Air would pass it; there being a just Equilibrium between the Air on each Side.

To judge of the Degree of Exhaustion, there is added a Gage *l l*, consisting of a Tube, whose upper Orifice communicates with the Receiver; the lower being immersed in a Bason of Mercury *m m*. Hence the Air in the Tube rarifying as fast as that in the Receiver; in Proportion as the Exhaustion advances, the Mercury will be raised by the Pressure of the Column of external Air, prevailing over that of the Column of Air included, till the Column of Air, and Mercury together, become a Balance to that of the external Air. When the Mercury is thus risen to the same Height as it stands in the Barometer, which is indicated by the Scale of Inches added to the Gage; the Instrument is a just torricellian Tube; and the Vacuum, say those who admit such Things, may be concluded to be as perfect as that in the upper End of the Barometer.

To let Air again into the exhausted Receiver, the Cock *n* is to be turned; which makes a Communication with the external Air; upon which the Air rushing impetuously in, the Mercury in the Gage immediately

subsides into the Bason.

To the *Air-Pump* belongs a large Apparatus of other Vessels, accommodated to the divers Kinds of Experiments.

The Laws of Rarefaction in the *Air-Pump* are as follows.—1. For the Proportion of Air remaining at any Time in the Receiver, we have the following Theorem.—In a Vessel exhausted by the *Air-Pump*, the primitive or natural Air contained therein, is to the Air remaining, as the Aggregate of the Capacity of the Vessel of the Pump (*i. e.* the Cylinder left vacant in an Elevation of the Piston, with the Wire and other Parts between the Cylinder and the Receiver) raised to a Power whose Exponent is equal to the Number of Strokes of the Piston, to the Capacity of the Vessel alone raised to the same Power.

M. *Varignon* gives us an algebraical Demonstration of this Theorem, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of the Sciences; but it may be also demonstrated pneumatically, thus:—Calling the Air remaining after the first Stroke, the *first Residual*; that after the second, the *second Residual*, &c. and remembering that the Air in the Receiver is of the same Density as that in the Cylinder, when the Piston is raised: It is evident, that the Quantity of Air in the Receiver, is to the Quantity of Air in the Cylinder, Wire, &c. as the Capacity of the Receiver to that of the Cylinder, &c. and consequently the Aggregate of the Air in the Receiver and the Cylinder, *i. e.* the whole primitive Air is to the Air of the Vessel alone, *i. e.* to the first residual Air, as the Aggregate of the Capacity of the Receiver and the Cylinder, to the Capacity of the Receiver alone. After the same Manner may it be proved, that the Quantity of the first residual Air, is to the second Residual, as the Aggregate of the Capacity of the Receiver and Cylinder to the Capacity of the Vessel alone. And the same Proportion does the second Residual bear to the third, and so of the rest. Hence the Product of the primitive Air into the first, second, third, fourth, &c. Residuals, is to the Product of the first Residual into the second, third, fourth, fifth, &c. as the Product of the Capacity of the Receiver and Cylinder together, multiplied as oft into itself as the Number of Strokes of the Piston contains or emits, is to the Factum arising from the Capacity of the Receiver alone, multiplied so often by itself; that is, as the Power of the Aggregate of the Capacity of the Receiver and Cylinder together, whose Exponent is the Number of Strokes of the Piston, to the Capacity of the Vessel alone, raised to the same Power. Consequently the primitive Air is to the last Residual, in the Ratio of those Powers, Q. E. D.

2. The Number of Strokes of the Piston, together with the Capacity of the Receiver and Cylinder, with the Wire, &c. being given, to find the Ratio of the primitive Air to the Air remaining; subtract the Logarithm of the Capacity of the Receiver, from that of the Sum of the Capacity of the Receiver, and the Cylinder; then the Remainder being multiplied by the Number of Strokes of the Piston, the Product will be a Logarithm, whose natural Number shews how oft the primitive Air contain the Remainder required.

Thus if the Capacity of the Receiver be 460, that of the Cylinder 580, and the Number of Strokes of the Piston 61, the primitive Air will be found to the remaining Air, as 1467 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

For suppose the Capacity of the Vessel = v ; that of the Cylinder and Vessel = a ; the Number of Strokes of the Piston = n ; and the remaining Air = 1. Since the primitive is to the remaining Air as $a^n v^n$; the primitive Air will also be to the remaining Air as $a^n v^n$ to 1. consequently if the remaining Air be 1, the Logarithm of the primitive Air is $a - v + n$.

3. The Capacity of the Receiver and the Barrel being given, to find the Number of Strokes of the Piston required, to rarify the Air to a given Degree.

Subtract the Logarithm of the remaining Air from the Logarithm of the primitive Air; and the Logarithm of the Capacity of the Receiver, from the Logarithm of the Aggregate of the Capacity of the Receiver and Cylinder; then dividing the former Difference by the latter, the Quotient is the Number of Strokes required.

Thus if the Capacity of the Cylinder be supposed 580, that

that of the Receiver 460; and the primitive *Air* to the remaining *Air*, as 1464 to 10; the Number of Strokes required, will be found to be 6.

As to the Effects and Phænomena of the *Air-Pump*; it is pretended by the Asserters of the *Vacuum Boyleanum*, that we arrive at it by Means of the *Air-Pump*.—Thus any Thing put in a Receiver so exhausted, is said to be put *in vacuo*; and some of the principal Phænomena thereof to be, that the heaviest and lightest Bodies as a Guinea, and a Feather, falls here with equal Velocity.—That Fruits, as Grapes, Cherries, Apples, &c. kept for any Time *in vacuo*, retain their Nature, Freshness, Colour, &c. and those wither'd in the open Air, recover their Plumpness *in vacuo*.—All Light, and Fire becomes immediately extinct *in vacuo*.—The Coalition of Flint and Steel *in vacuo*, produces no Sparks.—No Sound is heard, even from a Bell rung *in vacuo*.—A square Viol, full of common Air, well closed, breaks *in vacuo*; a round one does not.—A Bladder half full of Air will heave up forty Pounds Weight *in vacuo*.—Cats, and most other Animals readily expire *in vacuo*.

By Experiments made in 1704, Mr. Derham found, that Animals which have two Ventricles, and no Foramen ovale, as Birds, Dogs, Cats, Mice, &c. die in less than half a Minute; counting from the first Exsuction: A Mole died in one Minute, a Bat lived seven or eight. Insects, as Wasps, Bees, Grasshoppers, &c. seemed dead in two Minutes; but being left *in vacuo* twenty-four Hours, came to Life again in the open Air: Snails continued twenty-four Hours *in vacuo*, without appearing much concern'd.

Seeds planted *in vacuo* do not grow.—Small Beer dies, and loses all its Taste *in vacuo*.—Lukewarm Water boils very vehemently *in vacuo*.—Air, rushing through Mercury into a Vacuum, throws the Mercury in a Kind of Shower upon the Receiver, and produces a great Light in a dark Room.

The *Air-Pump* can never produce a precise Vacuum, if even such a Thing was possible; as is evident from its Structure, and the Manner of its Working: In effect, every Exsuction only takes a Part of the Air: So that there will still be some left after any finite Number of Exsuctions.—Add, that the *Air-Pump* has no longer any Effect, than while the Spring of the Air remaining in the Receiver, is able to lift up the Valves: When the Rarefaction is come to that Degree, you can come no nearer to a Vacuum. Sir Isaac Newton observing that a Thermometer suspended *in vacuo*, and in that State removed to a warm or a cold Room, receives the Heat or Cold, rises or falls almost as soon as another in open Air; takes thence occasion to suspect, that the Heat of the warm Room is conveyed through the Vacuum, by the Vibrations of a much subtler Medium than Air, which remained in the Vacuum, after the Air was drawn out.

The other Effects and Phænomena of the *Air-Pump*, are as follow: The Flame of a Candle *in vacuo*, usually goes out in a Minute, though sometimes it lasts two; but the Wick thereof continues ignited after; and even emits a Smoke, which ascends upwards.—A kindled Charcoal is totally extinguished in about five Minutes, though in open Air it remains alive half an Hour; it goes out by Degrees, beginning from the Top and the Outfides.—Red-hot Iron is not affected by the Absence of the Air; and yet Sulphur or Gunpowder will not be lighted thereby, but only fused.—A Match, after lying seemingly extinct *in vacuo*, a long Time; revives again upon the Re-admission of the Air.—A Flint and Steel strikes Sparks of Fire as copiously *in vacuo* as out of it; and the Sparks move in all Directions, upwards, downwards, &c. here, as in the Air.—Magnets and magnetick Needles, are the same *in vacuo*, as in the Air.—Smoke, in an exhausted Receiver, the Luminary being extinct, gradually settles to the Bottom in a darkish Body, leaving the upper Part clear and transparent; and inclining the Vessel sometimes on one Side, and sometimes on another, the Fume keeps its Surface horizontal, after the Nature of other Fluids.—The Syphon does not run *in vacuo*.—Water freezes *in vacuo*.—Heat may be produced by Attrition in the exhausted Receiver.—Camphire will not take Fire *in vacuo*; and Gunpowder,

though some Grains of a Heap be kindled by a Burning-Glass *in vacuo*, will not give Fire to the contiguous Grains.—Glow-Worms lose their Light, in Proportion as the Air is exhausted, and at length become totally obscure: But upon the Re-admission of Air, presently recover it all.—Vipers and Frogs swell much *in vacuo*, but will live an Hour and a half, or two Hours; and again in some Hours in the Air.—Snails survive ten Hours, and Effs or Slow-Worms, two or three Days; Leaches five or six.—Oysters will remain alive *in vacuo* 24 Hours without Harm.—The Heart of an Eel taken out of the Body, continues to beat *in vacuo*, more nimbly than in Air; and this for a good Part of an Hour.—Warm Blood, Milk, Gall, &c. undergo a considerable Intumescence and Ebullition *in vacuo*.—A Moule, and other Animals, may be brought, by Degrees, to survive longer in a rarified Air, than naturally it does.—Air may retain its usual Pressure, after it is become unfit for Respiration.—Silk-worms Eggs will hatch *in vacuo*, &c. all which Experiments were made by Mr. Boyle.

This Nisus, or Endeavour to expand every Particle of Air always exerts, and thus strives against an equal Endeavour of the ambient Particles; whose Resistance happening by any Means to be weaken'd, it straight diffuses into an immense Extent.—Hence it is, that thin Glass Bubbles, or Bladders full of Air, and exactly closed, being included in the exhausted Receiver of the *Air Pump*, burst by the Force of the inclosed Air. So a Bladder quite flaccid, containing only the smallest Quantity of Air, swells in the Receiver, and appears quite full.

This Power of Elasticity does not seem to have any Limits assigned it; nor does it appear capable, by any Means whatever, of being destroyed or diminished.—Mr. Boyle made several Experiments with a View to discover how long Air, brought to the greatest Degree of Expansion he could reduce it to in his *Air-Pump*, would retain its Spring, and could never observe any sensible Diminution; even though this thin Air was clogged some Months with a Weight which one would wonder how it should support a Moment.

Yet Mr. Hawkebee, by a later Experiment, has shewn, that the Spring of the Air may be so disturbed by a violent Pressure, as to require some Time to return to its natural Tone.

The Weight or Pressure of the Air, it is obvious has no Dependance on its Elasticity; but would be the same whether the Air had such Property or not.—But the Air in being elastick, is necessarily affected by the Pressure, which reduces it into such a Space, as that the Elasticity which re-acts against the compressing Weight, is equal to that Weight.

In effect, the Law of this Elasticity, is, that it increases as the Density of the Air increases; and the Density increases, as the Force increases wherewith it is pressed. Now there must necessarily be a Ballance between the Action and Re-Action, *i. e.* the Gravity of the Air which tends to compress it, and the Elasticity of the Air, which endeavours to expand it, must be equal.

Hence the Elasticity increasing, or diminishing universally as the Density increases or diminishes, *i. e.* as the Distance between the Particles diminishes or increases; it is no Matter whether the Air be compressed and retained in such Space by the Weight of the Atmosphere, or by any other Means: It must endeavour in either Case, to expand with the same Force. And hence, if Air near the Earth be put up in a Vessel, so as to cut off all Communication with the external Air, the Pressure of the inclosed Air will be equal to the Weight of the Atmosphere. Accordingly we find Mercury sustained to the same Height, by the elastick Force of Air, inclosed in a Glass Vessel, as by the whole atmospherical Pressure.

Hence the Structure of the *Hunk-Gun*, which is a Machine serving to explode Bullets, and other Shot with great Violence, by the Force of the Air.

This Sort of Arm charged with Air, has an Effect scarce inferior to that of a common Fire-Arm charged with Gunpowder; but it discharges itself with a much less Report; and it is this, which in all Probability gave Occasion to the Fable of white Gunpowder.

There are *Wind-Guns* of divers Contrivances; the most easy and portable one, and the most in Use is represented (*Tab. Pneum. fig. 14.*) it consists of a round metal-line Tube 3, 3, open at the End *c, c*, and exactly stop-ped at the other End *a*, like the Barrel of other Guns: 1, 1, 1, 1, is another larger Metal Tube, wherein the former is disposed, so as to leave a Space between them 4, 4, wherein Air may be inclosed.—The two Tubes are joined together at the common Aperture *c c*, by a circular Plate exactly folder'd to both, so as to prevent the Air from escaping out of the Space 4, 4, &c. At 8 is a Spring Valve, which opening inwardly, let the Air pass through from 2 into the Space 1, but prevents its Return from 1 to 2. Near the close End of the inner Tube are two Holes 6 and 5; by the first, the Space 1, and the inner Tube communicate, so that the Air would pass out of that into this, but that the Passage is stop-ped by a Valve opening outwardly; by the latter there is a Communication between the open Air, the Space 4, and the inner Barrel; only the Air pent up in the Space, cannot escape at this Hole, by Reason of a little Tube exactly folder'd to both Barrels, which stops the Communication: Nor can Air escape out of the inner Barrel through this little Tube, by Reason of a little moveable Pin, which exactly fills the Cavity of the Tube.

Lastly, the Part 2, 2, 2, 2, represents the Body of a Syringe, or Sucking-Pump; by which as much Air as possible is to be intruded into the Space 4, 4, &c. After which a Bullet being put into a Cavity of the inner Barrel, as high as the little Tube 5, the Gun is charged.

Now to discharge it, the little Valve 6, is pushed up by Means of the Pin that plays in the little Tube 5. Upon this, the compressed Air in the Cavity of the outer Barrel 4, rushing through the Hole 6, into the Cavity of the inner Barrel, expels the Bullet with a vast Force, sufficient to penetrate a thick Board.

To give the Machine a greater Resemblance of a Fire-Arm, the Part 2, 2, 2, 2, is usually fashioned like the But-End of a Musket; and on the Part 2, 8, 2, 8, is fitted a Lock; by turning the Trigger of which, the Pin 5 is made to push back the Valve, and so discharge the Piece. By the Lock it is contrived, that either the whole Charge of Air may be spent by Explosion, or only Part of it, and the rest reserved for fresh Bullets. By this Piece of Mechanism we can have half a Dozen good effective Shoots, with one Charge of Air.

Dr. Halley asserts, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, that from the Experiments made at London, and by the Academy del Cimento at Florence, it may be safely concluded, that no Force whatever is able to reduce Air into eight hundred Times less Space than it naturally possesses on the Surface of our Earth. In answer to which M. Amontons, in the Memoirs of the French Academy, maintains, that there is no fixing any Bounds to its Condensation; that greater and greater Weights will still reduce it into less and less Compass; that it is only elastick in virtue of the Fire it contains; and that as it is impossible ever absolutely to drive all the Fire out of it, it is impossible ever to make the utmost Condensation.

The Dilatation of the Air by reason of its elastick Force, is found to be very surprizing; and yet Dr. Wallis suggests, that we are far from knowing the utmost it is capable of. In several Experiments made by Mr. Boyle, it dilated first into nine Times its former Space; then into 10,000; and even at last into 13679 Times its Space; and all this by its own expansive Force, without any Help of Fire.

On this depends the Structure and Use of the *Monometer*, which is an Instrument to shew or measure the Alterations in the Rarity or Density of the Air.

The *MONOMETER*, differs from the Barometer, in that the latter only measures the Weight of the Atmosphere, or of the Column of Air over it; but the former the Density of the Air in which it is found: Which Density depends not only on the Weight of the Atmosphere, but on the Action of Heat and Cold, &c. Authors, however, generally confound the two together, and Mr. Boyle himself gives us a very good *Manometer* of his Contrivance, under the Title of a *statical Barometer*, the Structure whereof is given under the Article Barometer.

Hence it appears, that the Air we breathe, near the

Surface of the Earth, is compressed by its own Weight into at least the 13679th Part of the Space it would possess *in vacuo*. But if the same Air be condensed by Art, the Space it will take up when most dilated, on that it possesses when condensed, will be, according to the same Author's Experiment, as 55,000 to 1.

Hence we see how wild and erroneous was that Observation of Aristotle, that Air rendered ten Times rarer than before, changes its Nature, and becomes Fire.

M. Amontons and others, we have already observed, take the Rarefaction of Air to arise wholly from the Fire contained in it; and hence, by increasing the Degree of Heat, the Degree of Rarefaction may be carried still further than its spontaneous Dilatation.

On this Principle depends the Structure and Office of the *Thermometer*, which is an Instrument shewing, or rather measuring the Increase and Decrease of the Cold and Heat of the Air.

THERMOMETER, and *Thermoscope*, are ordinarily accounted the same Thing; Wolfius, however, makes a Difference; but shews withal, that what we call *Thermometers* are, in Reality, no more than *Thermoscopes*.

There are various Kinds of *Thermometers*, the Constructions, Defects, Theory, &c. whereof are as follow.

For the *Construction of a Thermometer depending on the Rarefaction of the Air*; in a Tube B C (*fig. 3. n. 2.*) to which is fastened a Glass Ball A B, is put a Quantity of common Water mixed with Aqua Regia, to prevent its freezing; and the Mixture tinged with a Solution of Vitriol, to give it a Greeness. In filling the Tube, Care is taken that there be so much Air left in the Ball and the Tube, as that when at its greatest Condensation in the Middle of Winter, it may just fill the Ball; and yet in its greatest Rarefaction in Summer, may not drive all the Liquor out of the Tube. To the other Extreme of the Tube is fastened another Glass Ball C D, open to the Air at D: On each Side the Tube is applied the Scale E F, divided into any Number of equal Parts.

Now, as the ambient Air becomes warmer, the Air in the Ball and the Top of the Tube expanding, will drive the Liquor into the lower Ball; and consequently its Surface will descend: On the contrary, as the ambient Air grows colder, that in the Ball becoming condensed, the Liquor will ascend.

For the *Construction of a mercurial Thermometer*; in the same Manner, and with the same Caution as before, put a little Quantity of Mercury, not exceeding the Bigness of a Pea, into a Tube B C (*fig. 4. n. 2.*) thus bent in Wreaths, that taking up the less Height, it may be the more manageable, and less liable to Harm; divide this Tube into any Number of equal Parts to serve for a Scale.

Here the Approaches of the Mercury towards the Ball A will shew the Increases of the Degrees of Heat. The Reason is the same as in the former.

The Defect of both these Instruments consists in this, that they are liable to be acted on by a double Cause: For, not only a Decrease of Heat, but also an Increase of Weight of the Atmosphere will make the Liquor rise in the one, and the Mercury in the other; and on the contrary, either an Increase of Heat, or Decrease of Weight in the Atmosphere, will make it descend.

For the *Construction of the Florentine, or common Thermometer*; the Academists del Cimento considering the Inconveniences of the *Thermometers* just described, attempted another, that should measure Heat and Cold by the Rarefaction and Condensation of the Spirit of Wine, though those be vastly less than of Air; and consequently the Alterations in the Degrees of Heat like to be much sensible.

The Structure of their *Thermometer* is this: On some little Pieces of Turmeric is poured a Quantity of rectified Spirit of Wine, which hereby receives a red Tincture; this done, the Spirit of Wine is filtrated again and again through a brown Paper, that the coarse Particles of the Root may be separated therefrom. With the Spirits thus tinged and prepared they fill a Glass Ball A B (*fig. 5. n. 2.*) and a Tube B C; and that all the Spirit may not descend in the Winter into the Ball, it is convenient to put the Ball into a Lump of Snow, mixed with Salt; or, if the Instrument be to be made in Summer, into Spring Water, impregnated with Salt-

petre,

petre, that the condensed Spirit may shew how far it will retire in the extremest Cold.

If it rise to too great a Height from the Ball, Part of it is to be taken out; and that the Tube may not be made longer than need, it is convenient to immerge the Ball, filled with its Spirit, in boiling Water, and to mark the furthest Point, to which the Spirit then rises.

At this Point the Tube is to be hermetically sealed by the Flame of a Lamp; and at the Sides is to be added a Scale, as in the former *Thermometer*.

Now, Spirit of Wine rarefying and condensing very considerably, as the Heat of the ambient *Air* increases the Spirit will dilate, and consequently will ascend into the Tube; and as the Heat decreases the Spirit will descend: And the Degree or Quantity of Ascent and Descent will be seen in the Scale. Yet as the Ratio of Yesterday's Heat to to-day's is not hereby discovered, this Instrument is not strictly a *Thermometer*, no more than the former.

It is to be here observed, 1. That as the natural Gravity of the Liquor makes it tend downwards, so it resists its Ascent out of the Ball into the Tube; and that the more, as it rises higher: For which Reason it were best to have the Tube horizontal.

2. Since there must of Necessity be some Air left in the void Part of the Tube over the Liquor, the Air by its Elasticity will tend downwards, and of Consequence will resist the Rise of the Liquor, and be compressed by it as it does rise: Its Elasticity therefore is thus increased.

3. Since it is found by Experience, that a less Degree of Heat is communicated more easily to the Spirit of Wine in the Ball than a greater, the Rarefactions of the Spirit of Wine are not proportionable to their producing Causes; especially since a greater Degree of Heat finds more Liquor in the Tube than a less does, to which notwithstanding, the Heat may be more easily communicated than to that stagnating in the Ball.

On this Account, the Florentine *Thermometer*, tho' that commonly in Use, is far from being an accurate Measure of Heat, &c. To which may be added what Dr. Halley observes in the *Philosophical Transactions*, that he has learned from those who have kept Spirit of Wine long, that it loses Part of its expansive Force in course of Time.

Another great Defect of these and other *Thermometers*, is, that their Degrees are not comparable with each other. They mark indeed the different Degrees of Heat and Cold, but each marks only for itself, and after its own Manner; for they do not proceed from any Point of Heat or Cold, that is common to them all. It is with them as with two Clocks, which for want of having been first set to the same Hour by the Sun, will indeed mark that one, two, or more Hours are passed, but not what Hour it is by the Day. Nor can we be assured, that when the Liquor is risen a Degree in two different *Thermometers*, they have both received the same Impression of an equal additional Heat: Since the Spirit of Wine may not be the same in both, and in Proportion as this Spirit is more or less rectified, it will rise more or less high by the same Heat.

Nor is this all: For in graduating *Thermometers*, they take equal Lengths of the Tube for equal Ascents of the Spirit; whereas, supposing the Diameters of the Tube equal throughout, which very rarely happens, there are so many Irregularities within-side, that a certain Length of Tube sometimes requires double the Quantity of Liquor to fill it, that the same Length in another Tube of the same Diameter requires. All which arises from the unequal Thickness of the Parietes of Tubes in different Places; and from accidental Prominences and Cavities, always found in the inner Surfaces of Tubes; and especially from their being almost always bigger at one End than the other.

Hence it is, that the Comparison of *Thermometers* becomes so precarious and defective. Yet the most curious and interesting Use of *Thermometers* is, what ought to arise from such Comparison. It is by this we should know the Heat or Cold of another Season, of another Year, another Climate, &c. what is the greatest Degree of Heat or Cold that Men and other Animals can subsist in.

M. de Reaumur has contrived a new *Thermometer* for this Purpose, wherein the Inconveniences above mentioned are remedied.

Various Methods have been proposed by various Authors, for finding a fixed Point, or Degree of Heat and Cold, from which to account the other Degrees, and adjust the Scale; that so Observations made at the same or different Times, in different Places may be compared together.

Some note the Place the Liquor is at in Winter, when Water begins to freeze; and again, that in Summer, when Butter placed near the Ball of the *Thermometers*, melts; the intermediate Space they divide into two equal Parts, the middle Point whereof answers, in their Graduation, to temperate Heat; and each Moiety they sub-divide into ten Degrees, adding four other equal Degrees on each of the two Extremes. But this Method supposes the same Degree of Heat and Cold to answer to the freezing of all Water, and the melting of all Butter; as also that all *Thermometers* receive the same Impressions from the same Degree of Heat; all which are contrary to Experience.

Others advise the Ball of the *Thermometer* to be put in a Quantity of Snow and Salt, and the Point the Liquor is at to be noted. Thence the *Thermometer* is to be removed into a deep Cave or Cellar, where no external Air reaches; so that the Liquor receiving the Action of a temperate Air, may shew the Degree of temperate Heat. Lastly, they divide the intermediate Space into 15, or more equal Parts, which they continue beyond each Extreme: But this Method is liable to the same Inconveniences as the former.

Dr. Halley assumes that for a fixed Degree of Heat, wherein Spirit of Wine begins to boil, but there is Reason to suspect this too of being precarious: Though, after him, M. Amontons retains the Degree of Heat answering to boiling Water, for the graduating his mercurial *Thermometer*. But as the different specific Gravities of Water, argues a Difference of Mass and Texture, it is very probable that Heat of all boiling Waters is not the same; so that the Point is yet undetermined.

M. Amontons first discovered that Air, the denser it is, the more it will expand with the same Degree of Heat. On this Foundation he has a Discourse to prove, 'that the Spring and Weight of the Air, with a moderate Degree of Warmth, may enable it to produce even Earthquakes, and other of the most vehement Com-motions in Nature.'

According to the Experiments of this Author, and M. de la Hire, a Column of Air on the Surface of the Earth, 36 Fathoms high, is equal in Weight to three Lines Depth of Mercury; and it is found that equal Quantities of Air possess Spaces reciprocally proportional to the Weights wherewith they are pressed; the Weight of the Air therefore, which would fill the whole Place possessed by the terrestrial Globe, would be equal to a Cylinder of Mercury, whose Base is equal to the Surface of the Earth, and its Height containing as many Times three Lines, as the atmospherical Sphere contains Orbs equal in Weight to 36 Fathoms of that wherein the Experiment was made. Hence, taking the densest of all Bodies, *v. gr.* Gold, whose Gravity is about 14630 Times greater than that of Air in our Orb, it is easy to compute that this Air would be reduced to the same Density as Gold by the Pressure of a Column of Mercury 14630 Times 28 Inches high, *i. e.* 409640 Inches; since the Bulks of Air in that Case will be in the reciprocal Ratio of the Weights wherewith they are pressed. This 409640 Inches therefore expresses the Height at which the Barometer must stand, where the Air would be as heavy as Gold, and the Number 28813 Lines, the Thickness to which our Column of 36 Fathoms of Air would be reduced in the same Place.

Now, we know that 409640 Inches, or 43528 Fathoms, is only the 74th Part of the Semi-diameter of the Earth: And when you are past that, whatever Matters there be, they must be heavier than Gold: It is not improbable therefore, that the remaining Sphere of 6451538 Fathoms Diameter, may be full of dense Air heavier, by many Degrees, than the heaviest Bodies among us. Hence again, as it is proved, that the Air is compressed, the more the same Degree of Fire increase the Force of its Spring, and render it capable of so much the greater Effect; and that, for Instance, the Heat of boiling Water increases the Spring of our Air beyond

beyond what it ordinarily is, by a Quantity equal to one Third of the Weight wherewith it is pressed: We may infer, that a Degree of Heat, which in our Orb can only produce a moderate Effect, may have a very violent one in such lower Orb; and that as there may be some Degrees of Heat in Nature beyond that of boiling Water, it is probable there may be some, whose Violence, thus assisted by the Weight of the *Air*, may be sufficient to tear asunder the solid Globe.

This elastick Power of the *Air*, is the second great Source of the Effects of this important Fluid. In virtue hereof it insinuates into the Pores of Bodies, carrying with it this prodigious Faculty of expanding; and that so easy to be excited: Whence it must necessarily put the Particles of the Bodies it is mixed withal into perpetual Oscillations. In effect, the Degree of Heat, and the *Air*'s Gravity and Density, and consequently its Elasticity and Expansion, never remaining the same for two Minutes together; there must be an incessant Vibration, or Dilatation and Contraction in all Bodies.

This Reciprocation we observe in several Instances, particularly Plants, the Trachea or Air-Vessels whereof do the Office of Lungs: For the contained *Air* alternately expanding and contracting, as the Heat increases or diminishes, by Turns presses the Vessels, and eases them again, and thus promotes a Circulation of their Juices.

Hence, we find, that no Vegetation or Germination will proceed *in vacuo*. Indeed, Beans have been observed to grow a little tumid therein; which has led some to attribute that to Vegetation, which was really owing to no other than the Dilatation of the *Air* within them.

From the same Cause it is, that the *Air* contained in the Bubbles in Ice, by its continual Action, bursts the Ice: And thus Glasses and other Vessels frequently crack, when their contained Liquors are frozen. Thus also entire Columns of Marble sometimes cleave in the Winter-time, from some little Bubbles of included *Air* acquiring an Increase of Elasticity.

From the same Principle arise all Putrefaction, and Fermentation; neither of which will proceed, even in the best disposed Subjects, *in vacuo*.

In this we have a singular Instance of the Efficacy of the *Air*, that it can change the two Kingdoms, and convert vegetable Substances into animal, and animal into vegetable.

In effect, all natural Corruption and Alteration seems to depend on *Air*; and Metals, particularly Gold, only seem to be durable and incorruptible, in virtue of their not being pervious to *Air*. Accordingly Names slightly wrote on the Sand, or Dust, on the Top of high Mountains, have been known to remain 40 Years, without being in the least altered or effaced.

Of the *Elasticity* of the *Air*, depends also the *Height of the Atmosphere*; for had not the *Air* an elastick Power, but were every where of the same Density, from the Surface of the Earth to the extreme Limit of the *Atmosphere*, like Water, which is equally dense at all Depths; it being heretofore observed, that the Weight of the Column of *Air*, reaching to the Top of the *Atmosphere*, is equal to the Weight of the Mercury contained in the Barometer; and the Proportion of Weight likewise being known between equal Bulks of *Air* and Mercury, it were easy to find the Height of such Column, and consequently of the *Atmosphere* itself.—For a Column of *Air* one Inch high, being equal to a Column of Mercury, as 1 to 10800; it is evident that 10800 such Columns of *Air*, that is a Column 900 Feet high, is equal in Weight to one Inch of Mercury: And consequently the 30 Inches of Mercury sustained in the Barometer, require a Column of *Air* 27,000 Foot high; on which Footing the Height of the *Atmosphere* would only be 27,000 Foot, or little more than five *English* Miles high.

But the *Air* by its elastick Property being liable to expand and contract; and it being found by repeated Experiments, in *England*, *France*, and *Italy*, that the Spaces it takes up, when compressed by different Weights, are reciprocally proportional to these Weights themselves, or that the *Air* takes up the less Space, the more it is pressed; it follows, that the *Air* in the upper Regions of

the *Atmosphere*, where the Weight is so much less, must be much rarer than nearer the Surface of the Earth; and consequently that the Height of the *Atmosphere* must be much higher than is heretofore assigned.

If we suppose the Height of the whole *Atmosphere* divided into innumerable equal Parts; the Density of the *Air* in each of the said Parts being as its Quantity, and the Weight of the *Atmosphere* being also as the Quantity of the whole incumbent *Air*; it is evident the Weight of the incumbent *Air* is every where as the Quantity of *Air* contained in the subjacent Part, which makes a Difference between each two contiguous Parts of incumbent *Air*. Now we have a Theorem in Geometry, that where the Differences of Magnitudes are geometrically proportionable to the Magnitudes themselves, those Magnitudes are in continual arithmetical Proportion: Wherefore, if according to the Supposition, the Altitude of the *Air*, by the continual Addition of the new Parts into which it is divided, do increase in a continual arithmetical Proportion; its Density will be diminished, or which amounts to the same, its Gravity increased in continual geometrical Proportion.

From such a Series it is easy, by making two or three barometrical Observations of the Rarity of the *Air* at two or three different Heights, to find its Rarity at any other Height, or the Height corresponding to any Rarity; and consequently the Altitude of the whole *Atmosphere*; supposing the utmost Degree of Rarity known, beyond which the *Air* cannot go.

It must not be here omitted, that some Observations made by *Cassini* and his Associates seem to render this Method precarious. In continuing the meridian Line of the Observatory at *Paris*, they measured the Altitudes of several Mountains with great Accuracy, noting the Height of the Barometer at the Top of each; and found, that the Rarefactions of the *Air* as you ascend from the Level of the Earth, are much greater than they ought to be, according to this Proportion.

Suspecting therefore the Justness of the Experiments, the Royal Academy made divers others, under great Dilatations of *Air*, far exceeding the Rarities found on the Tops of the Mountains; the Result whereof was, that they all exactly answered the Proportion of the incumbent Weights. Whence it should follow, that the higher *Air* about the Tops of Mountains, is of a different Nature, and observes a different Law from that near the Earth.

The Reason whereof may be owing to the great Quantity of gross Vapours, and Exhalations here, more than there; which Vapours being less elastick, and not capable of so much Rarefaction as the pure *Air* above: The Rarefactions of the pure *Air* increase in greater Ratio than the Weights diminish. *M. Fontenelle* however, from some Experiments of *M. de la Hire*, accounts for the Phenomenon in a different Manner; alleging that the elastick Power of *Air* is increased by the Admixture of the Humidity therewith, and consequently that the *Air* near the Tops of Mountains, being moister than that below, becomes thereby more elastick, and rarifies in a greater Ratio than naturally and in a drier State it would. *Dr. Jurin* shews, that the Experiments produced to support this System, are by no Means conclusive.

Be this as it will, the Rarities of the *Air* at different Heights proving not to bear any constant Proportion to the Weights wherewith they are pressed; Experiments made with Barometers at the Feet and Tops of Mountains, cannot give the Height of the *Atmosphere*: Since our Observations are all made near the Earth; whereas the greater Part of the *Atmosphere* is far beyond; and the further from us, the further does it seem to recede from the Nature and Laws of ours. *M. de la Hire* therefore, after *Kepler*, has Recourse to the more antient, simple and secure Way of ascertaining the Height of the *Atmosphere*, viz. from the Consideration of the Crepuscula.

It is allowed by Astronomers, that when the Sun is in 18° below the Horizon, we begin, or cease to see the Twilight: Now the Ray whereby we do it can be no other than a horizontal Line, or a Tangent to the Earth in the Place where they observe it. But this Ray cannot come directly from the Sun, which is in the Horizon; and

and must therefore be a Ray reflected to us, by the last inner and concave Surface of the Atmosphere. We are to suppose, that the Sun when 18° below the Horizon, emits a Ray, which is a Tangent to the Earth, and strikes upon this last Surface of the Atmosphere, and is thence reflected to our Eye, being still a Tangent, and horizontal. If there were no Atmosphere, there would be no Crepusculum; and consequently if the Atmosphere were not so high as it is, the Crepusculum would begin and end, when the Sun is at a less Distance from the Horizon than 18° , and contrariwise.—Hence we gather that the Largeness of the Arch by which the Sun is depressed when the Crepusculum begins or ends, determines the Height of the Atmosphere. We are to note, however, that $32'$ must be subtracted from the Arch of 18° , for the Refraction, which rises the Sun so much higher than he would be; and $16'$ more for the Height of the upper Limb of the Sun, which is supposed to send the Ray above its Centre, which is supposed to be 18° low. The remaining Arch, therefore, which determines the Height of the Atmosphere, is only $17^\circ 12'$.

Two Rays, one direct, and the other reflected, but both Tangent to the Earth, must necessarily meet in the Atmosphere, at the Point of Reflection, and comprehend an Arch between them of 17 Deg. 12 Min. whereof they are Tangents. Hence it follows from the Nature of the Circle, that a Line drawn from the Centre of the Earth, and cutting the Arch in two, will go to the Point of Concurrence of those two Rays; and as it is easy finding the Excess of this Line above the Semi-diameter of the Earth, which is known, it is easy to find the Height of the Atmosphere, which is only that Excess. On this Principle, *M. de la Hire* discovers the Height of the Atmosphere to be 37223 Fathoms, or near 17 French Leagues. The same Method was made Use of by *Kepler*, who only rejected it, because it gave the Height of the Atmosphere, 20 times greater than he otherwise allowed it.

It must be added, that in this Calculus, the direct and reflected Rays are supposed to be right Lines; whereas in fact they are Curves, formed by the perpetual Refraction the Rays undergo in pressing through a Series of different Densities of Air. Computing then upon them as two similar Curves; or rather as a single Curve, one Extreme whereof is a Tangent to the Earth: Its Vertex equally distant from both the Extremes, determines the Height of the Atmosphere; which, therefore, will be found somewhat lower than in the former Case; the Point of Concurrence of two right Lines, which are here only Tangents to the Curve, the one at one End, and the other at the other, being higher than the Vertex of the Curve. On this Footing *M. de la Hire* finds the Atmosphere 35362 Fathoms, or 16 Leagues.

Air not only acts by its common Properties of Gravity, and Elasticity, but there are numerous other Effects arising from the peculiar Ingredients whereof it consists.

Thus, 1. It not only dissolves and attenuates Bodies by its Pressure and Attrition, but as a Chaos containing all Kinds of Menstruums, and consequently having wherewithal to dissolve all Kinds of Bodies.

It is known, that Iron and Copper readily dissolve, and become rusty in Air, unless well defended with Oil. *Boerhaave* assures us, he has seen Pillars of Iron so reduced by Air, that one might crumble them to Dust between the Fingers; and for Copper, it is converted by the Air into a Substance much like the Verdigrise produced by Vinegar.

Mr. Boyle relates, that in the southern *English* Colonies, the great Guns rust so fast, that after a few Years lying in the Air, large Cakes of Crocus Martis may be easily beat off them. *Acosta* adds, that in *Pern* the Air dissolves Lead, and considerably increases its Weight.—Yet Gold is generally esteemed indissoluble by Air, being never found to contract Rust, though exposed ever so long. The Reason whereof is, that Sea Salt, which is the only Menstruum capable of acting in Gold, being very difficult to volatilize; there is but a small Proportion of it in the Atmosphere. In the Chymist's Laboratory, where Aqua Regia is preparing; the Air becoming impregnated with an unusual Quantity of this Salt, Gold contracts a Rust like all other Bodies.

Stones, also, undergo the common Fate of Metals.—Thus *Purbeck* Stone, whereof *Salisbury* Cathedral is built, is observed gradually to become softer, and moulder away in the Air, and the like *Mr. Boyle* relates of *Blackington* Stone.—He adds, that Air may have a notable Operation on Vitriol, even when a strong Fire could act no further on it. The same Author has even found the Fumes of a sharp Liquor to work more suddenly and manifestly on a certain Metal, when sustained in the Air, than the Menstruum itself did, which emitted Fumes on those Parts of the Metal it cover'd.

2. Air volatilizes fixed Bodies. Thus Sea Salt being calcined and fused by the Fire, and when fused, exposed to the Air to liquify; when liquified set to dry again, then fused again; and, the Operation thus repeated, will by Degrees be almost wholly evaporated; nothing remaining but a little Earth behind.

Helmont mentions it as a mighty Arcanum in Chymistry, to render fixed Salt of Tartar volatile: But the Thing is easily effected by Air alone; for if this Salt be exposed to the Air, in a Place replete with acid Vapours, the Salt draws the Acid to itself, and when saturated therewith is volatile.

3. Air also fixes volatile Bodies. Thus, tho' Nitre or Aqua fortis readily evaporate by the Fire; yet, if there be any putrified Urine near the Place, the volatile Spirit will be fixed, and fall down in Form of Aqua secunda.

4. Add that Air brings many quiescent Bodies into Action, *i. e.* excites their latent Powers. Thus, if an acid Vapour be diffused through the Air, all the Bodies whereof, that is a proper Menstruum, being dissolved thereby, are brought into a State proper for Action.

In Chymistry, not only the Presence or Absence of the Air, but even its being barely open or inclosed, is of great Consequence. Thus Camphire fired in a close Vessel runs wholly into Salts; whereas, if during the Process the Cover be removed, and a Candle applied, the whole flies off in Fume. So to make Sulphur inflammable, it requires a free Air: In a close Cucurbit it may be sublimated a thousand Times without kindling. Sulphur being put under a Glass Bell, and a Fire applied, rises into Spirit of Sulphur *per Campanam*. But if there be the least Chink, whereby the included Air communicates with the Atmosphere, it immediately kindles. So an Ounce of Charcoal, inclosed in a Crucible well luted, will remain without Loss for fourteen Days in the intensest Heat of a melting Furnace; though the thousandth Part of the Fire in an open Air, will presently turn it into Ashes. *Helmont* adds, that the Charcoal remains all that while without any Alteration of its black Colour; but the minute Air being let in, it falls instantly into white Ashes. The same holds of the Parts of all Animals and Vegetables, which can only be calcined in open Air: In close Vessels they never become any other than black Coals.

The Air is liable to Abundance of Alterations, not only in Respect of its mechanical Properties, Gravity, Density, &c. but also in Respect of the Ingredients it consists of. Thus in Places abounding with Marcasites, a fretting vitriolick Salt is observed to predominate in the Air, which rots the Hangings, and is often seen lying on the Ground in a whitish Efflorescence. At *Fasblun* in *Sweden*, noted for Copper-Mines, the Mineral Exhalations affect the Air so sensibly, that their Silver Coin is frequently discolour'd in their Purses, and the same Effluvia change the Colour of Bras. *Mr. Boyle* was assured by a Gentleman who possessed some Ground wherein there were several Veins of Metals, and other Minerals, that he had frequently seen Pillars of Fumes ascending thence; some having no Scent, some an ill one, and some few a good one. In *Carniola*, *Campania*, &c. where there are Mines of Sulphur, the Air at Times becomes very unwholesome; whence frequent epidemick Diseases, &c. It is added, that the Mines near the Cape of *Good Hope*, emits such horrible Fumes from the Arsenick that abounds there, that no Animal can live near them; so that such as have at any Time been opened, were obliged to be immediately closed again.

The Effluvia of Animals also have their Effect in varying the Air; as is evident in contagious Diseases, Plagues, Murraings, and other Mortalities which spread by the Air.

The like is observed in Vegetables.—Thus a good Part of the Clove-Trees, which grew so plentifully in the Island of *Ternate*, being felled at the Solicitations of the *Dutch*, in order to heighten the Value of that Fruit; such a Change ensued in the *Air*, as shewed the salutary Effect of the Effluvia of the Clove-Trees, and their Blossoms: The whole Island, soon after they were cut down, becoming exceeding sickly. This, a Physician who had been upon the Spot, and from whom Mr. *Boyle* had the Relation, attributed to the noxious Steams of a Volcano there; the ill Qualities thereof had been corrected by the aromack Effluvia of those spicy Blossoms.

The *Air* is also liable to Alterations from the Seasons of the Year. Thus few subterraneous Effluvia are emitted in the Winter; by reason the Pores are locked up by the Frost, or covered by the Snow, the subterraneous Heat being all the while at work, and preparing a Fund to be discharged the ensuing Spring. Hence it is, that if the same Seed be sown in the same Soil, in Autumn and Spring, and the Degree of Heat be the same, a very different Effect will be found; and for the like Reason, Rain-Water gathered in the Spring, is found to have a peculiar Virtue in respect of Corn; which being steeped therein, affords a much larger Quantity of Spirits than otherwise. Hence also, we see why a very severe Winter is usually followed by a wet Spring and fruitful Summer, and *vice versa*.

Again, from the Winter's Solstice to the Summer's, the Sun's Rays growing still more and more perpendicular; their Impulse on the Earth's Surface becomes more and more powerful; by which the Glebe or Soil is more and more relaxed, softened and putrified; till he arrives at the Tropick: Where with the Force of a chymical Agent, he dissolves the superficial Parts of the Earth into their Principles, Water, Oil, Salts, &c. which are all swept into the *Atmosphere*.

And hence we conceive the Nature of Meteors, which are either Collections of such Effluvia, or Dispersions thereof.—There Meteors too, have considerable Effects on the *Air*; and thus Thunder is known to put Liquors upon fermenting afresh.

In effect, whatever alters the Degree of Heat, will make a proportionable Alteration in the Matter of the *Air*. Mr. *Boyle* suggests something further on this Head, *viz.* that the Salts, &c. which in a warm State of Weather were kept in a Fluor, and mixed together, so as to be in a Condition to act conjunctly; upon a Remission of the Warmth, may lose their Fluidity and Motion, shoot into Crystals, and thus separate again.

The Height or Depth of the *Air* makes a further Alteration, the Exhalations being few of them able to ascend above the Top of high Mountains, as appears from those Plagues, where the Inhabitants of one Side of a Mountain have all perished, without the least Disorder on the other Side.

Nor must Draught and Moisture be denied their Share, in varying the State of the *Atmosphere*. In *Guinea* the Heat with the Moisture conduce so much Putrifaction, that the purest white Sugars are often full of Maggots; and their Drugs soon lose their Virtue, and many of them grow verminous. It is added, that in the Island of *St. Jago*, they are obliged to expose their Sweetmeats daily to the Sun, to exhale the Moisture they had contracted in the Night, which would otherwise occasion them to putrify.

On this Principle depends the Structure and Office of the *Hygrometer*, which is a Machine or Instrument, whereby to measure the Degrees of Dryness, or Moisture of the *Air*.

There are divers Kinds of *Hygrometers*; for whatever Body either swells or shrinks by Dryness or Moisture, is capable of being formed into an *Hygrometer*. Such are Wood of most Kinds, particularly Ash, Deal, Poplar, &c. such also is Catgut, the Beard of a wild Cat, &c.

The best and most usual Contrivances for this Purpose are as follows:

Stretch a hempen Cord, or a Fiddle-string, as A B C (fig. 7.) along a Wall, bringing it over a Struckle, or Pulley B; and to the other Extreme D, tie a Weight E, into which fit a Style or Index F G. On the same Wall fit a Plate of Metal H I, divided into any Number of

equal Parts; and the *Hygrometer* is compleat.

For it is Matter of undoubted Observation, that Moisture sensibly shortens the Length of Cords and Strings; and that as the Moisture evaporates, they return to their former Length; and the like may be said of a Fiddle-string. The Weight therefore, in the present Case, upon an Increase of the Moisture of the *Air*, will ascend; and upon a Diminution of the same descend.

Hence as the Index F G will shew the Spaces of Ascent and Descent; and those Spaces are equal to the Increments and Decrements of the Length of the Cord, or Gut, A B D; the Instrument will discover, whether the *Air* be more or less humid now than it was another given Time.

Or thus:—If a more sensible and accurate *Hygrometer* be required; strain a Whipcord or Fiddle-string over several Truckles, or Pulleys, A, B, C, D, F, and G (fig. 8.) and proceed with the rest as in the former Example. Nor does it matter whether the several Parts of the Cord, A B, B C, C D, D E, E F, and F G, be parallel to the Horizon, as expressed in the present Figure, or perpendicular to the same.

The Advantage of this above the former *Hygrometer*, is, that we have a greater Length of Cord in the same Compass: And the longer the Cord, the greater its Contraction or Dilatation.

Or thus:—Fasten a hempen Cord or Fiddle-string A B (fig. 9.) to an Iron Hook; and let the other End B, descend upon the Middle of an horizontal-Board or Table E F; near B hang a leaden Weight of a Pound C, and fit an Index C G; lastly, from the Center B describe a Circle, which divide into any Number of equal Parts.

Now, it is Matter of Observation, that a Cord or Gut twists itself as it is moistened, and untwists again as it dries. Mr. *Molyneux*, Secretary of the *Dublin Society*, writes, that he could perceive this alternately twisting and untwisting in a Cord, by only breathing on it eight or ten Times, and then applying a Candle towards it. Hence upon an Increase or Decrease of the Humidity of the *Air*, the Index will shew the Quantity of twisting or untwisting; and consequently, the Increment or Decrement of Humidity, or Siccity.

Or thus:—Fasten one End of a Cord, or Fiddle string H I (fig. 10.) to a Hook H; and to the other End fasten a Ball K, of a Pound Weight. Draw two concentrick Circles on the Ball, and divide them into any Number of equal Parts. Fit a Style or Index N O, into a proper Support N, so as the Extremity O may almost touch the Divisions of the Ball.

Here the Cord or Gut twisting and untwisting, as in the former Case, will indicate the Change of Moisture, &c. by the successive Application of several Divisions of the Circle to the Index.

Or thus:—Provide two wooden Frames, A B, and C D (fig. 11.) with Grooves therein; and between those Grooves fit two thin Leaves of Ash, A E F C, and G B D H, so as they may easily slide either Way: At the Extremes of the Frame A, B, C, D, confine the Leaves with Nails, leaving between them the Space E G H F, about an Inch wide. On I fasten a Slip of Brass dented, I K; and in L a little dented Wheel, upon whose Axis, on the other Side of the Machine, an Index is to be put. Lastly, from the Center of the Axis, on the same Side, draw a Circle, and divide it into any Number of equal Parts.

Now, it being found by Experience, that Ash-Wood readily imbibes the Moisture of the *Air*, and swells therewith; and as that Moisture slackens shrinks again; upon any Increase of the Moisture of the *Air*, the two Leaves A F and B H growing turgid, will approach nearer each other: And again, as the Moisture abates, they will shrink, and again recede. Hence as the Distance of the Leaves can neither be increased nor diminished, without turning the Wheel L, the Index will point out the Changes in respect of Humidity and Siccity.

Or thus:—It is to be noted that all the *Hygrometers* above described become sensibly less and less accurate; and at length undergo no sensible Alteration at all from the Humidity of the *Air*, the following one is much more lasting.

Take a *Monoscope*, and instead of the exhausted Ball E (fig. 12.) substitute a Sponge, or other Body, which easily imbibes Moisture. To prepare the Sponge it may be necessary, first, to wash it in Water; and when dry again, in Water and Vinegar, wherein Sal Armoniack, or Salt of Tartar has been dissolved, and let it dry again.

Now, if the Air become moist, the Sponge growing heavier will ponderate; if dry, the Sponge will be hoisted up; and consequently the Index will shew the Increase or Decrease of the Humidity of the Air.

In the last mentioned *Hygrometer*, Mr. Gould, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, instead of a Sponge recommends Oil of Vitriol, which is found to grow sensibly lighter or heavier, in proportion to the greater or lesser Quantity of Moisture it imbibes from the Air; so that being satiated in the moistest Weather, it afterwards retains or loses its acquired Weight, as the Air proves more or less moist. The Alteration is so great that in the Space of fifty-seven Days, it has been known to change its Weight from three Drachms to nine; and has shifted an Index or Tongue of a Ballance 30 Degrees. A single Grain, after its full Increase, has varied its Equilibrium so sensibly, that the Tongue of a Ballance, only an Inch and a half long, described an Inch, one Third of an Inch in Compass; which Arch would have been almost three Inches, if the Tongue had been one Foot, even with so small a Quantity of Liquor; consequently, if more Liquor expanded over a large Surface were used, a Pair of Scales might afford as nice a *Hygrometer* as any yet invented. The same Author suggests, that Spirit of Sulphur per campanam, or Oil of Tartar per deliquium, or the Liquor of fixed Nitre, might be substituted in lieu of Oil of Vitriol.

This Ballance may be contrived two Ways, by either having the Pin in the Middle of the Beam, with a slender Tongue, a Foot and a half long, pointing to the Divisions on an arched Plate, as represented in fig. 12.

Or, the Scale with the Liquor may be hung to the Point of the Beam near the Pin, and the other Extreme be made so long, as to describe a large Arch on a Board placed for the Purpose, as represented fig. 13.

From a Series of hygroscopical Observations, made with an Apparatus of Deal Wood, described in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Mr. Coniers concludes, 1. That the Wood shrinks most in Summer, and swells most in Winter; but is most liable to change at Spring and Fall. 2. That this Motion happens chiefly in the Day-time, there being scarce any Variation in the Night. 3. That there is a Motion even in dry Weather; the Wood swelling in the Forenoon, and shrinking in the Afternoon. 4. The Wood by Night, as well as Day, usually shrinks when the Wind is in the North, North-East, and East, in Winter and Summer. 5. By constant Observation of the Motion and Rest of the Wood, with the Help of a Thermometer, one may tell the Situation of the Wind, without a Weather-cock.

He adds, that the Time of the Year may be known by it; for in the Spring it moves quicker, and more than in Winter; in Summer it is more shrunk than in Spring; and has less Motion in Autumn than in Summer.

These Diversities in the Air, are found to have an Influence on the Operation, Experiments, &c. of Philosophers, Chymists, and other Operators.

Thus, it is very difficult to procure Oil of Sulphur per Campanam, in a clear dry Atmosphere, its Parts being then so ready to escape into the Air; but in a thick moist Air the Oil comes in Abundance. So all Salts melt easiest in a cloudy Air; and which melted out most forcibly; and all Separations succeed best in such Weather. If Salt of Tartar be exposed in a Place where any acid Spirit is floating in the Air, it will imbibe the same; and of fixed become volatile. Hence the Experiments made of Salts at London, where the Air is plentifully impregnated with Sulphur exhaled from Sea-coal, prove different from those made on the same Subjects in other Parts of the Kingdom, where Wood, Turf, &c. are the usual Fuel. Hence also metalline Utensils, &c. rust much sooner at London than in other Parts, where there are fewer acid corrosive Corporcles in the Air; and Fermentation, which is easily

raised and carried on in a Place free of Sulphur, is impracticable in a Place where sulphurous Exhalations abound. If pure well-fermented Wine be carried in a Place where the Air is replenished with the Fumes of a new Wind then fermenting; it will begin to ferment afresh. So Salt of Tartar swells, and as it were ferments, when carried into a Place where Spirit of Nitre, Vitriol, or Sea-Salt is preparing. It is Matter of common Observation among Brewers, Distillers, Vinegar-Makers, &c. that at the Time when the several Plants used to be in Flowers, the respective Juices ferment, and the Process succeeds the best. Add, that Stains caused by vegetable Juices, are observed to be best taken out of Linnen, at the Time when the several Plants that afford them are in their Prime. This, Mr. Boyle observes, has been experienced in the Stains of Juice of Quinces, Hops, &c. one of which latter, eluding all the Endeavours that could be used to get it out, has vanished of itself the next Hop-Season.

After all, some of our more curious and penetrating Naturalists, have observed certain Effects of Air, which do not appear to follow from any of the Properties, nor the Materials above recited. On this View Mr. Boyle has composed an express Treatise of *Suspicious about some unknown Properties of the Air*. The Phenomena of Fire and Flame, in vacuo (as they call it) seem, according to him, to argue some odd unknown vital Substance diffused through the Air, on account whereof that Fluid becomes so necessary to the Substance of Flame: But whatever this Substance be, it should seem by its sudden wasting or spoiling, that the Quantity thereof is very inconsiderable, in Proportion to the Bulk of Air it impregnates with its Virtue, in regard, when the Flame can no longer subsist in it, the Air upon Examination is not found to have undergone any Alteration in any of its Properties.

Other Instances to countenance such Suspicions, are, the Appearance and Growth of Salts in many Bodies, which either afford them not at all, or not in that Plenty, unless exposed to the Air. Mr. Boyle mentions some Marcaffites, dug from under Ground, which being kept in a dry Room, were soon cover'd over with a vitriolick Efflorescence; and in a little Time, by the Operation of the Air on them, were in great Part crumbled into a Powder, exceeding rich Copperas; though they had probably lain many Ages entire under Ground: So the Earth, or Ore of Allum, and many other Animals, robbed of their Salt, Metals, or the like, will in Tract of Time recover them; and the like is observed of the Cynders of Sea-Coal at the Iron Works.

Mr. Boyle adds, that some Lime in old Walls, has in Time gained a large Efflorescence of a nitrous Nature, from which Salt-petre was procurable. Add, that the Colcothar of Vitriol is not naturally corrosive, nor can any Salt be procured from it, even by its Dissolution in Water; but being exposed a while to the Air, it yields a Salt plentifully.

The Existence of such hidden Properties, is also argued from the Access of the Air rendering antimonial Medicines emetick, and disposed to produce Faintings and Heart-Burnings; and from its speedy corrupting and mouldering of Trees, drawn from under Ground, which had for Ages remained firm, and almost impervious to the Axe.

To say no more, the Silks in *Jamaica*, if exposed to the Air, soon rot; even while they preserve their Colour; whereas, if kept from the Air, they hold their Firmness and Dye: And the sable Taffety worn at *Brazil*, becomes in a few Days of an Iron grey Colour in the Air; but in the Shops preserve its Hue: And some Leagues beyond *Paraguay*, white People soon grow tawny; but as soon recover their native Colour, upon removing out of that Quarter. These, out of a great Number of Instances tending the same Way, may convince us, that notwithstanding all the Discoveries hitherto made concerning Air, there still remain a Field for future Inquiries.

Wind being only Air in Motion, is also as such of this Province *Pneumatics*; and the Force thereof is determined experimentally, by a peculiar Machine, called *Anemometer*.

The *Anemometer* is variously contrived: In the *Philosophical Transactions* we have one described, wherein the Wind

Wind being supposed to blow directly against a flat Side, or Board that moves along the graduated Limb of a Quadrant; the Number of Degrees it advances, shews the comparative Force of the Wind.

Wolffius give the Structure of another, which is moved by Means of Sails A B C D (fig. 17.) like those of a Wind-mill; which raise a Weight L, that, still the higher it goes receding further from the Centre of Motion, by sliding along an hollow Arm K M, fitted to the Axis of the Sails, becomes heavier and heavier, and presses more and more on the Arm, till being a Counterpoise to the Force of the Wind on the Sails, it stops the Motion thereof. An Index, then, M N, fitted up on the same Axis at right Angles with the Arm, by its rising or falling, points out the Strength of Wind, on a Plane divided like a Dial-Plate into Degrees.

M. *d'Onsenbray*, has invented a new *Anemometer*, which of itself expresses on Paper, not only the several Winds that have blown during the Space of 24 Hours, and what Hour each began, and ended, but also the different Strengths or Velocities of each.

WIND-MILLS being Machines which receive their Motion from the Impulse of the Wind, come also under this Article.

The *Wind-Mill*, though a Machine common enough, has yet somewhat in it more ingenious than it is usually imagined. — Add, that it is commonly allowed to have a Degree of Perfection, which few of the popular Engines have attained to, and which the Makers are but little aware of. Though the new Geometry has furnished ample Matter for its Improvement.

The internal Structure of the *Wind-Mill* is much the same with that of Water-Mills. The Difference between them lies chiefly in an external Apparatus, for the Application of the Power.

This Apparatus consists of an Axis E F (fig. 15.) through which pass two Arms, or Yards, A B and C D, intersecting each other at right Angles in E, whose Length is usually about 32 Feet: On these Yards are formed a Kind of Sails, Vanes, or Flights, in the Figure of the Trapeziums, with parallel Bases, the greater whereof H I, is about six Feet, and the less F G, determined by Radii drawn from the Centre E, to I and H.

These Sails are to be capable of being always turned to the Wind, that they may receive its Impressions: In order to which there are two different Contrivances, which constitute the two different Kinds of *Wind-Mills* in Use.

In the one, the whole Machine is sustained upon a moveable Arbor or Axis, perpendicular to the Horizon, on a Stand or Foot; and turn'd occasionally this Way or that by Means of a Lever.

In the other, only the Cover or Roof of the Machine, with the Axis and Sails, turn round. In order to which the Cover is built Turret-wise, and the Turret encompassed with a wooden Ring, wherein is a Groove, at the Bottom whereof are placed, at certain Distances, a Number of Brass Truckels, and within the Groove is another Ring, upon which the whole Turret stands. To the moveable Ring are connected Beams *a b* and *f c*; and to the Beam *a b* in *b* is fastened a Rope, which, at the other Extremity thereof is fitted to a Windlass, or Axis in Peritochio: This Rope being drawn through the Iron Hook G, and the Windlass turned, the Sails will be moved round, and put in the Direction requir'd.

As for the Theory of the Motion of a *Wind-Mill*, with the Position of the Sails, or Vanes thereof. — The Angle the Sails are to make with their common Axis, so as the Wind may have the greatest Effect, is a Matter of nice Enquiry, and has employed the Thoughts of Mathematicians.

To conceive why a *Wind-Mill* moves at all, the Theory of compound Motions must be supposed. A Body moving perpendicularly against any Surface, strikes it with all its Force. If it moves parallel to the Surface, it does not strike it at all: And if it moves obliquely, its Motion being compound of the parallel and perpendicular Motion, only acts on the Surface, consider'd as it is perpendicular, and only drives it in the Direction of the Perpendicular. So that every oblique Direction of a Motion, is a Diagonal of a Parallelogram, whose perpen-

dicular and parallel Directions, are the two Sides.

Add, that if a Surface, which being struck obliquely, has only received the perpendicular Direction, be fastened to some other Body, so as it cannot pursue its perpendicular Direction, but must change it for some other, in that Case the Perpendicular itself becomes the Diagonal of a new Parallelogram, one of whose Sides is the Direction the Surface may follow, and the other that it cannot.

Thus a Rudder fasten'd obliquely to the Keel of a Vessel, being struck by the Current of Water parallel to the Keel, and of Consequence obliquely with Regard to itself; it will appear, by drawing the Line of perpendicular Impulse, that it tends to tear the Rudder from the Keel, and to carry it away: And that this Direction perpendicular to the Rudder, is oblique to the Keel. — The Rudder then would be carried off in an oblique Direction: But as in Reality it is so secured, that it cannot be torn or carried off; we are only to consider in this compound Motion, that of the two Directions, wherewith it can move without being torn from the Keel; and leave the other, which would tear it off as useless.

Now the Direction in which it can move without parting from the Keel, is that which carries it circularly about its Extremity, as a Centre. So that the Effect of the oblique Impulse of the Water on the Rudder, is reduced first to a perpendicular Impression, which is again reduced to the mere turning the Rudder round; or, if the Rudder be immovable, to the turning of the Vessel.

Now in an oblique and compound Motion, where only one of the Directions is of Service; the greater Ratio the other has thereto, the less Effect will the Motion have, and *vice versa*. — In examining the compound Motions of the Rudder, we find that the more oblique it is to the Keel, the Ratio of the Direction that serves to turn it to the other, is the greater. But, on the other Hand, the more oblique it is to the Keel, and of Consequence to the Course of the Water which is supposed parallel thereto, the more weakly it strikes. The Obliquity of the Rudder, therefore, has, at the same Time, both an Advantage and a Disadvantage, but as those are not equal, and as each of them is still varying with every different Position of the Rudder, they become complicated variously, so that sometimes the one prevails and sometimes the other.

It has been a Point of Enquiry to find the Position of the Rudder, wherein the Advantage should be the greatest. M. *Renau*, in his famous Theory of the working of Ships, has found, that the best Situation of the Rudder is, when it makes an Angle of 55 Degrees with the Keel.

If now a *Wind-Mill*, exposed directly to the Wind, should have its four Sails perpendicular to the common Axis, wherein they are fitted, they would receive the Wind perpendicularly; and it is visible that Impulse would only tend to overturn them. There is a Necessity therefore to have them oblique to the common Axis, that they may receive the Wind obliquely.

For the greater Ease, let us only consider one vertical Sail. The oblique Impulse of the Wind on this Sail, is reducible to a perpendicular Impulse: And that Direction, as the Sail cannot absolutely keep it, is compounded of two; one whereof tends to make it turn on its Axis, and the other to fall backwards. But it is only the first of these Directions can be obeyed. Of Consequence, the whole Impulse of the Wind on the Sail has no other Effect, but to make it turn from right to left, or from left to right, as its acute Angle turns this Way or that. And the Structure of the Machine is so happy, that the three other Sails are determined from the same Reasons to move the same Way.

The Obliquity of the Sails, with regard to their Axis, has precisely the same Advantage and Disadvantage, with the Obliquity of the Rudder to the Keel; and Mr. *Parent*, seeking by the new Analysis, the most advantageous Situation of the Sails on the Axis, finds it precisely the same Angle of 55 Degrees. Yet in Practice this Rule is very little observ'd, as indeed being little known. The Sails are usually fixed at an Angle of about 60 Degrees, which is very much out of the Way.

M. *Parent* considers further (whence an *elliptical Wind-Mill*) what Figure the Sails of a *Wind-Mill* shall have,

to receive the greatest Impulse from the Wind ; and he determines it to be a Sector of an Ellipsis, whose Center is that of the Axis or Arbor of the Mill ; and the little Semi-axis, the Height of thirty-two Feet ; as for the greater, it follows necessarily from the Rules that direct the Sail to be inclined to the Axis in an Angle of 55 Degrees.

On this Foot he assumes four such Sails, each whereof is one Fourth of an Ellipsis ; which, he shews, will receive all the Wind, and lose none, as the common ones do. These four Surfaces multiplied by the Lever, with which the Wind acts on one of them, express the whole Power the Wind had to move the Machine, or the whole Power the Machine has when in Motion.

The same Manner of reasoning, applied to a common *Wind-Mill*, whose Sails are rectangular, and their Length about five Times their Breadth ; shews that the *elliptick Wind-Mill* has above seven Times the Power of the common one. A prodigious Advantage ! and worthy sure, to have the common Practice set aside for, could so common a Practice be easily changed.

A *Wind-Mill*, with six elliptick Sails, he shews, would still have more Power than one with four.—It would only have the same Surface with the Four ; since the Four contain the whole Space of the Ellipsis as well as the Six. But the Force of the Six would be greater than that of the Four, in the Ratio of 245 to 231. If it were desired to have only two Sails, each being a Semi-ellipsis, the Surface would be still the same, but the Power would be diminished, by near one Third of that with six Sails ; by reason the Greatness of the Sectors would much shorten the Levers with which the Wind acts.

But as the elliptical Sails would be something so new, that there is little Room to expect they will come into common Use ; the same Author has consider'd which Form, among the rectangular ones, will be the most ad-

vantageous, *i. e.* which, the Product of whose Surface, by the Lever of the Wind, will be the greatest. And by the Method *De maximis & minimis* (explained in my Treatise of *Mechanicks*, under the Letter *M*) he finds it very different from the common ones.

The Result of his Enquiry is, that the Width of the rectangular Sail, should be nearly double its Length ; whereas the Length is usually made almost five times the Width. Add, that as we call Height or Length, the Dimension which is taken from the Centre of the Axis ; the greatest Dimension of the new rectangular Sail will be turned towards the Axis, and the smallest from it ; quite contrary to the Position of the common Sails.

The Power of a *Wind-Mill*, with four of these new rectangular Sails, *M. Parent* shews, will be to the Power of four elliptick Sails, nearly as 13 to 23 ; which leaves a considerable Advantage on the Side of the elliptick ones : Yet will the Force of the new rectangular Sails be considerably greater than that of the common ones.

M. Parent, likewise, considers what Number of the new Sails will be the most advantageous, and finds that the fewer Sails the more Surface there will be, but the less Power. The Ratio of the Power of a *Wind-Mill* with six Sails, will be to another with four, nearly as 14 to 13 : And the Power of another with two, will be to that with four, nearly as 13 to 9.

As to the common *Wind-Mill*, its Power still diminishes as the Breadth of the Sails is smaller, in proportion to the Length. The usual Proportion, therefore, of 5 to 1, is exceedingly advantageous.

The Uses of this new Theory of *Wind-Mills* are very obvious.—The more Power a *Wind-Mill* has, the swifter it turns, the more it dispatches, and the less Wind it needs. Add, that on this Theory one may have a *Wind-Mill*, whose Sails shall be a deal shorter, and yet the Power greater than the common one.

P O E T R Y.

POETRY, or *Poesy*, is an Art founded on a natural Genius of composing Poems, or other Pieces in Verse.

Poetry, is an Art, because there are certain Rules peculiar to it.—That Art is founded on a natural Genius ; for though a Person should know perfectly all these Rules ; he can never be called a Poet, unless he has a natural Genius for Poetry ; or he be, according to the common Phrase, *born a Poet*. And consists in composing Pieces in Verse ; wherefore we must inform ourselves, previously to any Thing else, what is understood by Verse.

VERSE, *Versus*, or *Carmen*, is a Line or Part of a Discourse, consisting of a certain Number of long or short Syllables, which run with an agreeable Cadence ; the like being also reiterated in the Course of the Piece.

This Repetition, according to *F. Bossu*, is necessary to distinguish the Notion of *Verse* from that of Prose : For in Prose, as well as *Verse*, each Period and Members are Parts of Discourse, consisting of a Number of long and short Syllables ; only Prose is continual diversifying its Measures and Cadences ; and *Verse* repeat them.

This Repetition of the Poets, appears even in the Manner of Writing, for one *Verse* being finished, they return to the Beginning of another Line to write the *Verse* following ; and it is to this Turn, that *Verse* owes its Name ; *Versus* coming from *vertere*, to turn, or return.

The *Greek* and *Latin* Verses (which are the only ones learned in the Schools) consist of a certain Number of Feet, disposed in a certain Order.

Verses are of various Kinds ; some denominated from the Number of Feet whereof they are composed ; as the *Monometer*, *Dimeter*, *Trimeter*, *Tetrameter*, *Pentameter*, *Hexameter*, &c. some from the Kinds of Feet used in them ; as the *Pyrrhic*, *Proceleusmatic*, *Iambick*, *Trochaick*, *Dactylic*, *Anapestick*, *Spondaick*, *Choriambick*, *Ritmic*, *Dactylotrochaick*.—Sometimes from the Names of the Inventor, or the Authors who

have used them with more Success : As the *Anacreontick*, *Archilochian*, *Hipponactick*, *Phederatiam*, *Glyconian*, *Alcmanian*, *Asclepiadean*, *Alcaick*, *Stesichorian*, *Phaliscan*, *Aristophanian*, *Callimachian*, *Galliamick*, *Phalician*, and *Sapphick*. Sometimes from the Subject, or the Circumstances of the Composition ; as the *Heroick*, *Elegiack*, *Adonick*, &c.

The *Verses* most commonly used in the *Latin* Poetry, are the *Hexameter*, *Pentameter*, *Iambick*, and *Sapphick* ; and almost the only ones learned in the Schools.

The *HEXAMETER* is a Verse consisting of six Feet, the first four thereof may be indifferently Dactyls, or Spondees ; but the fifth must be always a Dactyle, and the last a Spondee : Though when the four first Feet are alternately a Dactyle and a Spondee, the Verse cadences better, and sounds much better to the Ear.

This Sort of *Verse* is used both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poetry ; such is that of *Homer*, for the *Greek*.

Εἰς ὕμνῳ ἐργασίας, ἔχει Θεὸς ἐκδοῦν ὅρμα.

And that of *Virgil*, for the *Latin* :

Discite Justitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos.

Hexameter Verses, are divided into *Heroick* ; which are to be grave and majestic, suitable to the Dignity of *heroick Poetry* ; and satyrical, which may be more loose and negligent ; as those of *Horace*.

Epick Poems, as the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Aeneid*, and all the other Works of *Virgil*, consist of *Hexameter* Verses alone : *Elegies* and *Epistles* ordinarily consist alternately of *Hexameters* and *Pentameters*.

But what do we mean by those Feet, whereof the *Hexameter* and all other Kinds of Verses are composed ?

A *Foot*, in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poetry, is a Measure composed of a certain Number of long and short Syllables ; and consequently depends entirely on Quantity or Measure ; which Quantity denotes the Measure or Magnitude of the Syllables, or that which determines them to be called long or short.

The *Quantities* are used to be distinguished by the Characters — short, and — long.

The Proportion between the *long* and *short* Syllables may be generally fixed in the same as between the Crotchet and Quiver in Musick, viz. as 2 to 1.

In most Languages there are some Syllables whose *Quantities* vary, as the Measure requires, as in the English *Record* and *Record*.

Some Authors confound the *Quantities* with the Accent; but the Difference is glaring; the former being the Length or Shortness of a Syllable, the latter the raising or falling of the Voice.

The English Tongue admits of no Feet above two Syllables, though both the *Latin* and *Greek* allow six.

The heroick English Verses consist of five long and five short Syllables intermixed alternately; though not so strictly but that the Order may be dispensed withal. Dryden varies them with great Beauty; sometimes his heroick Verse begins with a long Syllable followed by two short ones. But to return to our Feet.

There are different Kinds of Feet, — viz. the *Spondee*, *Iambic*, *Trochee*, and *Pyrrich*, which consist of two Syllables each. — The *Dactyl*, *Anapaest*, *Molossius*, *Tribrach*, *Bacchius*, *Anti-bacchius*, *Amphibrachys*, and *Creticus*; consisting of three Syllables each. — The *Proceleusmaticus*, *Choriambus*, and *Epitrite*, which are of four Syllables each.

The *SPONDEE*, *spondæus*, in the *Greek* and *Latin* Prosody, is a Foot of Verse, consisting of two long Syllables. — As *Vertūnt*. — The *Spondee* is a Grave Measure; all *Greek* and *Latin* Hexameters, as already observed, regularly ending with a *Spondee*.

The *IAMBIC*, or *IAMBUS*, is a Foot consisting of a short Syllable, followed by a long one; as in
Dēi, mēis.

We also call the *Iambus* a swift rapid Foot, *pes Citus*.

The *PYRRICHIUS*, or *PYRRICH*, is a Foot consisting of two Syllables, both short; — as *Dēēs*. — Among the Antients this Foot is called *Periambus*; by others *Hegemona*.

The *DACTYL*, is a Foot consisting of a long Syllable, followed by two short ones; — As, *Cārminē, &c.*

The *Dactyl* is said to have been the Invention of *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*, who deliver'd Oracles in this Measure at *Delphos*, before *Apollo*. — The *Greeks* call it *πολύσιμος*.

The *Dactyl* and *Spondee*, are the most considerable of the poetical Feet; as being Measures used in heroick Verses by *Homer* and *Virgil*, &c. these two are of equal Times, but not of equal Motion. The *Spondee* has an even, strong, and steady Pace like a Trot: The *Dactyl* resembles the nimbler Strokes of a Gallop.

ANAPÆST, *Anapæstus*, is a Foot, consisting of two short, and one long Syllable.

Such are these Words, *Lēgērēt, Sāpřēs.*

The *MOLLOSSUS* is a Foot, consisting of three long Syllables; — As *Āndirī, Cāntābānt, Vřrtūtēm.*

It takes its Name, either from a Dance in Use among the People called *Molossi*, or *Epirotic*; or from the Temple of *Jupiter Molossus*; where Odes were sung, in which this Foot had a great Share; or because the March of the *Molossi* when they went to the Combat, was composed of these Feet, or had the Cadence thereof. The same Foot was also called among the Antients, *Voluminus*, *Extensipes*, *Hippius*, and *Chanius*.

The *TRIBRACH*, is a Foot consisting of three Syllables, and those all short: — As, *Mēllūs*. Some of the Antients call this Foot *Trocheus*.

The *BACCHIUS*, is a Foot consisting of three Syllables; whereof the first is short, and the others long: — As, *ēgřās.*

The *Bacchius* is the Reverse of a *Dactyl*, and takes its Name from that of *Bacchus*, because frequently used in the Hymns composed in his Honour. — It was also called among the Antients, *Ānotrius*, *Tripodius*, *Saltans*; and by the *Greeks* *παγισπεός*.

The *ANTIBACCHIUS*, is a Foot consisting of three Syllables; the two first whereof are long, and the third short.

Such are the Words *Cāntārē, Vřrtūtē.*

It is so called, as being contrary to the *Bacchius*. — Among the Antients this Foot is also denominated *Palim-*

bacchius, and *Saturnius*; by some *Proponcticus* and *Thessaleus*.

The *AMPHIBRACHY*, is a Foot consisting of three Syllables, the first and last whereof are short, and that in the Middle long.

Such are the Words *āmārē, ālērē, pālērniks.*

The *CHORIAMBUS*, is a Foot compounded of a *Choræus*, or *Trocheus*, and an *Iambus*. — It consists of four Syllables; of which the first and last are long; and the two middle ones short: — As *Přlōlřs.*

The *EPITRITE*, is a Foot consisting of four Syllables, three long, and one short.

Grammarians reckon four Species of *Epitrites*; the first consisting of an *Iambus* and *Spondee*: As *Sālřtāntēs.*

— The second of a *Trochee* and *Spondee*: As *Cōncřlřř.*

— The third of a *Spondee* and an *Iambus*: As *cōmmūnřcāns.* — And the fourth of a *Spondee* and *Trochee*: As *řncāntārē.*

The *PROCELEUSMATICUS*, is a Foot consisting of four short Syllables: As *řřřřřř.*

Having thus far given a particular Account of all the different Feet which can enter the Composition of all the different Kinds of Verses; I'll proceed on the Description of those Kinds of Verses; and having already began by that of the *Hexameter*, the next in order is the *Pentameter*.

The *PENTAMETER*, is a Kind of Verse, consisting of five Feet, or Metres. — The two first Feet may be either *Dactyls* or *Spondees*; the third always a *Spondee*; and the two last *Anapæst*: Thus;

Sic vos, non vobis, fertis aratra Boves.

It is usually joined to *Hexameters*, in Elegies, Epistles, Epigrams, and other little Pieces. But there is no Works of *Pentameters* alone.

Note, That in all Kinds of Verse, but more particularly in *Hexameters* and *Pentameters*, the Poet should take great Care to mark well the *Cæsures*, which is a certain agreeable Division of the Words between the Feet of a Verse, whereby the last Syllable of a Word becomes the first of a Foot.

As in — *arma virumq; cano Trojæ qui primus ab oris.*

Where the Syllables *no* and *jæ* are *Cæsures*.

Cæsura, in the modern Poetry, denotes a Rest or Pause towards the Middle of a long *Alexandrine* Verse; by which the Voice and Pronunciation are aided, as the Verse is, as it were, divided into two Hemisticks.

In *Alexandrine* Verses of 12 or 13 Syllables, the *Cæsura* must always be on the sixth; in Verses of 10, on the fourth; and in those of 12, on the sixth; Verses of eight Syllables, must not have any *Cæsura*.

IAMBICK Verse are a Kind of Verse, consisting only, at least in great Part, of *Iambick* Feet

Iambick Verses may be consider'd, either with Regard to the Diversity, or the Number of their Feet; under each of which Head, there are distinct Kinds which have different Names. — 1. Pure *Iambicks*, or those which consist entirely of *Iambus's*; as the fourth Piece of *Catule*, made in Praise of a Ship.

Phæselus ille, quem videtis Hospites.

The second Kind are those called simply *Iambicks*. — These have no *Iambus's*, but in the even Feet; though there are sometimes *Tribrachys's* added to them, excepting to the last, which is always an *Iambus*; and in the uneven Feet they have *Spondees*, *Anapæsts*, and even a *Dactyl* in the first; such is that of *Alceda* in *Ovid*:

Servare potui, perdere an possim rogas?

The third Kind are the free *Iambick* Verses, in which it is not absolutely necessary there should be any *Iambus*, excepting in the last Foot; of which Kind are all those of *Phædrus*:

mittit meritò proprium, qui alienum appetit.

In Comedies, the Authors seldom confine themselves more, frequently less, as we may observe in *Plautus* and *Terence*; but the sixth is always indispensibly an *Iambus*.

As to the Varieties occasioned by the Number of Syllables; — *Dimeter Iambick*, is that which has but four Feet:

Queruntur in Sylvis aves.

These

Those which have six are called *Trimeters*: These are the most beautiful, and are used principally for the Theatre; particularly in Tragedy; wherein they are vastly preferable to the Verses, often ten or twelve Feet, used in the modern Drama; in Regard they come nearer to the Nature of Prose, and favour less of Art and Affectation.

*Dii conjugales, tuque genialis tori
Lucina Custos, &c.*

Those with eight are called *Tetrameters*, and are only used in Comedies:

Pecuniam in loco negligere, maximum est lucrum. Terent.
Some add an *Iambick Monometer*, with two Feet,

Virtus beat.

They are called *Monometers*, *Dimeters*, *Trimeters*, and *Tetrameters*; that is, of one, two, three, and four Measures, because a Measure consisted of two Feet; the *Greeks* measuring their Verses, two Feet by two Feet, or by Dipodys, or Epitrites, joining the Iambus and Spondee together.

All the *Iambicks* hitherto mentioned are *perfect*; they have their just Number of Feet, without any Thing either deficient or redundant.—The *imperfect Iambicks* are of three Kinds; the *Catalectic*, which wants a Syllable:

Muse Jovem canebant.

The *Brachycatalectic*, which wants an entire Foot:

Muse Jovis gnata.

The *Hypercatalectic*, which have either a Foot or a Syllable too much:

*Muse sorores sunt Minervæ,
Muse sorores Palladis lugent.*

Many of the Hymns and Anthems used in the Church are *Dimeter Iambicks*, that is, consisting of four Feet.

The *SAPPHICK*, is a Kind of Verse much used by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, denominated from the Inventress *Sappho*.

The *Sapphick* Verse consists of eleven Syllables, or five Feet; whereof the first, fourth, and fifth, are Trochees, the second a Spondee, and the third a Dactyl, as in,

*Integer vitæ, scelerisque; parus,
Non eget Mauri jaculis nec arcu.* Hor.

Three Verses of this Kind closed with an *Adonic* Verse, consisting of a Dactyl and Spondee, usually make a Strophe.—Though we have some Chorus's in the ancient Tragick Poets, containing a much greater Number, of *Sapphicks* successively. They generally ran rough, unless they have the Caesure after the second Foot.

The *ADONIC*, is a short Kind of Verse, consisting of a Dactyl, and a Spondee, or a Trochee.—As *Rara Juvenius*.

It takes its Name from *Adonis*; as having been originally used in the Theme, or Lamentations for that Favourite.

The chief Use of the *Adonic* is at the End of each Strophe of *sapphick* Verse; or among Aristophanick Anapaests in the ancient Tragedy.

But to make a Verse, it is not enough, that the Measures and Quantities of Syllables be observed, and such a Number of Feet put one after another in the same Line; there are further required certain agreeable Cadences; and a certain Harmony in the Order, Quantities, &c. of the Feet, and Syllables; which make the Piece musical to the Ear, and fit for Singing; for which all the Verses of the Antients were intended: And this is called *Numbers* in Poetry.

It is of these *Numbers* *Virgil* speaks in his fourth Eclogue.

— *Numeros memini, si verba tenerem.*

And again in the sixth Eclogue:

*Tum vero in Numerum faunosque ferasque videres
Ludere —*

The *Numbers* are what constitute the Air and Character of a Verse; and denominate it either *smooth*, *soft*, *low*, *rough*, or *sonorous*.—The following Lines of *Milton* furnish an Instance of soft easy *Numbers*:

*Then feed on Thoughts, which voluntary move
Harmonious Numbers; as the tuneful Bird
Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid,
Tunes her nocturnal Note:*

How different from the *Numbers* of those:

*Arms meet with arms, Fauchons with Fauchons clash,
And Sparks of Fire, struck out from Armour, flash.*

But what is chiefly required in making *Verses*, is an elevated, bold, figurative Manner of Diction: This Manner is a Thing so peculiar to this Kind of Writing, that without it the most exact Arrangement of Longs and Shorts, does not constitute Verse so much as a Sort of measured Prose.

Vossius is very severe on the modern *Verse*, and makes it altogether unfit for Musick: Our *Verses*, says he, run all, as it were, on one Foot; without Distinctions of Members or Parts, and without regard to the natural Quantities of Syllables. We have no Rhythmus at all, and we mind nothing, but to have a certain Number of Syllables in a Verse, of whatever Nature, and in whatever Order.

The *Rithm* required by *Vossius* in this Place, is such as expresses the very Forms and Figures of Things.

Mr. *Malcom* vindicates our Verse from that Author's Imputation. It is true we do not follow the metrical Composition of the Antients, as *Wolffius* would have us do; yet we have such a Mixture of strong and soft, long and short Syllables, as make our Verses flow, smooth or rumbling, slow or rapid, according to the Subject.—Instances of which we have in the following Lines.

Soft is the Strain when Zephyr gently blows,

The hoarse rough Verse shall like the Torrent roar.

The Line too labours, and the Words move slow.

It lies over the unbended Ears, and skims along the Main.

By making a small Change or Transposition of a Word or Syllable, in any of those *Verses*, any Body who has an Ear will find, that we make a great Matter of the Nature and Order of the Syllables.

Wolffius adds, that the ancient Odes were sung, as to the Rhythmus, in the same Manner as we scan them; every *Pes* being a distinct Bar, or Measure, separated by a distinct Pause; though, in Reading, that Distinction was not accurately observed.

Lastly, he observes, that their Odes had a regular Return of the same Kind of *Verse*; and the same Quantity of Syllables, in the same Place of every *Verse*: Whereas in the modern Odes, to follow the natural Quantity of our Syllables, every Stanza would be a distinct Song.

It is next to impossible to write Prose without sometimes intermixing *Verse* with it; so that *Vaugelas's* Rule, which enjoins to avoid them, is next to impracticable.—This may be further said that for short *Verses*, they are so little perceived, that it is scarce worth while to strain oneself to avoid them; and as to long *Verses*, they are chiefly to be avoided in the Ends of Periods; for in the Middle they are scarce felt. In general, Rules of this Kind must be considered, as principally regarding numerous *Verses*, and such as are readily distinguished by their Cadence: Thus, in *Latin*, it is scarce possible to avoid *Iambick* Verses; but *Hexameters* must, by all Means be avoided, their Cadence being more sensible and more studied.

When we have made a *Verse*, the next Thing we must do, to know if it be a good one, is to scan it, i.e. measure it, to see what Number of Feet and Syllables it contains, and whether or no the Quantities, that is, the long and short Syllables, be duly observed.

This is chiefly done with regard to *Greek* and *Latin* Verses; the Quantities not being well settled and observed in the Verses of the modern Languages; observing above all Things that they cadence well.

Thus far we laid down the Rules of Poetry, or of versifying, which are taught in the Schools, and acquired by Study: We have discovered the *Matter* and *Form* thereof; the *Matter*, which is long and short Syllables, and Feet composed hereof, with Words furnished from Grammar; and the *Form*, consisting in the Arrangement of all these Things in just and agreeable Verse, expressing the Thoughts and Sentiments of the Author.

But after all, how narrow are these Bounds, if we consider Poetry, in the Light wherein the Works of *Homer* and *Virgil* have set it? What is here laid down pretends to no Praise, which a mere Translator may not rise to, and which the War of *Catiline* might not merit, if turned out of the Prote of *Salust*. It is with Reason therefore, that we distinguish the *low* and *single* from the

the *greater Poetry*; by giving the former the Title of *Verseification*: And then we make *Poetry* and *Verseification* two distinct Arts. In effect, there is not more Difference between Grammar and Rhetorick, than between the Art of making Verses, and that of inventing Poems.

The *greater Poetry* then consists principally in Fiction, or the Invention of Fables; in the expressing of Things by Allegories and Metaphors; and in the inventing of Actions, under which the Truths which the Poet has to teach, may be agreeably disguised.

In this View scarce any Poems retain the Nature and Essence of the grand *Poetry*, but the *Epopeia*, *Tragedy*, and *Comedy*.—The rest, be they *Elegies*, *Satires*, *Song*, or what they will, come under *Verseification*.

Before I enter into a particular Detail of those two Kinds of *Poetry*, we must inform ourselves of what is understood by *Poem*; which is the Base of the grand *Poetry*; though taken in its general Sense it is appropriated to all Kinds of *Poetry* indifferently. For,

A *POEM*, is a Composition in Verse, of a due Length and Measure.

There are *Poems* of various Kinds; some denominated from the Persons who first invented, or most used them, as the *Archilochia*, *Sapphick*, &c.—Others from their Composition, as the *Monocolon*, consisting of one Kind of Verse; *Dicolon*, of two; and *Tricolon*, of three Kinds.—Others from their Entireness or Deficiency; as *Brachycatalectic*, which wants two Syllables; *Catalectic*, which wants one; *Acatalectic*, none; and *Hypercatalectic*, which has a Syllable too much, which it cut off at the Beginning of the next Verse, the Verse is said to be *hypermeter*.—Others are denominated from the Subject-Matter; as the *Apobaterion*, *Epibaterion*, *Epinicion*, *Epithalamium*, *Genethliack*, *Propemptick*, *Elegiack*, *Satirick*, *Epicedion*, *Epitaph*, *Threnas*, or *Lamentation*, *Encomiastick*, *Panegyrick*, *Soterick*, *Lyrick*, *Pastoral*, &c. Others from the Manner of Narration; as *Exegetick*, which relates a Thing under the Author's own Person, *Dramatick* and *Epick*.

The *APOBATERION*, among the Antients, was a farewell Speech, or Poem, made by a Person on his Departure out of his own Country, or some other Place where he had been kindly received and entertained.

Such is that of *Aeneas* to *Helenus*, and *Andromache*, *En. lib. III.*

The *EPILATERION*, is a poetical Composition in Use among the antient *Greeks*. When any Person of Condition and Quality returned home after a long Absence or Journey, into another Country, he called together his Friends and Fellow-Citizens, and made them a Speech, or rehearsed them a Copy of Verses, wherein he returned solemn Thanks to the immortal Gods for his happy Return, and ended with an Address, by way of Compliment, to his Fellow-Citizens.

These Verses made what the *Greeks* call *ἐπιβόησιον*, *Epilaterium*, of *ἐπιβόη*, *I go abroad*.

The *EPINICION*, was a Poem or Composition, on occasion of a Victory obtained. *Scaliger* treats expressly of the *Epinicion*, in his *Poeticks. l. 1. c. 44.*

The *EPITHALAMIUM*, is a nuptial Song, or a Composition, usually in Verse, on Occasion of a Marriage between two Persons of Eminence.

The Topics it chiefly consists on, are the Praises of Matrimony, and of the married Couple; with the Pomp and Order of the Marriage Solemnity: It concludes with Prayers to the Gods for their Prosperity, their happy Offspring, &c.—*Catullus* exceeded all Antiquity in his *Epithalamiums*; and the Chevalier *Marino* all the Moderns.

But all these and all those which follow are not properly to be called Poems, and do not all belong to the grand Poetry; since of all Pieces of Poetry, the *Epick* and *Dramatick* deserve that Name by way of Eminence.

The *EPICK*, is an heroic Poem, or a Poem reciting some great and signal Transaction of a Hero; called also *Epopeia*.

Such are the *Iliad* and *Odysee* of *Homer*, the *Aeneid* of *Virgil*, the *Jerusalem* of *Tasso*, and the *Paradise Lost* of *Milton*; which are the principal Poems of the *Epick* Kind.

An *epick Poem*, according to *Sir R. Blackmore*, is a probable marvellous Narration of an important Enter-

prize, or great Sufferings of some illustrious Person, related with Dignity, in Verse of the sublime Style, to give Delight and Instruction.

The *epick Poem* is more accurately and scientifically defined by *Bossu*, a Discourse invented with Art, to form the Manners, by Instructions disguised under the Allegory of an important Action, related in Verse, in a probable, entertaining and surprizing Manner.

The *epick Poem* is distinguished from *Comedy*, in that the Action of the latter is not important, nor is related by the Poet, but acted by the Persons introduced for that Purpose; which Circumstance likewise distinguishes it from *Tragedy*.

Nor is it a philosophical Poem, as that of *Lucretius*, or the Creation of *Sir R. Blackmore*; nor a Treatise of Agriculture, or the like, as the *Georgics* of *Virgil*; those Poems not being intended to form the Manners: Besides, that the Instructions they contained are naked, simple, and direct, without any Disguise or Allegory. Which second Circumstance likewise distinguishes it from a Treatise of Morality, wrote in Verse: Or a simple History in Verse, as the *Pharsalia* of *Lucan*; the *Punick War* of *Silius*; or the *Civil Wars* of *Sam. Daniel*: Add, that its being confined to one important Action, distinguishes it from a Poem which relates all the Actions of a Person's Life; as the *Theſeid* and *Achilleid* of *Statius*, which are what we properly call *heroick Poems*.

M. de la Motte, indeed, in his Controversy with *Madam Dacier*, on the Subject of *Homer*, maintains, that the whole Life of a Hero may justly be made the Subject of an *epick Poem*; and even that the *Lutrin* of *M. Boileau*, might pass for an *epick Poem*: But he seemed afterwards to return to the common Sentiment. In effect, the Question is not as to the Sense, which may be annexed to the Words *epick Poem*, but the Sense which Custom has actually annexed to them.

If we had only regard to the Etymology of the Word *epick* (of *επος*, *Verse*, *Poetry*, for *επω*, *dico*, *I speak*, *relate*;) all Poems wherein the Poet speaks, or rehearses Things himself, without making the Persons speak, except at second Hand, as he relates what they spoke on this and that Occasion, would be *epick Poems*; and so there is not an *Epigram*, *Sonnet*, or *Madrigal*, but would come under this Denomination. But this were wild.

In effect, the Term *epick Poem*, is only attributed to a Composition, whose Subject is great, instructive, and serious; that only comprehends one single principal Event to which all the rest refer; which principal Action is to be terminated in a certain Space of Time, ordinarily about a Year. It is true all this is arbitrary; but the Sense of all Words is so too: And in Matters of Language, we must be guided by Custom.

If *M. de la Motte* had only pretended, that one might make a fine instructive Poem on the whole Life of a Hero; or an agreeable and diverting Poem, on some humorous Adventure; all the World would have been of his Side. But it is enough that Custom has not thought good to apply the Term *Epick*, either to Subjects of too much Extent, and that are stuffed with too many Incidents no ways connected together; nor to burlesque Poems, as the *Batrachomyomachia* of *Homer*; the *Secchia Rapita* of *Tassoni*; the *Desaite de Dulet*; the *Lutrin* of *Boileau*; the *Hudibras* of *Butler*; the *Rape of the Lock* of *Pope*; or the *Dispensary* of *Dr. Garth*.

The *Epic Poem* then, as appears from what was above observed, bears a Relation, or Analogy, to four Things; History, Morality, Fable, and Poetry.

To *History*, as both of them relate one or more Actions; but then the Actions of History are singular: So that the *Epopeia* is no History, nor Kind of History.

To *Moral Philosophy*, as both of them consist of Instructions for forming the Manners; but the Action and Allegories distinguish it herefrom.

But it relates entirely to Poetry and Fable, as being strictly a Poem, and a Fable.

The Nature of the *Epic Poem* is finely drawn by the great Critick abovementioned: The *Epic Poets*, says *Father Bossu*, have done thus with regard to Morality, which the ancient Heathen Divines did with regard to the Divinity. The too great Diversity of divine Actions and Perfections, so very disproportionate to our Com-

Comprehension, obliged the latter to divide a single Idea of a simple Essence, God, into several Persons; to whom they attributed several Names, *Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, &c.*

And, on the contrary, the Nature of moral Philosophy, which never prescribes Rules for particular Things, led the Poets to collect into one single Idea, one and the same Person, and one apparently singular Action, whatever of that Kind was found in different Persons, and different Actions.

Thus *Aristotle*, Ου σοφιστικῆς η Ποιησις ονομαζια, &c. *Poetry*, says he, teaches moral Philosophy, not by relating only, in Manner of an Historian, what *Alcibiades*, for Instance, did or suffer'd; but by proposing what some Person, named as the Poet thinks fit; would, probably, or necessarily have done on the like Occasion. And thus it is that he shews either the unhappy Consequences usually attending imprudent Schemes or ill Actions; or the Reward of good Actions, and the Satisfaction resulting from a Design laid in Virtue, and conducted with Prudence. So that the *Epick* Poem, according to *Aristotle's* Sentiment, the Persons and Actions however named, are all feigned, allegorical and universal, not historical and singular.

But the Poets thus taking on them the Office of moral Philosophers, did not cease to be Divines. On the contrary, their Morality itself frequently obliges them to introduce the Deity in their Works; as the Knowledge, Fear, and Love of God, are the first, and most solid Foundations of all Morality. The Presence of the Divinity, and the Share so august a Personage was supposed to have in the Action, obliged the Poet to make the Action great and important, and to have it transacted by Kings and Princes. The same, likewise, obliged them to think and speak in a Manner elevated above the common Pitch of Men; and equal, in some Measure, to the Dignity of the divine Persons introduced. To which End serves the poetick and figurative Language, with the Majesty of heroick Verse. Add, that as so much of the divine and miraculous might ruin the Probability, they were hereby obliged to have Recourse to several Rules to maintain the same.

Thus much the Poets were driven to by the Substance of the Things they had chose, for the Matter of their Poems and Instructions. The Manner of delivering them usefully and methodically, obliged them to several other Rules.

The *Epick* Poem is intended more for the Manners and Habits, than for the Passions. These latter rise all at once, and their Violence is but of short Duration; but the Habits are more calm and impressed, or quitted more leisurely. Consequently the *Epick* Action could not be included in the Space of a Day, as that of a theatrical. A longer Time was necessary than is required for a Tragedy, which is altogether for the Passions.

This Distinction has introduced a World of Difference between Tragedy and *Epick Poetry*. The tragick Violence requires a more lively and animated Representation, than a mere Recital. Accordingly it is wholly thrown into Action, and the Poet never speaks at all, as he does in the *Epopœia*, where there are no Actors.

The Criticks lay down four Qualifications, as necessary to the *Epick* and Tragick Action. The first *Unity*; the second *Integrity*; the third *Importance*; and the fourth *Duration*; to which some add a fifth, *Integrity*.

The *Unity* of the *Epick* Action, *M. Dacier* observes, does not consist in the *Unity* of the Hero, or in the *Unity* of his Character and Manner. Though these be Circumstances necessary thereto. The *Unity of Action* requires that there be but one principal Action, of which all the rest are to be Incidents or Dependencies.

F. Bossu assigns three Things requisite thereto. The first, that no Episode be used, but what is fetched from the Plan and Ground of the Action, and which is a natural Member of that Body: The second, that these Episodes and Members be well connected with each other: The third is not to finish any Episode, so as it may appear a whole Action; but to let each be always seen in its Quality of Member of the Body and an unfinished Part.

The same excellent Critick examines the *Aeneid*, *Iliad*, and *Odysee*; with Respect to these Rules, and

finds them strictly observed. Indeed it was necessary, in the Conduct of those divine Poems, that he took the Liberty of the Rules themselves. Instances wherein these Rules are all neglected, he gives us in the *Stœvius's* *Second*.

As for the *Unity* of Time it is not very well established; for there is no fixing the Time of the Duration of an *Epick* Poem; in Regard, the warmer and more violent the Action is, the less must be its Continuance. Whence it is that the *Iliad*, representing the Anger of *Achilles*, only contains forty-seven Days at most; whereas the Action of the *Odysee*, holds eight Years and a half; and that of the *Aeneid* almost seven Years.

But the Length of the Poem *Aristotle* gives us a Rule for; which is, that it be such, as it may be read out in one Day, pretending, that if it exceeds that Compass, the Sight will be bewilder'd in it, and that one cannot see the End, without having lost the Idea of the Beginning.

As to the Importance of the *Epick* Action, there are two Ways of providing for it: The first by the Dignity and Importance of the Persons. This Way alone *Homer* makes use of; there being otherwise nothing great and important in his Models, but what might have happen'd to ordinary Persons. The second by the Importance of the Action itself, such as the Establishment or Downfall of a Religion, or a State; which is *Virgil's* Action, and in which he has much the Advantage of *Homer*.

Bossu mentions a third Way of making the Action important, *viz.* by giving a higher Idea of the Personages, than what the Reader conceives of all that is great among Men.—This is done by comparing the Men of the Poem with the Men of the present Time.

The Action of the *Epick Poetry* is like that of the Drama, susceptible of *Oratorical Narration*, which constitutes its Species; the Qualities thereof are, that it be agreeable, probable, moving, surprizing, and active.

Horace speaks of the *Utile* and *Dulce*, as on the same Footing. *Bossu* looks on the *Utile*, as an essential Property; and the *Dulce* as no more than an additional Quality.

Boileau gives the following Rules for the *Epick Poem*.

1. He advises the Poet to chuse a Hero, deserving the Attention of the Reader, and capable to flatter his Curiosity, and engage him to proceed further, without being tired of reading; such a Hero, as his great Valour, rare Virtues, and even his Imperfections, may deserve to be admired; and high Feats worthy of being heard; such as *Alexander, Caesar, &c.* And not such as *Polynice* and his perfidious Brother, for one is soon tired with the Deeds of a common Conqueror.

2. He forewarns him against loading his Subject with too many Incidents; since often, says he, a too great Abundance, impoverish the Matter.

3. He ought to be lively and quick in his Narrations; rich and pompous in his Descriptions; without ever introducing into them low or mean Circumstances.

4. The Beginning of his Poem should be simple, and without Affectation; without promising more at first than he can perform in the Sequel.

5. His Work must be diversified with a great Number of Figures; mixing, as we have already observed, the agreeable with the useful; since a too tedious, and heavy sublime, is always hateful.

The *DRAMA* is a Piece or Poem, composed for the Stage.

Our *Drama's* are *Tragedies* and *Comedies*.

The *primary Parts* of the *Drama*, as divided by the Antients, are the *Protagis, Epitasis, Catastrophe, and Catastrophe*.

The *secondary Parts* are the *Acts* and *Scenes*.

The *necessary Parts* are the *Argument or Summary, the Prologue, Chorus, Mimes, Satira, and Scholium*.

Lastly, the *Epilogue*, which pointed out the Use of the Piece, or conveyed some other Notice to the Audience, in the Poet's Name.

Now let's explain every one of those Parts in particular, beginning by the *primary Parts*.

The *Protagis*, in the antient Drama, was the first Part of a comick and tragick Piece; wherein the several Persons of the Play are shewn; their Characters and Manners intimated, and the Action, which is to make the Subject of the Piece, proposed, and entered upon.

The antient *Protasis* might go about as far as our two first Acts. — Where the *Protasis* ended, the *Epitasis* commenced.

The *Epitasis*, was the second Part or Division of a Dramatick Poem; wherein the Plot or Action propos'd, and enter'd upon in the first Part or *Protasis*, was carried on, heighten'd, warmed, and worked upon, till it arriv'd at its State or Height, called the *Catastasis*.

The *Catastasis*, was the third Part of the antient Drama; being that wherein the Intrigue or Action set on Foot on the *Epitasis*, is supported, carried on, and heighten'd, till it be ripe for the unravelling in the *Catastrophe*.

The *Catastrophe* made the fourth and last Part in the antient Drama; or that immediately succeeding the *Catastasis*.

The *Catastrophe* is the Change or Revolution of a Dramatick Poem; or the Turn which unravels the Intrigue, and terminates the Piece.

The *Catastrophe* is either *simple* or *implex*, whence also the Fable and Action are denominated.

In the first there is no Change in the State of the principal Persons, nor any Discovery or Unravelling; the Plot being only a mere Passage out of Agitation to Quiet and Repose. This *Catastrophe* is rather accommodated to the Nature of the Epopœia, than of Tragedy. Indeed we meet with it in some of the Antients, but it is out of Doors among the Moderns. In the second, the principal Person undergoes a Change of Fortune, sometimes by Means of a Discovery, and sometimes without.

The Qualifications of this Change, or Peripetia are, that it be probable and necessary: In order to be probable, it is required it be the natural Result or Effect of the foregoing Actions, *i. e.* it must spring from the Subject itself, or take its Rise from the Incidents; and not be introduced merely to serve a Turn. The Discovery in the *Catastrophe* must have the same Qualifications as the *Catastrophe* itself, whereas it is a principal Part: It must be both probable and necessary. To be probable, it must spring out of the Subject itself; not be effected by Means of Marks, or Tokens, Rings, Bracelets, or by a mere Recollection, as is frequently done both by the Antients and Moderns. To be necessary, it must never leave the Persons it concerns, in the same Sentiments they had before, but still produce either Love or Hatred, &c. Sometimes the Change consists in the Discovery; sometimes it follows at a Distance, and sometimes results immediately from it, which is the most beautiful Kind: And thus it is in *Œdipus*.

Dryden thinks a *Catastrophe*, resulting from a mere Change in the Sentiments, and Resolutions of a Person, without any farther Machinery, may be so managed as to become exceedingly beautiful, nay preferable to any other. It is a Dispute among the Criticks, whether the *Catastrophe* should always fall out happily and favourably on the Side of Virtue, or not? *i. e.* whether Virtue is always to be rewarded, and Vice punished in the *Catastrophe*? But the Reasons on the negative Side seem the strongest. Aristotle prefers a shocking *Catastrophe* to a happy one; in Regard the moving of Terror and Pity, which is the Aim of Tragedy, is better effected by the former than the latter.

Bossu divides the *Catastrophe*, at least, with Regard to the Epopœia, into the Unravelling or *Denouement*; and the *Achevement*, or finishing; the last of which he makes the Result of the first; and to consist in the Hero's Passage out of a State of Trouble and Agitation, to Rest and Quiet. This Period is but a Point, without Extent or Duration; in which it differs from the first, which comprehends every Thing after the Knot or Plot laid. He adds, that there are several Unravellings in the Piece; in regard there are several Knots which beget one another: The finishing is the End of the last Unravelling.

As to the secondary Parts, *viz.* *Acts* and *Scenes*.

The *Acts* are certain Divisions or principal Parts in a Dramatick Poem, contrived to give a Respite or breathing Time both to the Actors and Spectators.

In the Interval between the *Acts*, the Theatre remains empty, and without any Action visible to the Spectators; though it is supposed all the while there is one passing out of Sight.

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It is not, however, purely for the Sake of the Respite, that these Acts are observed; but to give Affairs a greater Degree of Probability, and render the Intrigue more affecting. For the Spectator, who sees the Action prepared, that is to pass in the Interval, cannot forbear acting in his Imagination, the Part of the absent Actors; by which Means he is the more agreeably surprized with a new Act coming upon the Stage, he sees the Effects of that Action, which before he could but guess at.

To this it may be added, that Authors contrive to have the most dry or difficult Parts of the Drama transacted between the Acts; that the Spectators may have no Notion of these, excepting what their Fancy presents them with at a Distance; and that nothing may appear upon the Stage but what is natural, probable, and entertaining.

The antient Greek Poets were acquainted with this Division of a Play into Acts; though their Episodes or Chorus's served almost the same Purpose.

It is true they consider'd their Pieces as consisting of those Parts or Divisions above-mention'd; but there were no real Divisions or Interruptions answering to them in the Representation.

It was the Romans who first introduced Acts into the Drama; and in Horace's Time the five Acts were grown into a Law, as appears by the Verse:

Neu brevior quinto; neu sit productior, Actu.

This Law stands unrepealed to this Day; though it seems to draw its Force from the Authority of Horace, rather than that of Reason, or Nature. — All Plays are held irregular, that have either more or less than five Acts.

Some indeed have asserted, that every just Action consists of five distinct Parts: And have undertaken to mark out the precise Share of the Action, which each of the five Acts ought to bear.

The first, say they, is to propose the Matter or Argument of the Fable, and to shew the principal Characters. — The second to bring the Affair or Business upon the Carpet. — The third, to furnish Obstacles and Difficulties. — The fourth either points a Remedy for those Difficulties, or finds new in the Attempt. — The fifth puts an End to all by a Discovery.

Be this as it will, some are of Opinion, that, on the Principles of that great Master of the Drama, Aristotle, we may have a just and regular Play, though only divided into three Acts.

The Acts are subdivided into *Scenes*.

A *SCENE*, is a Part or Division of a Dramatick Poem, determin'd by a new Actor's entering.

In most of our printed Plays, a new *Scene* is never expressed to begin, but when the Place is supposed to be changed by shifting or drawing the moveable *Scenes*; but this must be esteemed an Oversight, since on our Stage, the *Scene* is properly the Persons present at, or concerned in the Action of the Stage, at such Time. — Whenever, therefore, a new Actor appears, or an old one disappears, the Action is changed into other Hands, and therefore a new *Scene* then commences.

It is one of the Laws of the Stage, that the *Scenes* be well connected: That is, that one succeed another in such Manner, as that the Stage is never quite empty till the End of the Act.

The Antients did not allow of above three Persons on the Stage at the same Time, excepting in the Chorus's, where their Number was not limited: The Moderns have but little Regard to this Restriction.

As to the accessory Parts. — The ARGUMENT or *Summary*, was an Abridgment of the whole Play; which, at present, is almost out of Use.

The PROLOGUE is a Discourse addressed to the Audience, before the Drama or Play begins.

The original Intention of the *Prologue*, was to advertise the Audience of the Subject of the Piece, and to prepare them to enter more easily into the Action; and sometimes to make an Apology for the Poet.

This last Article seems to have almost excluded the two former in the English Drama; and to be in sole Possession of the *Prologue*.

The *Prologue* is of a much more antient Standing than the *Epilogue*. — The French have left off the Use of *Pro-*

logues; those few they now and then make, retaining still a great deal of the genuine Prologue; though a malicious and partial Author I have now before me, asserts falsely, that the *French Prologues*, are nothing but *Flourishes* and Harangues in Praise of the King, &c. tho' if it was, it is much more becoming a good Subject to praise the King than *abuse him*.

In the antient Theatre, the *Prologus* was properly the Actor who rehearsed the *Prologue*: The *Prologus* was esteemed one of the *Dramatis Personæ*, and never appeared in the Piece in any other Character: So that the Learned are surpris'd to find *Mercury* in *Plautus's Amphitruo*, speaking the *Prologue*, and yet acting a considerable Part in the Play afterwards.

The *Prologue*, therefore, among them, was a Part of the Piece; indeed not an essential, but, as already observed, an accessory Part.—With us the *Prologue* is no Part at all; but something entirely distinct and separate: With them the Drama was opened with the Appearance of the *Prologue*; with us it is not opened till after the *Prologus* is retired: With us, therefore, the Curtain is kept close till after the *Prologue*; with them it must have been withdrawn before.

Hence proceeds a still more considerable Difference in the Practice of the *Prologue*: For with the *English*, the *Prologus* speaks in his real or personal Character: It was *Mr. Booth*, or *Mrs. Oldfield* spoke, not *Cato* or *Andromache*: With them the *Prologus* spoke in his Dramatick Character, not as *Turpius* or *Attilius*, but as *Prologus*. With us, he directs his Speech to the Audience, considered as in a Play-House; to Pit, Box, and Gallery: With them, he ought in Propriety to have spoken as to a Chorus of By-standers, or Persons to be present at the real Action: But this being in good Measure inconsistent with the Design of the *Prologue*; their Persons spoke in their dramatick Capacity to the Audience in its personal Capacity; which was an Irregularity that either the good Fortune, or the good Sense of the Moderns, have freed them from.

They had three Kinds of *Prologues*; the first *ὑποθετικὸς*, wherein the Poet delivered the Argument of the Piece; the second *ὑπερετικὸς*, wherein the Poet recommended himself or his Piece to the People; the third *ἀντιφωνητικὸς*, wherein Objections were obviated, &c.

The CHORUS, was one, or more Persons, present on the Stage during the Representation, and supposed to be By-standers thereto, without any particular Share or Interest in the Action.

Tragedy in its Origin, *M. Dacier* observes, was no more than a single *Chorus*, who trod the Stage alone, and without any other Actors; singing Dithyrambicks, or Hymns in Honour of *Bacchus*.

Thespis, to relieve the *Chorus*, added an Actor, who rehearsed the Adventures of some of their Heroes. *Æschylus*, finding a single Person too dry an Entertainment, added a second; and at the same Time reduced the Singing of the *Chorus*, to make more room for the Recitation. Every Thing introduced between the four Songs of the *Chorus*, they called by the Term *Episodæ*; and these four Songs made the four Intervals, or Acts of the Piece.

But when once Tragedy began to be formed, those Recitations or *Episodes*, which at first were only intended as accessory Parts to give the *Chorus* a breathing Time, became now the principal Parts of the Tragedy: And whereas, before, they were taken from various Subjects, they were now all drawn from one and the same.

The *Chorus*, by Degrees, became inserted, and incorporated into the Action, to which it was only intended as an Addition or Ornament. Sometimes the *Chorus* was to speak, and then their Chief, whom they called *Coryphæus*, spoke in Behalf of all the rest: The Singing was performed by the whole Company; so that when the *Coryphæus* struck into a Song, the *Chorus* immediately joined him.

Besides the four Songs, which made the Division of the Piece, and which were managed by the *Chorus*, the *Chorus* sometimes also joined the Actors in the Course of the Representation, with their Complaints and Lamentations; on Occasion of any unhappy Accident that befel them.

But the proper Function of the *Chorus*, when Tragedy was formed, and that for which it seemed chiefly

retained, was to shew the Intervals of the Acts: While the Actors were behind the Scenes, the *Chorus* engaged the Spectators; their Songs usually turned on what was just exhibited; and was not to contain any Thing but what was suited to the Subject; and had a natural Connection with it: So that the *Chorus* concurred with the Actors for advancing the Action.

It is a Fault observed in *Euripides's* Tragedies, that his Choruses are detached from the Action, and not taken from the same Subject. There were some other Poets who to save the Pains of composing Chorus's, and adapting them to the Piece, contented themselves with invented Songs, which had no Relation to the Action. These foreign Chorus's were the less pardonable, as the Chorus was esteemed to act a Part in the Piece, and to represent the Spectators, who were looked on as interested therein; insomuch that the Chorus was not always to be mute, even in the Course of the Acts.

In the modern Tragedies the Chorus is laid aside, and the Fiddles supply its Place. *M. Dacier* looks on this Retranchment as of ill Consequence; and thinks it robs Tragedy of a great Part of its Lustre. He adds, that it is ridiculous to have a tragick Action broke, and interrupted by impertinent Flourishes from the Musick-Box: And to have the Spectators, who are supposed to be moved by the Representation, become all of a sudden calm and easy, break off at the Height of a Passion, and amuse themselves peaceably with a foreign Entertainment. The Re-establishment of the Chorus he judges necessary, not only for the Embellishment and Regularity of the Piece; but also it was one of its principal Functions, to redress and correct any Extravagancies that might fall from the Mouths of the Actors, when under any violent Passion, by prudent and virtuous Reflections.

That which occasioned the Suppression of the Chorus, was its being incompatible with certain Complots, and secret Deliberations of the Actors. For it is in no wise probable, that such Machinations should be carried on in the Eyes of Persons interested in the Action. As the Chorus therefore never went off the Stage, there seemed a Necessity of laying it aside, to give a greater Probability to these kind of Intrigues, which require Secrecy.

M. Dacier observes, there was a Chorus, or *Grex*, also in the antient Comedy; but this too is suppressed in the New; chiefly because made Use of to reprove Vices, by attacking Persons.

The Chorus in Comedy was at first no more than a single Person, who spoke in the antient Compositions for the Stage; the Poets by Degrees added to him another; then two, afterwards three, and at last more; so that the most antient Comedies had nothing but the Chorus.

Lastly, the *Epilogue*, is a Speech addressed to the Audience when the Play is over, by one of the principal Persons or Actors therein; containing usually some Reflections on certain Incidents in the Play, particularly those of the Parts of the Person who speaks it.

In the modern Tragedy, the *Epilogue* has usually somewhat of Pleasantry; intended, we suppose, to compose the Passions raised in the Course of the Representation, and send away the Audience in good Humour: Though how far that Design is good and laudable will bear some Dispute: An ingenious Author, in the *Spectator*, compares it to a merry Jig on the Organ, after a good Sermon, to wipe away any Impressions that might have been made thereby, and send the People away just as they came.

In effect, though the *Epilogue* in this Sense, may seem an Abuse, yet it has the Countenance of Antiquity: The *Romans* had something of the same Nature, though under another Name. Their *Exodium* was a kind of Farce, brought on the Stage when the Tragedy was over; *ut quiquid Lacrymarum ac Tristitiæ cepissent ex tragicis affectibus, hujus spectaculi risus detergeret*, says the Scholiast of *Juvenal*.

The *Epilogue* is but of modern Date, much later than the *Prologue*. Many indeed have taken the *Exodium* of the antient Greek Drama, for an *Epilogue*; by reason *Aristotle* defines it to be a Part rehearsed after the Chorus had sung for the last Time: But in Reality, it was of a quite different Nature. The *Exodium* was the last of the four Parts of the Tragedy, containing the unpavel-

ling and Catastrophe of the Plot, and answering to our last or fifth Act.

Having thus explained all the different Parts which enter the Composition of a *Tragedy* or *Comedy*, both ancient and modern, we'll examine next the whole Composition, beginning by the *Tragedy*.

The *TRAGEDY* is a Dramatick Poem, representing some signal Action performed by illustrious Persons, and which has frequently a fatal Issue or End.

Aristotle more scientifically defines *Tragedy*, the Imitation of one grave and entire Action, of a just Length, and which, without the Assistance of Narration, by raising of Terror and Compassion, refines and purges our Passions.

This Definition has given the Criticks some Perplexity, and *Corneille* declares, he cannot reconcile *Aristotle* with himself: The Instances *Aristotle* cites, he thinks ruin his own Definition. He even denies the purging our Passions to be the End of *Tragedy*.

Tragedy, in its Original, M. *Hedelin* observes, was only a Hymn sung in honour of *Bacchus* by several Persons, who, together, made a Chorus of Musick with Dances and Instruments.

As this was long and might fatigue the Singers, as well as tire the Audience, they bethought themselves to divide the Singing of the Chorus into several Parts, and to have certain Recitations in the Intervals, as already observed.

Accordingly *Thespis* first introduced a Person on the Stage with this View: *Æschyllus* finding one Person insufficient, introduced a second to entertain the Audience more agreeably by a Dialogue: He also cloathed his Persons more decently, and first put on them the Buskin.

The Persons who made these Recitations on the Scene, were called Actors; so that *Tragedy* at first was without Actors. And what they thus rehearsed, being Things added to the Singing of the Chorus, whereof they were no necessary Part, were called *Episodes*.

Sophocles found that two Persons were not enough for the Variety of Incidents, and therefore introduced a third. And here the *Greeks* seem to have stopped; at least it is very rare that they introduce four Speakers in the same Scene.

Tragedy and *Comedy*, were at first confounded with each other, but they were afterwards separated; and the Poets applied themselves to the cultivating of *Tragedy*, neglecting *Comedy*.

When *Tragedy* was got into a better Form, they changed the Measure of its Verse, and endeavoured to bring the Action within the Compass of a Day.

The several Parts of the modern *Tragedy*, are the *Act*, *Scene*, *Fable*, *Characters*, *Manners*, we have already explained the two first Parts, *viz.* the *Act* and the *Scene*; therefore we'll only take Notice of the other Parts, *viz.* the *Action*, *Fable*, &c.

The *ACTION*, in the *Tragedy*, requires the same four Qualifications, enumerated in that of the *Epick Poem*, *viz.* *Unity*, *Integrity*, *Importance*, and *Duration*.

In the *Drama*, there are three Unities to be observ'd; the *Unity of Action*, that of *Time*, and that of the *Place*.

The *Unity* of the Dramatick Action, consists, in *Tragedies*, in the *Unity* of the Danger; and, in *Comedies*, in that of the Intrigue; and this not only in the Plan of the *Fable*, but also in the *Fable* extended, and filled with *Episodes*.

The *Episodes* are to be worked in without corrupting the *Unity*, or forming a double Action; and the several Members are to be so connected together, as to be consistent with that Continuity of Action, so necessary to the Body, and which *Horace* prescribes, when he says, *Sit quodvis simplex dumtaxat & unum*.

To the *Unity of Time*, it is required in the *Drama*, that the Action be included in the Space of a Day.—*Aristotle* says expressly it must not exceed the Time the Sun employs in making one Revolution, which is a natural Day, under Pain of Irregularity: Some Criticks will even have it included in the Space of twelve Hours, or an artificial Day.

Indeed, the ancient tragick Poets, sometimes dispensed with this Rule, and the modern *English* ones, many of them disallow it: Few of them practise it.

As to the *Unity of Place*, and *Scene*, neither *Horace*

nor *Aristotle* gives us any Rules relating thereto.—It were to be wished, indeed, that what is presented to the Audience on the same Stage, which is never shifted, might be supposed to have passed in the same House, and the same Apartment. But as such a Constraint would cramp the Poet too much; and as such an Uniformity would suit very ill with Abundance of Subjects; it has been agreed, that what passes any where in the same Town or City shall be allowed for *Unity of Place*.—At least if two different Places be unavoidable; yet the Place is never to be changed in the same Act.

In order to the *Integrity of the Action*, it is necessary, according to *Aristotle*, that it have a Beginning, Middle, and End.—If the three Parts of a Whole, seem to be generally denoted by the Words *Beginning*, *Middle*, and *End*; *Bossu* interprets them more expressly, thus: The Causes and Designs of a Man's doing an *Action*, are the Beginning; the Effects of these Causes, and the Difficulties met withal in the Execution of those Designs, are the Middle of it; and the unravelling and extricating of those Difficulties, the End of the *Action*.

The Poet, says *Bossu*, should so begin his *Action*, that on one Hand, nothing should be wanting for the Understanding of what he afterwards delivers; and, on the other, that what thus begins, requires after it a necessary Consequence. The End is to be conducted after the like Manner, only with the two Conditions transposed; so that nothing be expected after it, and that what ends the Poem be a necessary Consequence of something that went before it. Lastly, the Beginning is to be joined to the End by a Middle, which is the Effect of something that went before it, and the Cause of what follows.

In the Causes of an *Action*, one may observe two opposite Designs; the first and principal is that of the Hero: The second comprehends all their Designs, who oppose the Pretension of the Hero. These opposite Causes do also produce opposite Effects, *viz.* the Endeavours of the Hero to accomplish his Design, and the Endeavours of those that are against it. As the Causes and Designs are the Beginning of the *Action*; so those contrary Endeavours are the Middle of it; and form a Difficulty, Plot, or Intrigue, which makes the greatest Part of the Poem.

The Solution or clearing up of this Difficulty, makes the Unravelling.

The Unravelling of the Plot, or Intrigue, may happen two Ways, either with a Discovery or without.

The several Effects which the Unravelling produce, and the different States to which it reduces the Persons, divides the *Action* into so many Kinds. If it changes the Fortune of the principal Person, it is said to be with a *Peripetia*; and the *Action* is denominated *implex*, or *mixed*: If there be no *Peripetia*, but the Unravelling be a mere passing from *Action* to Repose, the *Action* is *simple*.

The *FABLE* is used for the Plot of an *Epick* or *Dramatick Poem*; or the Action which makes the Subject of such Poem or Romance.

The *Fable*, according to *Aristotle*, is the principal Part, and, as it were, the Soul of a Poem. It must be consider'd as the first Foundation of the Composition; or the Principle which gives Life and Motion to all the Parts. In this Sense the *Fable* is defined, *A Discourse invented with Art, to form the Manners by Instructions disguised under the Allegory of an Action*.

The *Epick Fable*, according to *Bossu*, is confined to the rational Kind, *i. e.* the Actors and Persons are to be Gods and Men. And yet it admits of a deal of Latitude: It may be either grave, illustrious and important; or low and popular; either whole or defective; in Verse or in Prose, much episodified, or Brief; rehearsed by an Author, or represented by Actors on the Scene; all which are only so many Circumstances, which do not make any Alteration in the Nature and Essence of the *Fable*.

The Characters that specify the *Epick Fable*, are these: It is rational and probable; it imitates a whole, and an important Action; and it is long, and related in Verse. None of which Properties affect the Nature of the *Fable*; or make it less a *Fable* than those of *Æsop*.

The *Fable*, according to *Aristotle*, consists of two essential Parts, *viz.* Truth, as its Foundation; and Fiction which disguises the Truth, and gives to it the Form

Form of a *Fable*. The Truth is the Point of Morality intended to be inculcated; the Fiction is the Action, or Words the Instruction is covered under.

To make a Plot or *Fable*; the first Thing, according to the great Critick just mentioned, is to pitch on some moral Instruction to be exemplified.

The Fiction may be so disguised with the Truth of History, that there shall not appear any Fiction at all. To effect this the Poet looks back into History, for the Names of some Persons to whom the feigned Action either really or probably did happen; and relates it under those known Names, with Circumstances which do not change any Thing of the Ground of the *Fable*.

The CHARACTERS, is the *Epopeia* and *Drama*, is the Result of the Manners, or that which each Person has singular and peculiar in his Manners, whereby he is distinguished from others.

The poetical *Character*, *Bossu* observes, is not properly any Virtue, or Quality in particular; but a Composition of several mixed, and combined in various Degrees, according to the Occasions of the *Fable*, and the Unity of the Action. All the simple Qualities that enter this Compound, must not have the same Rank, nor be equal to each other: Since in that Case, one prevailing on one Occasion, and another on another, the *Character* will appear changeable; and the Poem, as well as the Hero, animated with several Souls.

There must therefore be one to reign over all the rest; and this must be found in every Part: Just as the same Hero, in several Paintings, should have the same Lines and Features, how different soever his Postures and Passions may be.

This first Quality, in *Homer's Achilles*, is Wrath; in *Ulysses* Dissimulation; and in *Virgil's Aeneas*, Mildness: Each of which may, by way of Eminence, be called the *Character* of these Heroes.

These are never to go alone, but always to be accompanied with others, to give them the greater Lustre, either by hiding their Defects, as in *Achilles*, whose Anger is palliated by a World of Courage: Or by making them center in some solid Virtue, as in *Ulysses*, whose Dissimulation makes a Part of his Prudence; and *Aeneas*, whose Mildness is chiefly employed in a Submission to the Will of the Gods.

These secondary Qualities of Courage, Prudence, and Submission, make the Goodness of the *Character* of those Heroes, and even of the Poems.

Bossu adds, that the Quality of Courage must always have a Share in the Quality of a Hero, to serve as a Support to the rest: The heroick *Character* therefore, he makes a compound of three Kinds of Qualities. Those of the first Kind are necessary and essential to the *Fable*; those of the second are the Supplements or Embellishments of the first; and Courage, which sustains the other two, makes the third.

The first, which is the chief, to be some universal Quality, to have Place on all Occasions, and to distinguish the Hero wherever he is found.

For the Unity of *Character*, we have *Horace's* express Command, *sit quodvis simplex, duntaxat & unum*. *Bossu* adds, that the *Character* is not less the Soul of the Hero and the whole Action, than the *Fable* is of the Poem; and of Consequence the Unity must be as exact in the one as the other: Which accordingly we find observed both by *Homer* and *Virgil*.

The Unity of *Character* is somewhat different from that of the Manners: In the latter, the Unity or Quality consists in not giving contrary Sentiments to the same Person; which is not sufficient to the Unity of the *Character*; but to this Method must be added, that the same Spirit must always appear on all Occasions, whether contrary or otherwise: Thus *Aeneas* shewing a deal of Goodness in the first Part of the Poem, and a World of Valour in the second, but without discovering any of his former Piety and Gentleness; there had been no Offence against the Evenness of the Manners, but to the Unity of the *Character* there had.

So that besides the Qualities, which have their particular Place on different Occasions, there must be one to have Place throughout, and to reign over all the others; without this there is no *Character*: As would be the Case, should a Poet give his Hero the Piety of *Aeneas*,

and the Courage of *Achilles*; without considering the Severity of the one, and the Mildness of the other.

A Hero, it is true, may be made as brave as *Achilles*, as mild or pious as *Aeneas*, and if one will as prudent as *Ulysses*; but it would be a mere Chimera to imagine a Hero with the Courage of *Achilles*, the Piety of *Aeneas*, and the Prudence of *Ulysses* at the same Time.

The Unity of *Character* is not only to be kept in the Hero, and the several other Persons of the Piece, but also in that of the Poem itself: That is, all the *Characters*, how opposite soever, must center and reunite in that of the Hero; and be so swayed by it, as that this alone may seem to govern throughout the whole. Thus *Homer* makes Wrath prevail throughout the whole *Iliad*; and Artifice and Dissimulation throughout the *Odyssey*: The Hero's *Character* is perceived every where, has its full Swing, and is favoured by the Similitude of the *Characters*, of some of the other Persons. *Virgil* has a great Difficulty to grapple with to preserve this Unity; in regard of the direct Opposition between the Humours of his Hero, and those of some other of his Persons, as *Turnus*, *Mezentius*, *Dido*, &c. he therefore takes Care not to carry those opposite *Characters* to their full Length, but moderates and restrains them: And as that Moderation could not flow naturally from the Persons themselves, it is produced either by some Passion, as in *Dido*; or some Dependence, as in *Turnus* and *Mezentius*. To this Artifice he adds *Episodes*, accommodated to the general *Character*, by which he interrupts the particular Actions which require an opposite *Character*.

Claudian's Conduct, in this Respect, is unpardonable; from the horrible *Characters* of *Pluto* and the Furies, with all the Terrors of Hell, he passes to the Gaiety and Pleasures of the Graces, gilded Palaces, flowery Fields, &c. He has as many different prevailing *Characters* in his three Books, as *Homer* and *Virgil* in their sixty.

The MANNERS, denotes the Inclinations, Genius, and Humour, which the Poet gives to his Persons, and whereby he distinguishes his *Character*.

Aristotle defines *Manners*, to be that which discovers the Inclination of him who speaks, and shews what he will resolve upon, or what reject, before he has actually determined: Whence he concludes, that *Manners* are not always, and in all Kinds of Discourses: *Non quaelibet Oratio est morata*.

One Instance will make this Definition clear. In the First Book of *Virgil*, *Aeneas* is represented extremely pious, and determined to execute the Will of the Gods at all Adventures. In the Fourth Book, he has a difficult Choice proposed; being engaged, on the one hand, out of a Principle of Love, Gratitude, and Honour, not to quit *Dido*; and having, on the other hand, an express Order from the Gods to depart for *Italy*.—Now before it appears on which Side he has determined, what he has before said, should shew his Will and Inclinations, and which Party he will take.—And these preceding Discourses, which discover his future Resolution, make what we call the *Poetical Manners*.

Those make it past Doubt he will abandon *Dido*, to obey the Gods: This he does in Effect; the *Manners* therefore are good, and well conducted.—Had he disobeyed the Orders of *Jupiter*, to stay with *Dido*, the *Manners* had been ill; in regard they would have foretold a Resolution contrary to what he was really to take.—But had there been nothing to make us foresee any Resolution of *Aeneas* at all, neither that which he actually took, nor the contrary, in that Case there had been no *Manners* at all.

It is the *Manners*, as before observed, that distinguish the *Characters*: And unless the *Manners* be well expressed, we shall never be acquainted with the Persons at all; nor consequently shall once be either terrified with foreseeing their Dangers, nor melted into Pity by seeing their Sufferings.

The *Manners* should have four Qualities; they should be good, like, suitable, and equal.

The *Manners* are good when they are well marked, or expressed; that is, when the Discourse of the Persons makes us clearly and distinctly see their Inclinations, and what good or evil Resolutions they will take.—Likeness of *Manners* only relates to known and publick Persons, whose *Characters* are in History, with which the Poet

Poetick Characters must agree; that is, the Poet must not give a Person any Quality contrary to any of those which History has given him. And here it may be observed, that the evil Qualities given to Princes and great Men, ought to be omitted by the Poets, if they be contrary to the Character of a Prince, &c. but the Virtues opposite to those known Vices ought not to be imposed, by making him generous and liberal in the Poem, who was avaricious in the History.

The *Manners* must likewise be suitable; that is, they must be agreeable to the Age, Sex, Rank, Climate, and Condition of the Person that has them. Again, the *Manners* must be *equal*; that is, they must be constant, or consistent through the whole Character; or the Variety or Inequality of the *Manners*, as in Nature, so in the *Drama* must be equal. The Fearful must never be brave, nor the Brave timorous; the Avaricious must never be liberal, nor *vice versa*. In this Part *Shakespeare's* *Manners* are admirable.

Besides these four Qualities above-mentioned, there is a fifth essential to their Beauty; which is, that they be necessary, that is, that no vicious Quality, or Inclination, be given to any poetick Person, unless it appears to be absolutely necessary, or requisite to the carrying on of the Action.

Note, That what I have said of the *Fable*, *Characters* and *Manner*, regards both the Epick Poem and the Drama.

Note, also, That *Boileau* gives the following Rules for the *Tragedy*.

1. He will have the Poet propose to himself, for the chief and principal End of his Piece, the awaking gently the most noble of our Passions, by moving gently the Heart; or to speak, in a more concise Manner, he must use all his best Endeavours to please and move; otherwise it is in vain, that he has wrote his Piece according to the best Rules of the Art, and in the most elegant Manner.

2. The first Verses of the Piece should give an Idea of the Subject, without keeping the Mind of the Audience in Suspence, by a long Rigmarole of Verses, which is much more fatiguing than entertaining; since the Subject is never too soon explained.

3. The Scene should be fixed and marked, *i. e.* a single Fact done in one Place, and in one Day, fill the Theatre, from the Beginning to the End of the Piece.

4. Nothing incredible should be offered to the Spectator, since a surprizing Absurdity has no Charms; and the Mind is never moved by what it cannot believe.

5. What is not to be seen must be told, though it would be perhaps more intelligible if it was exposed to our Sight; but there are Objects which the judicious Art must offer to the Ear, and hide from the Sight.

6. The Trouble increasing always from Scene to Scene, being arrived to its Period, must be easily unfolded; for the Mind is never more effectually touched, than when in a Subject diversified with Intrigues, the Truth of a Secret, known all on a sudden, changes all, and gives to the whole an unforeseen Face.

7. If the Poet wants to represent Heroes susceptible of Love, he must not paint them with the same Colours he would do a Shepherd subject to the same Passion; for *Achilles* must love in another Manner than *Thyrsis* does. He must avoid, as a great Imperfection, the ridiculous Love, and other low Passions, of the Heroes of Romances; tho' he may sometimes allow some Weakness to the most noble Hearts. *Achilles* would displease, was he less hot and passionate; he pleases when he is seen shedding Tears for an Affront, at those small Imperfections, marked in his Picture, the Mind discovers easily Nature's Weakness. Let *Agamemnon* be proud, haughty, and interested, and *Aeneas* religious; preserving to each his proper Character, and studying the Manners of the Ages and Countries, never giving the Air and Genius of a Nation to another, particularly of the Moderns to the Antients.

The *English* confess that they received the first Plan of their Drama from the *French*, among whom it had its first Rise towards the End of the Reign of *Charles V.* under the Title of *Chant-Royal*, which consisted of Pieces in Verse, composed in Honour of the Virgin, or some

of the Saints, and sung on the Stage: They were called by the Title of *Chant-Royal*, because the Subject was given by the King of the Year, or the Person who had bore away the Prize the Year preceding.

The Humour of these Pieces ran wonderfully among the People, insomuch that in a little Time there were formed several Societies, who began to vie with each other: One of these, to engage the Town from the rest, began to entertain it with various Incidents or Episodes, which they distributed into *Acts*, *Scenes*, and as many different Persons as were necessary for the Representation. Their first Essay was in the Bourg St. *Maur*, and their Subject the Passion of our Saviour. The Prevot of *Paris* prohibiting their continuing of it, they made Application to Court; and to render it the more favourable to them, erected themselves into a Friary or Fraternity, under the Title of the *Brothers of the Passion*, which Title has given some Occasion to suspect them to have been an Order of Religious.

The King on seeing and approving some of their Pieces, granted them Letters of Establishment in 1402; upon which they built a Theatre, and for an Age and a half acted none but grave Pieces, which they called *Moralities*; till the People growing weary of them, they began to intermix Farces or Interludes taken from prophane Subjects.

This Mixture of Farce and Religion displeasing many, they were established by an Arret of Parliament in 1548, on Condition of their acting none but prophane, lawful, and decent Subjects, without intermeddling with any of the Mysteries of Religion; and thus were the Brothers of the Passion despoiled of their religious Character: Upon which they mounted the Stage no more in Person, but brought up a new Set of Comedians, who acted under their Direction.

Thus was the Drama established, and on this Foundation arrived in *England*. In process of Time as it was improved, it became divided into two Branches, agreeable to the Practice of the Ancients, and the Nature of Things, *viz.* into *Tragedy*, and *Comedy*, properly so called; and this last again was subdivided into pure *Comedy* and *Farce*.

The *COMEDY*, in its proper Sense, is a dramatick Piece representing some agreeable and diverting Transaction: Or an allegorical Representation of something in private Life; for the Amusement and Instruction of the Spectator. In this Sense *Comedy* is opposed to the *Tragedy*, the Subjects whereof are grave and violent, and Persons of the first Rank, as may be seen by what we have said on that Subject.

Scaliger defines *Comedy* a dramatick Poem, very busy, pleasant in the Conclusion, and written in a popular Style. *Aristotle* calls it an Imitation of the worst, or rather of the lowest Class of Persons, by way of Ridicule: This Definition *Corneille* finds Fault with, and maintains that the Actions of Kings themselves may enter *Comedy*, provided they be such as are not very momentous, nor attended with any considerable Danger. He adds, that a Poem, wherein the greatest Peril is the Loss of a Mistress, has no Right to any higher Appellation than that of *Comedy*: But then he makes a Distinction in *Comedies*; and dignifies those where great Personages are introduced, with the Epithet of *heroick Comedies*, to distinguish them from ordinary ones.

Mr. *Congreve* seems pretty much of the same Sentiment: He understands *Aristotle's* Definition as meant of the Workmen; on which Bottom it is sufficient to constitute a *Comedy*, that the Action represented be that of some ill Man brought on the Stage to be exposed.

M. *Dacier* is of a contrary Opinion: He maintains, that *Comedy* allows of nothing grave or serious, unless it be turn'd to Ridicule; and that Raillery and Ridicule are its only proper and genuine Characteristics: In which Opinion he is warmly seconded by Mr. *Dennis*.

Thus different are Criticks and comick Authors on the Nature of *Comedy*: Some distinguish it from *Tragedy* by the Lowness of the Subject, others by the ridiculous Light it is set in.

The accurate Father *Rossi* fixes the Notion of *Comedy* much better: According to that Critick, *Comedy* differs from *Tragedy* in this, that the comick Writer invents both the Names of his Persons, and the Action he represents

sents ; whereas the tragick Writers only invents the latter ; the former they are to take from History.

Upon the whole, *Comedy* may be defined an Image or Representation of the ordinary Life of Men : It exhibits their common Actions and Passions ; exposes, and ridicules their Failings, to preserve the Spectators from them, or to correct them. *Cicero* defines it the Imitation of Life, the Mirror of Custom, and the Image of Truth.

There is a Dispute among Criticks, whether a *Comedy* be a Poem or a mere Conversation ? They who maintain the latter, do it on the Foot of this general Opinion, that a Poem is a Discourse in Verse : *F. Boffu* insists on the former, and shews, that as a *Comedy* has the Fable or Allegory, it has every Thing essential to *Poetry*.

Comedy and Tragedy were, as already observed, originally one and the same Thing ; having shewn their common Origin, when I spoke of Tragedy. *M. Boileau* says *Comedy* took its Rise at *Athens*, from the happy Issues or Conclusions of Tragedies. On this Principle, the Catastrophe should have been the proper Criterion, or distinguishing Mark between Tragedy and *Comedy* ; and all other Differences only accidental.

*Des succes Fortunes du Spectacle Tragique
Dans Athenes naquit la Comedie antique.*

After the grave and serious became separated from the ridiculous, and Tragedy and *Comedy* were become two distinct Arts ; People applied themselves to cultivate the former, and neglected the latter : So that *Comedy* continued in its Infancy with little Improvements, while Tragedy grew up to a perfect Art ; this once arrived at its Height, they began to think of cultivating *Comedy*.

With Regard to the various Changes and Revolutions *Comedy* has undergone, it is commonly distinguished into three Kinds, *viz.* the *antient*, wherein there was nothing feigned ; the *middle*, where the Subject was real, but the Names fictitious ; the *new*, where both Names and Things are fictitious.

The *antient* was the first in Use, when the supreme Power was in the Hands of the People ; and when, on that Account, the Poets were at their full Liberty to say what they pleased, and of whom they pleased ; by Name to rail at People in Authority, and openly charge Magistrates with Crimes ; sparing no Age, Sex, or Quality.

This is very observable in the *Frogs*, and the *Clouds* of *Aristophanes* ; where it is to be noted, that though the railing Part was occasionally distributed among all the Actors, yet the chief was laid on the Chorus.

When the *Athenian* Liberties became sunk up in the Tyranny of a few, it was no longer safe for the Poets to use their old License. Men of Office being now to be screened from Reproach. The Chorus, therefore, became useless, and was therefore dropped ; and thence commenced what we call *Comedia media*, *μεση*, or the *middle Comedy*.

Under this, the Poets were not allowed to name the Persons, and therefore Names were to be invented : But then the Persons were so well pointed out, that it was no difficult Matter to know them.

At length, however, they were obliged to repress even this License : And this Reform gave Occasion to the *new Comedy* ; which only brought upon the Stage feigned Adventures, and imaginary Names.

This last Kind alone was received among the *Romans* ; who yet made a new Subdivision thereof, into *antient*, *middle*, and *new* ; according to the various Periods of the Common-wealth. Among the *antient Comedies* were ranked those of *Livius Andronicus* ; among the *middle*, those of *Pacuvius* ; and among the *new* ones, those of *Terence*.

Comedy, as well as Tragedy, has its essential, and its integrant Parts. Its essential Parts, in the Language of the *Antients*, are the *Protagis*, *Epitasis*, *Catastasis*, and *Catastrophe*, heretofore explained.

The *Protagis*, as already observed, is the Beginning or Opening ; where the Subject is just enter'd upon, the Character of the Persons shewn, and the Interest or Part each has in the Action.

In the *Epitasis*, the Intrigues begin : They are carried on, and heighten'd in the *Catastasis*, and unravelled in the *Catastrophe*.

The integrant Parts are the five Acts into which the

Comedy is divided, agreeable to that Precept of *Horace* :

Neu minor quinto neu sit productior actus.

The Acts are divided into Scenes ; the Number whereof is not fixed, either by Reason or Experience, but depends on the Business to be done in each Act, and the Number of Persons to be employed.

Among the *antient Romans*, *Comedies* were distinguished according to the Quality of the Persons represented, and the Dress they wore, into *Logatae*, *Pretextae*, *Tabernariae* ; which last were those where the Scene lay in Colleges, or among People of the lowest Rank, agreeing pretty nearly with our Farces.

In the Representation, *Comedy* was distinguished from Tragedy by the Sack wore in the former ; and the Buskin in the latter.

Among us, *Comedy* is distinguished from Farce, in that the former represents Nature as she is ; the other distorts or overcharges her. They both paint from the Life, but with different Views : The one to make Nature known ; the other to make it ridiculous.

Boileau gives the following Rules for the *Comedy*.

1. He will have Nature to be the whole Study of an Author who writes *Comedies* ; and says, that whoever sees very well Man ; and with a profound Genius has penetrated the Bottom of so many hidden Hearts ; who knows very well what a Prodigal, an avaricious, an honest Man, a Coxcomb, a jealous Man, &c. are, can bring them on the Stage, and make them act and speak before us.

2. He will have the Representations true, without Disguise, and painted with the most lively Colours.

3. He forewarns the Author against making his Actors speak at Random, a young Man like an old Man, or *vice versa*.

4. He advises him to study the Court, and know the Town ; both being always fertile in Models.

5. He says that the Comick being an Enemy of Sighs and Tears ; does not admit in its Verses tragical Pains ; neither does it allow, that an Actor with obscene Expressions should divert the Mob ; but only joke in a noble Manner.

6. This Plot well formed, must unravel itself easily ; lest the Action, for Want of being guided by Reason, should lose itself in an empty Scene.

7. His Discourses every where fruitful in witty Sayings, must be full of Passions curiously handled ; and the Scenes always well concerted together.

8. He must avoid all Sorts of Jokes, which are contrary to good Sense, and never deviates from Nature.

9. He concludes by saying, that he loves on the Theatre an agreeable Author, who, without disgracing himself to the Eyes of the Spectators, pleases by Reason alone.

A FARCE was originally a Droll, Petti-Shew, or Entertainment, exhibited by Charletans, and their Buffoons in the open Street, to gather the Crowd together.

At present, Farce is of a little more Dignity. It is removed from the Street to the Theatre ; and instead of being perform'd by Jack-Puddings to amuse the Rabble, is now acted by our Comedians, and become the Entertainment of the politest Audiences.

The Poets have reformed the Wildness of the primitive Farces ; and brought them to the Taste and Manner of Comedy. The Difference between the two on our Stage, is, that the latter keeps to Nature and Probability ; and in order to that, is confined to certain Laws, Unities, &c. prescribed by the *antient* Criticks.

The former disallows of all Laws, or rather lets them aside on Occasion. Its End is purely to please or make merry : And it sticks at nothing which may contribute thereto, however wild and extravagant. Hence the Dialogue is usually low, the Persons of inferior Rank, the Fable or Action trivial or ridiculous ; and Nature, and Truth every where heighten'd and exaggerated to afford the more palpable Ridicule.

There is another Kind of Dramatick Piece, called *Tragi-Comedy*, representing some Action, passed among eminent Persons, the Event whereof is not unhappy or bloody, and wherein is sometimes admitted a Mixture of less serious Characters.

The *Antients*, *Mr. Dacier* observes, knew nothing of such

such Compositions, wherein the Serious and Comick are blended; nor does the Epithet *M. Corneille* gives them of heroick Comedies, excuse their Irregularity.

Their Foundation is certainly bad; for, endeavouring both to make us laugh and cry in their Turns, they endeavour at contrary Emotions, which the Heart can never undergo; every Thing that disposes for the one indisposing for the other.

The *Tragi-comedy* was formerly very common on the *English Stage*: Scarce such a Thing in the 17th Century as a pure Tragedy, without a Spice of Comedy or Farce to make the People laugh. Now, that the Stage and our Tastes are brought nearer to the Model of Nature, and the Ancients, the *Tragi-comedy* is disused.

The *Tragi-comedy* is the only Case, wherein Comedy is allowed to introduce Kings and Heroes.

Note, That Tragedies, Comedies, Farces, &c. are represented in a Theatre, by Persons who have seldom any other Occupation, called Actors. We have seen under the Article Tragedy, how they have been introduced by Degrees on the Stage. A Play owes the greatest Part of its Success to the Goodness of the Actors; which Goodness consists in a distinct Pronunciation and Articulation, an agreeable Voice, and the Regularity of the Gestures; which must be natural, without the least Affectation, and very well appropriated to the Expression of the Passions, avoiding above all Things a Tautology, and a certain whining or canting Tone, which is but too common on the Stage.

Note, also, That a *Theater* or *Theatre*, among the Ancients, was a publick Edifice, for the exhibiting of Scenick Spectacles, or Shews to the People. Under the Word *Theater* was comprehended not only the Eminence whereon the Actors appeared, and the Action passed; but also the whole Area, or Extent of the Place common to the Actors and Spectators. In this Sense the *Theater* was a Building encompassed with Portico's, and furnished with Seats of Stone disposed in Semi-circles, and ascending gradually over one another; which encompassed a Space called the *Orchestra*, in the Front whereof was the *Proscenium* or *Pulpitum*, whereon the Actors performed, and which is what we properly call the *Theater*, or Stage. On the *Proscenium* stood the Scene, a large Front, adorned with Orders of Architecture, behind which was the *Poscenium*, or Place where the Actors made themselves ready, retired, &c. so that the *Scena*, in its full Extent, comprehended all the Parts belonging to the Actors. In the *Greek Theatres* the *Orchestra* made a Part of the *Scena*; but in the *Roman Theatres*, none of the Actors ever descended into the *Orchestra*; which was taken up by the Seats of the Senators. At *Athens* are still seen the Remains of the Temple of *Bacchus*, which was the first *Theatre* in the World, and a Master-piece of Architecture. All *Theatres* were consecrated to *Venus* and *Bacchus*.

Theatre, among the Moderns, more particularly denotes the Stage, or Place whereon the Drama or Play is exhibited; answering to the *Proscenium* of the Ancients. In its full Latitude, however, the *Theatre* includes the whole Playhouse: In which Sense it is a spacious Room or Hall, Part whereof is taken up by the *Scena*, which comprehends the Stage, the *Decorations* and the Machines; and the rest distributed into a Space, called the *Pit*, or *Parterre*, which is covered with Seats, Boxes, &c. and terminated with an Elevation of one or two Galleries, disposed into Benches ascending over one another.

Having thus far explained all that is understood by *grand Poetry*, we'll proceed to *simple Poetry*, or *Verseification*, which consists in *Elegies*, *Satires*, *Odes*, *Songs*, *Pastorals*, *Epitaphs*, *Sonnets*, *Madrigals*, &c.

An *ELEGY*, is a mournful and plaintive Kind of Poem.

The first Inventor of the *Elegy* is not known: Some say it was one *Theocles* of *Naxos*, or, according to others, of *Eretria*, who, in the Heat of his Phrenzy first produced this Kind of Composition. But no Wonder we are in the Dark as to the Matter: *Horace* assures us it was a Point not settled among the Grammarians, even in his Time, who the Authors were.

*Quis tamen exiguus Elegos emiseret auctor
Grammatici certant & adhuc sub Judice lis est.*

The chief Writers of *Elegy* among the *Greeks*, were *Callimachus*, *Parthenius*, and *Euphorion*: And among the *Latins*, *Ovid*, *Catullus*, *Tibullus*, and *Propertius*.

The *Flemish* have distinguished themselves among the Moderns for this Kind of *Latin Verse*: The *Elegies* of *Bildermann*, *Grotius*, and especially *Sedronius* and *Vallius*, seem worthy of the purest Antiquity. The Countess de la Suze has distinguished herself for *Elegies* in the *French Tongue*.

In the *English* there is nothing considerable of the elegiack Kind but what is in *Milton*. The *English* and *French Elegies* are chiefly in *Alexandrine Verses*.

In Process of Time, *Elegy* degenerated from its original Intention, and not only Matters of Grief, but also Joy, Wishes, Prayers, Expostulations, Reproaches, and almost every Subject, were admitted into *Elegy*.

The Office of *Elegy* is well delivered by *M. Boileau*.

*La plaintive Elegie en longs habits de deuil,
Scait, les cheveux epars, gemir sur un Corcueil:
Elle peint des Amans la Joye, & la Tristesse;
Flatte, menace, irrite, appaise une maitresse.*

In mourning Weeds sad *Elegy* appears,
Her Hair dishevell'd, and her Eyes in Tears.
Her Theme, the Lover's Joys, but more his Pains;
By Turn she sings, soothes, threatens and complains.

The Diction of *Elegy* ought to be clean, easy, perspicuous, expressive of the Manners, tender and pathetic; not oppressed with Sentences, Points, &c. No Apostrophe's are allowed; and the Sense to be generally closed in every Distich, or two Lines; at least in *Latin* Compositions.

A *SATYR*, is a Poem wherein Men's Follies and Vices are wittily exposed, in order to their Reformation.

Satyr bears a near Affinity to Raillery, Ridicule, Lampoon, Libel, &c. and stands opposed to Panegyrick. The Reason why *Satyrs* generally please, and Panegyricks tire the Readers, seems to be because the former are commonly true, and the latter false.

Horace calls his two Books of *Satyrs*, indifferently either *Sermones*, or *Satyræ*, two Words which at first Sight present two very different Ideas.

The chief *Satyrists* among the Ancients are, *Horace*, *Juvenal*, and *Persius*:—Among the Moderns *Regnier* and *Boileau*, in *French*; and *Dryden*, *Oldham*, *Rocheſter*, *Buckingham*, *Pope*, *Swift*, *Young*, *Paul Whitehead*, &c. among the *English*.

A *Satyr* ought to be lively, pleasant, moral, and full of Variety, wherein *Juvenal* and *Horace* excelled, though their *Satyrs* ought not to be read without Caution. Among the Qualifications requisite in a *Satyrift*, one of the most essential is Good-nature: All the Sentiments which are beautiful in this Way of Writing must proceed from that Quality in the Author. It is Good-nature produces that Disdain of all Baseness, Vice and Folly, which prompts the Poet to express himself with Smartness against the Errors of Men, but without Bitterness towards their Persons. It is that Quality keeps the Mind in Equanimity, and never lets an Offence unseasonably throw a Man out of his Character. When *Virgil* said, he that did not hate *Bavius* might love *Mævius*, he was in perfect good Humour, and was not so much moved at their Absurdities, as passionately to call them Sots, or Blockheads in a direct Inveſtive, but laughed at them with a Delicacy of Scorn, without any Mixture of Anger. The best good Man, with the worst-nature Muse, was the Character of an *English Gentleman*, as famous for his Humanity, as his Wit. In Reality the ordinary Subjects for *Satyr* are such as incite the greatest Indignation in the best Tempers, and consequently Men of such Make are best qualified for speaking of them: Such Men can behold Vice and Folly, when they injure Persons with whom they are wholly unacquainted, with the same Severity as others resent the Ills they feel themselves. In all the Writings of *Horace* and *Juvenal*, there is not an ill natur'd Expression; not one Sentence of Severity which does not apparently proceed from the contrary Disposition.

But this Character is seldom found among our modern *Satyrists*,

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Scaliger, notwithstanding all this, followed by some of the latest and best Critics, scruples not to derive the *satyrical* Poetry of the *Latins*, from that of the *Greeks*. According to those Authors, *Satyr* in its Origin was a Sort of Interlude in Tragedy, wherein Goat-footed *Satyrs*, were introduced to alleviate the Distress, and with their Jeers and Humours diversify the Solemnity of the tragick Scene: Much like the *Manes* in Comedies, and the *Perissines* in the *Attellan* Sports.

At first it was only in the Tragedies exhibited in the Feasts of *Bacchus*, that *Satyrs*, the supposed Companions and Priests of that God, were introduced: But afterwards they made a Part in the Solemnities of the other Deities. So that *Satyr*, in its first Institution, was wholly Dramatick.

Dacier, after *Casaubon*, traces the Institution of the *Roman Satyr* very minutely; and distinguishes three Species or States of it: The first *Dramatick*, the second *Narrative*,

narrative, the third, that called the *Varronian*, or *Menippean Satyr*.

The antient *Romans* had been without scenical Entertainments for almost 400 Years; till Chance and Merriment in one of their Festivals, gave Rise to the satyrine and fescennine Verses, which for some Years supplied the Place of theatrical Performances. These Verses were rude, and without any Measure, being extemporaneous, and the Productions of a savage People, who had no other Instructors than the Fumes of Wine. Accordingly they were stuffed with gross Railleries, and accompanied with Gesticulations and Dances. An Idea of them may be formed by conceiving a Knot of Country-Fellows, dancing in a hobbling Manner, tossing about their homespun Jokes, like the Rabble in the Streets of *London*, and exposing each other's Failings. Thus *Horace*, *Epist.* 1. *Lib.* 2.

*Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.*

The antient *Roman Satyrs*, then, were a Sort of innocent Farces, where Spectators and Actors were indifferently rallied.—And thus they continued till the Time of *Livius Andronicus*, who first attempted to write Plays in Imitation of the *Greeks*. This new Entertainment appearing more noble and perfect, drew Crouds of Spectators, which occasioned the *Satyrs* to be neglected for some Time; but they were afterwards re-assumed, and tacked to the End of Comedies, much like the modern Farces. They were annexed more peculiarly to the *Atellan* Pieces, and on this Occasion changed their Name *Satyrs* for that of *Exodia*, which they ever after retain'd.

After *Livius Andronicus*, *Ennius* having observed the Eagerness of the *Romans* for *Satyrs*, imagined that Poems not accommodated to the Theatre, but retaining the Gall, Raillery, and Pleasantry of theatrical *Satyr*, would not fail of Success. Accordingly, he wrote Discourses under the Title of *Satyrs*, in which he took the Liberty of mixing several Sorts of Verses together, as Hexameters with *Iambick* Trimeters, and trocharick Tetrameters. In these Pieces were found the same Variety, Raillery, Allusions, Fables, and even Dialogues; in a Word, every Thing that constituted the Character and Beauty of the first *Satyrs*, except the Dancing and Musick. *Pacuvius* succeeded, who also writ *Satyrs* in Imitation of his Uncle, or according to others, his Grandfather *Ennius*. When *Pacuvius* was in his Prime, *Lucilius* was born; who also composed *Satyrs*, somewhat of a new Turn, endeavouring to imitate the Character of the antient *Greek* Comedy, of which the *Romans* had but an imperfect Image in their own *Satyrs*. This seems to be what *Horace* meant when he said, *Sat.* 1. *Lib.* 2.

— quid, cum est *Lucilius ausus*
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem.

He could not mean that the *Romans* had no *Satyrs* before *Lucilius*, since that Poet was preceded by *Ennius* and *Pacuvius*, whom he imitated. *Horace's* Design was only to hint, that *Lucilius's* Manner and Turn was new, that he had embellished this Poem, insomuch that he might be looked upon as its first Author. But in fact, *Lucilius* only added to it a little more Politeness and Salt, without other Alteration. And though like *Ennius* he did not mix together several Sorts of Verse in the same Piece, yet he composed different Poems, some of which were entirely Hexameter, others *Iambick*, and others Trochaick, as appears from his Fragments.

The third Kind of *Satyr* was the *Varronian* or *Menippean*, so called from its Author *Varro*, the most learned of the *Romans*, and because in this he imitated the Manner of *Menippus* the *Gadarenian*, a *Cynick* Philosopher.

This *Satyr* was not only a Miscellany of different Sorts of Verse, but was also interlarded with Prose, and *Greek* and *Latin*. *Seneca's* Poem on the Death of *Claudius*, *Petronius's* *Satyricon*, *Lucian's* Dialogues, the *Golden Ass* of *Apuleius*, and the *Cæsars* of the Emperor *Julian*, are so many *Satyrs* in the *Varronian* Taste.—To the same Head may also be referred the *Catholicon* of *Spain*, the *Morie Encomium* of *Erasmus*, the *Don Quixote* of *Cervantes*, the *Advertissemens* from *Parnassus* of *Boccalini*, the *Lutrin* of *Boileau*, the Tale of a Tub, by *Dr. S*—, &c.

Note, That we call *satyrical*, any Thing that relates to, or partakes of the Nature of *Satyr*.—We have *satyrical* Poets; *satyrical* Preachers, as *South*; *satyrical* Historians, as *Mezeray* and *Burnet*; *satyrical* Philosophers, as *Apuleius* and *Montaigne*; *satyrical* News-Writers. In the *Heathen* Theology we find a *satyrical* God, viz. *Momus*. *Homer*, in his *Thersites*, gives the Character of a *satyrical* Courtier, such as *Rochester* was. The *Dutch* have been charged with *satyrical* Prints and Medals, and particularly against the late King of *France*, *Louis XIV.* which have sometimes cost them dear. The *satyrical* Shews of the *Greeks* were thorough Masquerades: The Actors herein were disguised variously, some in the Habits of *Satyrs*, *Sileni*, *Centaurs*, *Mænades*, and other of *Bacchus's* Men; while others personated Giants, Cyclops, Monsters, and even Beasts; the whole making a Medley more romantick and extravagant than any Thing on the modern Stage, unless, perhaps, some of our late grotesque Pantomime Entertainments, in which the famous *Mr. Rich* has excelled all the Antiquity.

The *ODE*, from the *Greek* ὕμνος, *Cantus*, Song, or Singing, in the antient Poetry, is a Song, or a Composition proper to be sung, and composed for that Purpose; the Singing usually accompanied with some musical Instruments, chiefly the *Lyre*.

Ode, in the modern Poetry, is a lyrick Poem, consisting of long and short Verses, distinguished into Stanza's or Strophes, wherein the same Measure is preserved throughout.

Note, That lyrick Poems were originally employed in celebrating the Praises of Gods and Heroes; tho' it was afterwards introduced into Feasts and publick Diversions: It is a Mistake to imagine *Anacreon*, as the *Greeks* do, the Author of lyrick Poetry; since it appears from Scripture to have been in Use about a thousand Years before that Poet. The Characteristick of lyrick Poetry, which distinguishes it from all others, is *Sweetness*. As *Gravity* rules in heroick Verse; *Simplicity* in Pastorals; *Tenderness* and *Softness* in Elegy; *Sharpness* and *Poynancy* in *Satyr*; *Mirth* in Comedy; the *Pathetick* in Tragedy; the *Point* in Epigram; so in the *Lyrick*, the Poet applies himself wholly to sooth the Mind of Men, by the Sweetness and Variety of the Verse, and the Delicacy of the Words, and Thoughts; the Agreeableness of the Numbers; and the Description of Things most pleasing in their own Nature.

Note also, That the Word *Strophe*, is *Greek* στροφή, formed from στρέφω, I turn; because at the End of the *Strophe*, the same Measures returns again; or rather as the Term related principally to the Musick or Dancing, because at first coming in, the Chorus, or the Dancers turned to the left, and that Measure ended, they turned back again to the right. What the Couplet is in Songs, and the Stanza in Epick Poetry, *Strophe* is in *Odes*.

The *Odes* of the Antients, *Vossius* observes, had a regular Return of the same Kind of Verse, and the same Quantity of Syllables in the same Place of every similar Verse: But there is nothing, says he, but Confusion of Quantities in the modern *Odes*; so that to follow the natural Quantity of our Syllables, every Stanza will be a different Song.

He should have observed, however, that all the antient *Odes* were not of such Kind. But he proceeds: The Modern have no Regard to the natural Quantity of the Syllables, and have introduced an unnatural and barbarous Variety of long and short Notes, which they apply without any Regard to the natural Quantity of the Syllables; so that it is no Wonder our vocal Musick has no Effect.

Among the Antients, *Ode* signified no more than a Song; with us they are different Things. The antient *Odes* were generally in honour of their Gods, as many of those of *Pindar* and *Horace*. Sometimes on other Subjects, as those of *Anacreon*, *Sappho*. The *English* *Odes* are generally composed in Praise of Princes and Heroes; as those of *Dryden*, *Prior*, &c.

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For a like Reason *Horace* calls *Satyr*, *Græcis intantum carmen*, a Sort of Poetry unknown to the *Greeks*. *Spanheim*, in his Preface to the *Cæsars* of the Emperor *Julian*, has shewn five or six Differences between those two Poems. The *Greeks* chiefly represented Vice, &c. in their Drama; though they had also a Sort of narrative Poems, called *Silli*, like the *Roman*, and our *Satyr*. These *Silli* were cutting or farcassick Poems, as may be easily seen by the Fragments of *Timon's Silli*; with this Difference, that the *Greek Silli* were Paradoxes from one End to the other, which cannot be said of the *Roman Satyr*. Or if we find sometimes a Paradox, it is what the Poet did not design, and consequently the Paradox does not make the Essence of the *Satyr*, as it does that of the *Silli*.

Scaliger, notwithstanding all this, followed by some of the latest and best Critics, scruples not to derive the *satyrical* Poetry of the *Latins*, from that of the *Greeks*. According to those Authors, *Satyr* in its Origin was a Sort of Interlude in Tragedy, wherein Goat-footed *Satyr*s, were introduced to alleviate the Distress, and with their Jeers and Humours diversify the Solemnity of the tragick Scene: Much like the *Manes* in Comedies, and the *Pelamines* in the *Attellan* Sports.

At first it was only in the Tragedies exhibited in the Feasts of *Bacchus*, that *Satyr*s, the supposed Companions and Priests of that God, were introduced: But afterwards they made a Part in the Solemnities of the other Deities. So that *Satyr*, in its first Institution, was wholly *Dramatick*.

Dacier, after *Casaubon*, traces the Institution of the *Roman Satyr* very minutely; and distinguishes three Species or States of it: The first *Dramatick*, the second *Narrative*.

...ative, the third, that called the *Varronian*, or *Menippean Satyr*.

The antient *Romans* had been without scenical Entertainments for almost 400 Years; till Chance and Merriment in one of their Festivals, gave Rise to the saturnine and fascennine Verses, which for some Years suppli'd the Place of theatrical Performances. These Verses were rude, and without any Measure, being extemporary, and the Productions of a savage People, who had no other Instructors than the Fumes of Wine. Accordingly they were stuffed with gross Railleries, and accompanied with Gesticulations and Dances. An Idea of them may be formed by conceiving a Knot of Country-Fellows, dancing in a hobling Manner, tossing about their homespun Jokes, like the Rabble in the Streets of *London*, and exposing each other's Failings. Thus *Horace*, *Epist.* 1. *Lib.* 2.

*Fascennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.*

The antient *Roman Satyrs*, then, were a Sort of innocent Farces, where Spectators and Actors were indifferently rallied. — And thus they continued till the Time of *Livius Andronicus*, who first attempted to write Plays in Imitation of the *Greeks*. This new Entertainment appearing more noble and perfect, drew Crouds of Spectators, which occasioned the *Satyrs* to be neglected for some Time; but they were afterwards re-assumed, and tacked to the End of Comedies, much like the modern Farces. They were annexed more peculiarly to the *Atellan Pieces*, and on this Occasion changed their Name *Satyrs* for that of *Exodia*, which they ever after retain'd.

After *Livius Andronicus*, *Ennius* having observed the Eagerness of the *Romans* for *Satyrs*, imagined that Poems not accommodated to the Theatre, but retaining the Gall, Raillery, and Pleasantry of theatrical *Satyr*, would not fail of Success. Accordingly, he wrote Discourses under the Title of *Satyrs*, in which he took the Liberty of mixing several Sorts of Verses together, as Hexameters with Iambick Trimeters, and trocharick Tetrameters. In these Pieces were found the same Variety, Raillery, Allusions, fables, and even Dialogues; in a Word, every Thing that constituted the Character and Beauty of the first *Satyrs*, except the Dancing and Musick. *Pacuvius* succeeded, who also writ *Satyrs* in Imitation of his Uncle, or according to others, his Grandfather *Ennius*. When *Pacuvius* was in his Prime, *Lucilius* was born; who also compos'd *Satyrs*, somewhat of a new Turn, endeavouring to imitate the Character of the antient *Greek Comedy*, of which the *Romans* had but an imperfect Image in their own *Satyrs*. This seems to be what *Horace* meant when he said, *Sat.* 1. *Lib.* 2.

— quid, cum est *Lucilius* ausus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem.

He could not mean that the *Romans* had no *Satyrs* before *Lucilius*, since that Poet was preceded by *Ennius* and *Pacuvius*, whom he imitated. *Horace's* Design was only to hint, that *Lucilius's* Manner and Turn was new, that he had embellished this Poem, insomuch that he might be looked upon as its first Author. But in fact, *Lucilius* only added to it a little more Politeness and Salt, without other Alteration. And though like *Ennius* he did not mix together several Sorts of Verse in the same Piece, yet he compos'd different Poems, some of which were entirely Hexameter, others Iambick, and others Trochaick, as appears from his Fragments.

The third Kind of *Satyr* was the *Varronian* or *Menippean*, so called from its Author *Varro*, the most learned of the *Romans*, and because in this he imitated the Manner of *Menippus* the *Gadarenian*, a Cynick Philosopher.

This *Satyr* was not only a Miscellany of different Sorts of Verse, but was also interlard'd with Prose, and *Greek* and *Latin*. *Seneca's* Poem on the Death of *Claudius*, *Petronius's* *Satyricon*, *Lucian's* Dialogues, the *Golden Ass* of *Apuleius*, and the *Cæsars* of the Emperor *Julian*, are so many *Satyrs* in the *Varronian Taste*. — To the same Head may also be referred the *Catholicon* of *Spain*, the *Morie Encomium* of *Erasmus*, the *Don Quixote* of *Cervantes*, the *Advertissemens* from *Parnassus* of *Boccalini*, the *Lutrin* of *Boileau*, the *Tale of a Tub*, by *Dr. S* —, &c.

Note, That we call *satyrical*, any Thing that relates to, or partakes of the Nature of *Satyr*. — We have *satyrical* Poets; *satyrical* Preachers, as *South*; *satyrical* Historians, as *Mezeray* and *Burnet*; *satyrical* Philosophers, as *Apuleius* and *Montaigne*; *satyrical* News-Writers. In the Heathen Theology we find a *satyrical* God, viz. *Momus*. *Homer*, in his *Thersites*, gives the Character of a *satyrical* Courtier, such as *Rochebester* was. The *Dutch* have been charged with *satyrical* Prints and Medals, and particularly against the late King of *France*, *Louis XIV.* which have sometimes cost them dear. The *satyrical* Shews of the *Greeks* were thorough Masquerades: The Actors herein were disguis'd variously, some in the Habits of *Satyrs*, *Sileni*, *Centaurs*, *Mænades*, and other of *Bacchus's* Men; while others personated Giants, Cyclops, Monsters, and even Beasts; the whole making a Medley more romantick and extravagant than any Thing on the modern Stage, unless, perhaps, some of our late grotesque Pantomime Entertainments, in which the famous *Mr. Rich* has excelled all the Antiquity.

The *Ode*, from the *Greek* ὕμνος, *Cantus*, Song, or Singing, in the antient Poetry, is a Song, or a Composition proper to be sung, and compos'd for that Purpose; the Singing usually accompanied with some musical Instruments, chiefly the Lyre.

Ode, in the modern Poetry, is a lyrick Poem, consisting of long and short Verses, distinguished into Stanza's or Strophes, wherein the same Measure is preserv'd throughout.

Note, That lyrick Poems were originally employed in celebrating the Praises of Gods and Heroes; tho' it was afterwards introduced into Feasts and publick Diversions: It is a Mistake to imagine *Anacreon*, as the *Greeks* do, the Author of lyrick Poetry; since it appears from Scripture to have been in Use about a thousand Years before that Poet. The Characteristick of lyrick Poetry, which distinguishes it from all others, is Sweetness. As Gravity rules in heroick Verse; Simplicity in Pastorals; Tendernefs and Softnefs in Elegy; Sharpnefs and Poyancy in *Satyr*; Mirth in Comedy; the Pathetick in Tragedy; the Point in Epigram; so in the Lyrick, the Poet applies himself wholly to sooth the Mind of Men, by the Sweetnefs and Variety of the Verse, and the Delicacy of the Words, and Thoughts; the Agreeableness of the Numbers; and the Description of Things most pleasing in their own Nature.

Note also, That the Word *Strophe*, is *Greek* στροφή, form'd from στρέφω, I turn; because at the End of the *Strophe*, the same Measures returns again; or rather as the Term related principally to the Musick or Dancing, because at first coming in, the Chorus, or the Dancers turned to the left, and that Measure ended, they turned back again to the right. What the Couplet is in Songs, and the Stanza in Epick Poetry, *Strophe* is in *Odes*.

The *Odes* of the Antients, *Vossius* observes, had a regular Return of the same Kind of Verse, and the same Quantity of Syllables in the same Place of every similar Verse: But there is nothing, says he, but Confusion of Quantities in the modern *Odes*; so that to follow the natural Quantity of our Syllables, every Stanza will be a different Song.

He should have observed, however, that all the antient *Odes* were not of such Kind. But he proceeds: The Modern have no Regard to the natural Quantity of the Syllables, and have introduced an unnatural and barbarous Variety of long and short Notes, which they apply without any Regard to the natural Quantity of the Syllables; so that it is no Wonder our vocal Musick has no Effect.

Among the Antients, *Ode* signified no more than a Song; with us they are different Things. The antient *Odes* were generally in honour of their Gods, as many of those of *Pindar* and *Horace*. Sometimes on other Subjects, as those of *Anacreon*, *Sappho*. The *English* *Odes* are generally compos'd in Praise of Princes and Heroes; as those of *Dryden*, *Prior*, &c.

The distinguishing Character of *Odes* is Sweetnefs: The Poet is to sooth the Mind of his Readers by the Variety

Variety of the Verse, and the Delicacy of Words, the Beauty of Numbers, and the Description of Things most delightful in themselves. Variety of Numbers is essential to the *Ode*.

At first, indeed, the Verse of the *Ode* was but of one Kind; but for the Sake of Pleasure, and the Musick to which they were sung, they by Degrees so varied the Numbers and Feet, that their Kinds are now almost innumerable. One of the most considerable is the *Pindarick*, distinguished by the Boldness and Rapidity of its Flights, the Suddenness and Surprisingness of the Transitions, and the seeming Irregularity, Wildness, and Enthusiasm of the whole.

Pindar, whence the Manner takes its Name, was of *Thebes*; he flourished about 478 Years before *Christ*; and was Contemporary with *Æschylus*; what we have remaining of his, is a Book of *Odes*, all in Praise of the Victors at the *Olympian*, *Pythian*, *Nemean*, and *Isthmian* Games; whence the first is entitled the *Olympians*, the second the *Pythians*, the third the *Nemeans*, and the fourth the *Isthmians*.

Pindar is full of Force and Fire; his Thoughts sententious, his Style impetuous; his Sallies daring, and frequently running, as it were, at Random: He affects a beautiful Disorder, which yet is said to be the Effect of the greatest Art.

The supposed Irregularity of his Numbers has made several of his Imitators imagine themselves *Pindarick* Poets, by the mere Wildness and Irregularity of their Verses. None of the *English* Writers seem to have succeeded better in the *Pindarick* Character, than *Cowley*.

In a *Pindarick Ode*, the Plan of the whole is to be drawn first, and the Places marked out where the elegant Sallies and Wanderings may be best, and how the Returns may be justly made to the Subject.

The antient *Ode*, had originally but one Stanza, or *Strophe*; but was at last divided into three Parts, *Strophe*, *Antistrophe*, and *Epode*. The Priests going round the Altar, singing the Praises of the Gods, called their first Entrance *Strophe*, i. e. turning to the left: The second, turning to the right, they called *Antistrophe*, q. d. returning. Lastly, standing still before the Altar, they sung the Remainder, which they called *Epode*.

The *Epode*, was not confined to any precise Number, or Kind of Verses; as the *Strophe* and *Antistrophe* were. But when the *Ode* contained several *Epodes*, *Strophes*, &c. they were all alike.

As the Word *Epode* then properly signifies the End of the Song, and as in *Odes*, what they called the *Epode* finished the Singing: It became customary, as *M. Dacier* shews, for a little Verse, which being put after another, closed the Period, and finished the Sense which had been suspended in the first Verse, to be called *Epode*, *enclique*.

And hence it is, that the VIth Book of *Horace's Odes*, is entitled *Liber Epodon*, Book of *Epodes*, by Reason the Verses thereof are alternately long and short; and that the short ones generally, tho' not always, closes the Sense of the long one.

But the Signification of the Word is extended still further; *Epode* being become a general Name for all Kinds of short Verses, that follow one, or more long ones, of what Kind soever they be: And in this Sense a Pentameter is an *Epode*, after an Hexameter, which in Respect thereof is a *Pro-Ode*.

There is another Sort of *Ode*, called *Alcaick*, which consists of four *Strophes*, each of which contains four Verses; the two first are *Alcaick* Verses of the first Kind, the third an Iambick Dimeter Hypercatalectic, i. e. of four Feet and a long Syllable: As,

Sors exitura, & nos in Æternum.

The fourth is an *Alcaick* of the second Kind. — The entire *Alcaick Strophe* is as follows:

*Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium.
Versatur urna, serius, ocius
Sors exitura, & nos in Æternum
Exilium impositura Cymbæ.*

The *PASTORAL*, is a Composition, the Subject whereof is something in the *Pastoral*, at least rural Life, and the Person *Shepherds*, at least *Rusticks*.

Most Authors, except the *English*, esteem *Pastoral* to the Dramatick Kind; and define it a Dramatick Piece, wherein the Persons are clad like *Nymphs* and *Shepherds*, and act their own Amours.

The Scene is always in the Fields or the Woods; whence *Tasso* calls *Pastoral*, *Favola Boscarea*.

Such are the *Pastor Fido* of *Guarini*, the *Aminta* of *Tasso*, the *Sylvia* of *Mairet*, the *French Poet*, the *Comus* of *Milton*, &c.

Tasso assumes to himself the Honour of having invented *Pastoral*; but the first Idea of this Kind of Drama seems to be *Baccari's Due*, who made the first Attempt of this Kind 1552. But *Tasso's Aminta*, which did not appear till the Year 1573, effacing what had been done by *Baccari*, the first Author was forgot, and *Tasso* left the Inventor.

It is certain, this Kind of *Pastoral Fable*, composed according to the Rules of the Stage, was unknown among the Antients. The *Greeks* and *Latins* have indeed introduced *Shepherds* in their *Eclogues*; but these *Eclogues* had nothing theatrical in them, nor were the *Shepherds* ever brought upon the Stage.

This Kind of Dramatick *Pastoral*, is still but little known among *English* Authors, nor have they any Thing considerable under the Title of *Pastorals*, but *Country-Pieces* after the Manner of the *Eclogues*, or *Idyllians* of the Antients.

Every *Pastoral*, even in this last View, should have a little Plot or Fable, which may deserve the Title of a *Pastoral Scene*. It must be simple, and but one; yet not so as to refuse all Digressions, provided they be but short. This Rule of the Plot is every where observed by *Virgil*.

The *ECLOGUE*, is a Kind of *Pastoral Composition*, wherein *Shepherds* are introduced conversing together.

The *Eclogue* is properly an Image of the *Pastoral Life*: Nor do we see what End it was that determined *Sannazarius* to put *Fishermen* instead of *Shepherds*, who had been Time out of Mind in Possession of the *Eclogue*.

The Beauty of the *Eclogue*, *M. Fontenelle* observes, is not attached to what is rural, but rather to what is calm and easy in the rural Life. *Shepherds* being agreeable Personages, the Poets abuse them; and provided they do but talk a little about *Reeds* and *Herbage*; they conclude of Course it is an *Eclogue*.

There are *Eclogues* in *Theocritus* of a lofty Character, and *Virgil* has some in the sublime Style: The *Eclogue*, therefore, occasionally raises its Voice. Yet *M. Fontenelle* esteems it a Fault in some modern Poets, to have put Matters of high Concerns in their *Eclogues*; and to have made their *Shepherds* sing the Praises of *Kings* and *Heroes*. *Ronsard*, in particular, has made himself ridiculous by making the *Eloge* of *Budeus* and *Vatable* in his first *Eclogue*, by the *Shepherd Margot*. Such Folks should have been above the Knowledge of simple *Margot*. The Sentiments in *Eclogues*, the same Author observes, should be finer, and more delicate than those of real *Shepherds*; only their Form should be as simple and *Country-like* as can be. But this Simplicity excludes none but glaring and excessive Ornaments.

Since the Establishment of the Academy or Assembly of *Arcadians* at *Rome*, about the Year 1690, those Gentlemen, who are the Flower of the Wits of *Italy*, take the Name of *Shepherds* of *Arcadia*, and will not allow their Assembly to be treated as an Academy. They have each of them a poetical Name, which is always that of some *Shepherd*; and apply themselves particularly to *Eclogues*, as Pieces more proper to their Profession.

The learned Signior *Cresimbini*, one of the Founders of the Assembly, who had long been Custos, i. e. President thereof, and bore the Name of *Alphesebeo Cario*, has wrote the Laws and Establishment of the Society, with the Names of all who had been admitted thereof, at the End of his Book, entitled, *La Bellezza de la volgar Poesie*.

The Word *Eclogue* is formed from the *Greek* *εκλογη* Choice. So that according to the Etymology of the Word, *Eclogue* should be no more than a select or choice Piece; but Custom has determined it to a further Signification, viz. a little elegant Composition, in a simple, natural Style and Manner.

Idyllion and *Eclogue*, in their primary Intention, are the

the same Thing: Thus the *Idyllia* of *Theocritus* are Pieces wrote perfectly in the same Vein with the *Eclogæ* of *Virgil*.

But Custom has made a Difference between them, and appropriated the Name *Eclogue* to Pieces wherein Shepherds are introduced speaking; *Idyllion* to those wrote like the *Eclogue*, in a simple natural Style, but without any Shepherds in them.

Some imagine the Name *Eclogue* to have been originally attributed to such Poems as were wrote in Imitation of others, such as the *Eclogues* of *Virgil*, which are only Imitations of *Theocritus*.

Others are of Opinion, the Word was first formed from *αιξ*, *αιγος*, Goat, and *λογος*, Discourse, q. d. a Conversation or Discourse of Goats, or Goat-Herds. But *Ruæus*, in his Notes on *Virgil*, thinks they would then have made it *Αιγολογια*, *Ægology*, rather than *Eclogue*; or at least the Word would have been wrote in Greek with *αυ*, and in Latin by *e*, not *e*.

Barthius advances another Opinion, viz. that the Name *Eclogue*, was given to all poetical Compositions that were of a moderate Length, though too short to give them the Name of Books; and hence it is that *Statius*, in the Epistle at the Head of the 3d Book of his *Sylva*, and in the Preface to his fourth Book, calls his Poems *Eclogues*; though he had not called them so in the Title.

Ausonius, in his Preface to his *Cupid crucified*, calls also his Idylles *Eclogues*. Add, that *Cruquius*, in his Comment on *Horace*, declares to have seen very ancient Manuscripts, wherein the Satyrs of the Poet are called *Eclogues*; in which he is seconded by the learned Mr. *Baxter*.

The IDYLLION, is a little gay Poem, containing the Description, or Narration of some agreeable Adventures.

Theocritus is the oldest Author who has written *Idylls*. The *Italians* imitate him, and have brought the *Idyllion* into modern Use.

The *Idyls* of *Theocritus* have a World of Delicacy; they appear with a clownish, rustick Kind of Simplicity, but are full of the most exquisite Beauties; they seem drawn from the Breast of Nature itself, and to have been dictated by the Graces.

The *Idyllion*, is a Kind of Poetry, which paints the Objects it describes; whereas the Epick Poem relates them, and the Dramatick acts them. The modern Writers of *Idylls* do not keep up to the modest Simplicity observed by *Theocritus*; the People of our Days would not bear an amorous Fiction, resembling the clumsy Gallantries of our Peasants.

Boileau prescribes the following Rules for the Composition of *Idyls* and *Eclogues*.

1. As a Shepherdess, says he, in the greatest Holiday, does not load her Head with precious Stones, and Gold, but gathers in the neighbouring Fields her finest Ornaments; thus an elegant *Idyllion*, amiable in its Air, and humble in its Style, must shine without Pomp: Its Turn simple and natural, hate the Pomp and Pride of a presumptuous Verse. Its Sweetness must flatter, tickle, and awake, but never fright the Ear with great Words.

2. Neither ought the *Idyl* to be composed in a mean and low Style, and the Author make his Shepherds speak a clownish Dialect; but follow a Road between the two Extremes, imitating in it *Theocritus* and *Virgil*.

The EPIGRAM, is a short Poem, or Composition in Verse, treating of one only Thing, and ending with some Point or lively ingenious Thought.

Epigrams then originally signify *Inscriptions*, and derive their Origin from those Inscriptions placed by the Antients on their Tombs, Statues, Temples, triumphal Arches, &c.

These at first were only simple Monograms, afterwards increasing their Length, they made them in Verse, to be the more easily retained: *Herodotus*, and others have preserved us several of them.

Such little Poems retained the Name of *Epigrams*, even after the Design of their first Institution was varied, and People began to use them, for the relating of little Facts and Accidents, the characterizing of Persons, &c.

The *Greeks* confine their *Epigrams* to a very narrow Compass; for though in the Anthology we here and there meet with a very long one; ordinarily, they do

not exceed six, or at most eight Verses. The *Latins* were not always so scrupulous, and the Moderns much less, as to these Bounds.

M. *le Brun*, in the Preface to his *Epigrams* defines an *Epigram* a little Poem, susceptible of all Kinds of Subjects, and ending with a lively, just, and unexpected Thought: Which are three Qualifications essential to the *Epigram*, particularly the first and last of them, viz. Brevity, and the Point or Close of the *Epigram*.

To attain Brevity, only one Thing is to be aimed at in the Poem, and that to be pursued in the concise Terms possible. Authors are much divided as to the Length the *Epigram* is to be confined to: The ordinary Limits are from two to twenty Verses; though we have Instances both among the Antients and Moderns, where they extend to fifty. But still it is allowed that the shorter the better, and more perfect, as it partakes more of the Nature and Character of this Kind of Poem.

The Point or Turn is a Quality most insisted on by Criticks, who require the *Epigram* constantly to close with something poignant and unexpected, to which all the rest of the Composition is only preparatory. Others there are who exclude the Point, and require the Thought to be equally diffused throughout the whole Poem, without laying the whole Stress on the Close: The former is usually *Martial's* Practice, and the latter that of *Catullus*. Which is the most beautiful and perfect Manner is disputed by a third Class of Criticks.

The *Greek* *Epigrams* have scarce any Thing of the Point or Briskness of the *Latin* ones: Those collected in the Anthology have most of them a certain Air of Ease and Simplicity, attended with something just and witty; such as we find in a sensible Peasant, or a Child that has Wit. They have nothing that bites, but something that tickles. Though they want the Salt of *Martial*, yet, to a good Taste they are not insipid; except a few of them which are quite flat and spiritless. However, the general Faintness and Delicacy of the Pleasantry in them, has given Occasion for a *Greek Epigram*, or *Epigram a la greque*, to denote among the *French*, an *Epigram* void of Salt or Sharpness.

It is principally the Point that characterises the *Epigram*, and distinguishes it from the Madrigal.

In the modern Versification, as observed by Father *Mourgues*, the *Epigram* and Madrigal are distinguished by the Number of Verses, and the Close. 1. By the Number of Verses, which in the modern *Epigram* does not go beyond eight, nor in the modern Madrigal comes short of six: And 2. In that the Close, or Period of the *Epigram* has always something more lively and studied than that of the Madrigal.

The *Epigram* is the lowest, and least considerable of all the Productions of Poetry; and is rather an Effect of good Luck, than of Art to succeed therein. The Finesse and Subtlety of the *Epigram*, M. *Boileau* observes, should turn on the Words rather than the Thought; which seems very little to the Credit of this Kind of Composition, as it reduces it to the Nature of the Pun, or Equivoque. F. *Bobours* confirms the Hint, in adding, that the Equivoque is what usually shines the most in the *Epigram*.

One great Beauty of the *Epigram*, is to leave something for the Reader to guess, or supply. Nothing pleases the Mind so much, as to find something of itself in the Objects presented to it; nor does any Thing disgust it more than to preclude it from shewing and exercising a Faculty it values itself for.

M. B. L. M. the Author of a new Collection of French *Epigrams*, in the Year 1720, has a deal of good Observations on the Nature of *Epigrams*. He defines it an ingenious Thought delivered in a few Verses, and conceives it as a generical Name, including under it divers Kinds of short lively Poetics, as the *Sonnet*, *Rondeau*, *Madrigal*, and little *Tales*, which only turn on some merry Thought. Epitaphs and Inscriptions, he thinks, may be also reduced to the Head of *Epigrams*.

The *Epigram* admits of great Variety of Subjects: Some are made to praise, and others to satyze, which last are much the easiest; ill Nature serving instead of Point and Wit. *Boileau's* *Epigrams* are all Satyrs on one or another. Those of *Des Reaux* are all made in honour of his Friends. And those of *Madam Sadey* are so many

Eloges,

Eloges. The *Epigram* being only a single Thought, it would be ridiculous to express it in a great Number of Verses; it must have its Unity like the Drama. The Comedy has an Action for its Subject; and the Epigram a Thought.

A *MADRIGAL*, in the modern *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French* Poetry, is a little amorous Piece, containing a certain Number of free unequal Verses, not tied either to the scrupulous Regularity of the Sonnet, or the Subtlety of an Epigram, but consisting of some tender, delicate, yet simple Thought, suitably expressed.

The *Madrigal*, according to M. *le Brun*, is an Epigram without any Thing very brisk and sprightly in its Fall or Close: Something very tender and gallant is usually the Subject of it; and a certain beautiful, noble, yet chaste, Simplicity forms its Character.

The *Madrigal*, is usually looked on as the shortest of all the lesser Kinds of Poems, and may consist of few Verses, than either the Sonnet or Rondeau. There is no other Rule regarded in mingling the Rhimes and Verses of different Kinds, but the Fancy and Convenience of the Author. This Poem, however, really allows of less Licence than any other; whether we regard the Rhimes, the Measures, or the Purity of the Expression.

A *SONNET*, is a Kind of Composition contained in fourteen Verses, viz. two Stanza's or Measures, of four Verses each, and two of three; the eight four Verses being all in two Rhimes.

The *Sonnet* is of *Italian* Origin; and *Petrarch* is allowed to be the Father: It is held the most difficult and artful of all poetical Compositions, as requiring the last Accuracy and Exactness. It is to end with some pretty ingenious Thought: The Close to be particularly beautiful, or the *Sonnet* is naught.

In *Malherb*, and some other *French* Poets, we meet with *Sonnets*, where the two first Stanza's are not in the same Rhime; but they are held irregular; and, in effect, great Part of the Merit of those Pieces consist in a scrupulous Observation of the Rules.

Ronsard, *Malherb*, *Maynard*, and *Gombaut*, have composed Abundance of *Sonnets*; but among two or three thousands, there are scarce two or three worth much.

Pasquier observes, that *du Bellay* was the first who introduced *Sonnets* in *France*. But *du Bellay* himself says, that *Melin de St. Gelais*, first converted the Italian *Sonnets* into *French*.

A *SONG*, is a little Composition, consisting of simple, easy, natural Verses, set to a Tune in order to be sung. Each Stanza of a Song, is called a Couplet.

The *Song* bears a deal of Resemblance to the *Madrigal*, and more to the *Ode*; which is nothing but a *Song*, according to the antient Rules.

Its Object is usually Wine, or Love; whence M. *le Brun* defines a modern *Song* to be either a soft and amorous, or a brisk and bacchic Thought, expressed in a few Words.

Indeed this is to restrain it to too narrow Bounds; for we have *devout Songs*, *satyrical Songs*, and *panegyric Songs*.

But let the *Song* be what it will, the Verses are to be easy, natural, flowing, and to contain a certain Harmony, which neither shocks the Reason nor the Ear; and which unite Poetry and Musick agreeably together.

Anciently the only Way of preserving the Memory of great and noble Actions, was, by recording them in Songs; and in *America* there are still People who keep their whole History in *Songs*.

The *FABLE*, is a Tale, or feigned Narration, designed either to instruct or divert; or as M. *de la Motte* defines it, an Instruction disguised under the Allegory of an Action.

Fable seems the most antient Way of teaching: The principal Difference between the Eloquence of the Antients and that of the Moderns, consists, according to *Pere Bossu*, in this, that our Manner is simple and proper; and theirs full of Mysteries and Allegories. The Truth was usually disguised under those ingenious Inventions, called by the Way of Excellence, *Modes*, *fabulae*, *Fables*, that is Words; as intimating that there was the same Difference between those *fabulous* Dis-

courses of the Learned, and the common Language of the People, as between the Words of Men, and the Voices of Beasts.

At first, *Fables* were only employed in speaking of the divine Nature, as then conceived: Whence the ancient Theology was all Fable. The Divine Attributes were separated as into so many Persons; and all the Economy of the God-head laid down in the feigned Relations and Actions thereof; either by reason the human Mind could not conceive so much Power and Action, in a single and indivisible Being; or perhaps they thought such a Thing too great and high for the Knowledge of the Vulgar. And as they could not well speak of the Operations of this Almighty Cause, without speaking likewise of its Effects; natural Philosophy, and at length human Nature, and Morality itself, came thus to be veiled under the same *fabulous* allegorical Expression; whence the Origin of *Poetry*, and particularly of epick Poetry.

The Criticks, after *Aphthonius* and *Theon*, reckon three Kinds of *Fables*, rational, moral, and mixed.

Rational FABLES, called also Parables, are Relations of Things supposed to been said and done by Men; and which might possibly have been said or done, tho' in Reality they were not. Such in the sacred Writings are those of the ten Virgins; of *Dives* and *Lazarus*; the prodigal Son, &c. of these rational *Fables* we have likewise about a Dozen in *Phædrus*.

Moral FABLES, called also Apologues, are those wherein Beasts are introduced as Actors, Speakers, &c. these are also called *Æsopick Fables*; not that *Æsop* was their Inventor, for they were in Use long before him, viz. in the Times of *Homer* and *Hesiod*; but because he excelled therein. In this Kind, not only Beasts, but even Trees, Hammers, &c. are supposed to speak.

The rational differ from the moral *Fables* in this; that the former, though it be feigned, might be true; but the latter is impossible, as it is impossible for Beasts or Stocks to speak.

Mixed FABLES, are those composed of both Sorts, rational and moral; or wherein Men and Brutes are introduced conversing together. Of this we have a fine Instance, in *Justin*, lib. xxxiii. c. 4. made by a petty King, to alarm the antient *Gauls* against the *Maffilians*, who arriving out of *Asia* in *Spain*, charmed with the Place, begged Leave of the Inhabitants to build a City: To this Effect,

A Bitch big with Young, begged of a Shepherd a Place to lay her Whelps in; which when she had obtained, she begged further for Leave to rear them in the same. At length the Whelps being now grown up; depending on the Strength of her own Family, she claimed the Property of the Place.—So the *Maffilians*, who are now only Strangers, will hereafter pretend to be Masters of the Country.

As to the Laws of *Fables*; the principal are, 1st, That to every *Fable* there be some Interpretation annexed, to shew the moral Sense, or Design thereof. This Interpretation, if it be placed after the *Fable*, is called *Affabulatio*; if before it, *Præfabulatio*.—2^{dly}, That the Narration be clear, probable, short and pleasant. To preserve this Probability, the Manners must be expressed, and closely kept to, as in *Poetry*.

M. *de la Motte* has some fine Remarks on the Subject of *Fables*, at the Beginning of his *Fables nouvelles dédiées au Roy*, 1719. A *Fable*, according to this polite Writer, is a little Epick Poem; differing in nothing from the great one but in Extent, and in that being less confined as to the Choice of its Person; it may take in all Sorts at Pleasure, as Gods, Men, Beasts, or Genii; or even if Occasion be, great Persons, i. e. personify Virtues, Vices, Rivers, Trees, &c. Thus M. *de la Motte* very happily introduces Virtue, Talent, and Reputation, as Persons making a Voyage together.

That Author suggests two Reasons why *Fables* have pleased in all Ages and Places. The first is, that Self-love is spared in the Instruction. The second, that the Mind is exercised by the Allegory. Men do not love direct Precepts; too proud to condescend to those Philosophers who seem to command what they teach, they will need be instructed in a more humble Manner: They would never amend, if they thought that to amend were

were to obey. But that there is a Sort of Activity in the Mind, which must be humoured. It pleases itself in a Penetration, which discovers more than is shewn; and in apprehending what was hid under a Veil fancies himself in some measure the Author of it. The *Fable* must always imply or convey some Truth. In other Works Delight alone may suffice; but the *Fable* must instruct. Its Essence is to be a Symbol, and of Consequence to signify somewhat more than is expressed by the Letter. This Truth should for the Generality be a moral one; and a Series of Fictions conceived and composed in this View, would form a Treatise of Morality preferable to any more direct and methodical Treatise: Accordingly *Socrates*, we are told, had a Design to compose a Course of Morality in this Way. This Truth should be concealed under the Allegory; and in Strictness it ought not to be explained, either at the Beginning or End.

The Truth, or Idea intended, should arise up in the Reader's Mind from the *Fable* itself. However, for the Convenience of the less discerning Readers, it may be a good Way to point out the Truth or Moral in precise Terms. To have the Moral at the End of the *Fable* seems much better than at the Beginning: The Mind is apt to be forestalled in the latter Case; I carry the Key all along with me, so that there is no Room to exercise my Mind in finding any Thing myself.

The Image, *M. de la Motte* observes, must be just, and express the Thing intended directly, and without any Equivocation: It must be one, that is, all the Parts must be visibly accessory to one principal End; and it must be natural, that is, founded on Nature, or at least on Opinion.

The Writers of *Fables* are not many. If there were any before *Æsop*, his Success has quite effaced their Memory; and even occasioned all the good Things of that Kind to be ascribed to him. His Life, as wrote by *Planudes*, is itself a thorough *Fable*. It must be owned to be very happily imagined, to make the Inventor of *Fables* a Slave, and his Master a Philosopher. The Slave has his Master's Pride and ill Humour to deal withal throughout. His Lessons were all contained in the *Fables* themselves; and the Readers were left to the Pleasure of picking them out themselves.

It is generally allowed among the Learned, that tho' the Matter and Invention of the *Fables* be *Æsop's*, the Turn and Expression is not. The *Greek* is of *Planudes*, and bad *Greek* it is in the Judgment of *Father Vavassor*, *de Ludicru Diſt.* Some Authors will have *Socrates* the Author of the *Fables* of *Æsop*; others attribute them to *Solomon*, and others to *Homer*.

Phædrus was a Slave too, and a freed Man; but he had the Advantage over *Æsop* in Education. He is only a Fabulist, as he translates and copies. Though his *Fables* be generally short, yet is he prolix, compared to his Author. His Style, however, is always florid, Descriptions concise, and his Epithets suitable: He frequently adds Graces never dreamt of by the Inventor; and every where enriches the Simplicity of *Æsop* in the most delicate Manner.

Pilpay, another Fabulist, governed *Indostan* a long Time under a powerful Emperor: But he was not the less a Slave; for the Prime Ministers of such Princes are always more so than the meanest Subjects. *Pilpay* comprized all his Politicks in his *Fables*; and accordingly his Work long continued the Book of State, or the Discipline of *Indostan*. It was translated into *Persian* and *Arabic*, and since into the modern Languages. His *Fables*, *M. de la Motte* observes, are rather famous than good: But he is the Inventor, and the Merit of the Invention will always compensate for a deal of Faults. His *Fables* are often mild, and artless; and the Collection is a sort of romantick Assemblage of Men and Genii, composed in its Kind like *Cyrus* or *Orlando*; where the Adventures are continually thwarting and clashing with each other.

We say nothing of the *Fables* of *Gabrius*, or *Babrius*, *Animus*, *Abstemius*, &c.

Amongst the Moderns we have none that deserve to be seen in the Company above-mentioned, except *M. de la Fontaine* and *de la Motte*, the first of whom has pick-

ed out all the best Things in *Æsop*, *Phædrus*, and *Pilpay*, and given them a-new in *French* with a Delicacy and Simplicity peculiar to himself; and which, in the Judgment of his Countrymen, sets him even above *Phædrus*.

The latter, rather than take up with what *de la Fontaine* has left, chose to be an Inventor himself. He has succeeded. His *Fables* are many of them very happy, though some think them too full of Thought and Reasoning. His Versification is infinitely more correct than that of *la Fontaine*; and more suitable to the Subject than that of *le Noble*.

An EPITAPH, is a monumental Inscription, in Honour or Memory of a Person defunct; or an Inscription engraven, or cut on a Tomb, to mark the Time of a Person's Decease, his Name, Family, and usually some Eloge of his Virtues, or good Qualities.

The Style of *Epitaphs*, is a Kind of Medium between Prose and Verse; the Jeune and the Brilliant are here equally to be avoided. The Style of *Epitaphs*, which was last with the antient Monuments, has been retrieved at the Beginning of this Age, by Count *Emanuel Tesoro*; it is now used various Ways at the Beginning of Books, and even Epistles dedicatory are composed in it, whereas we have no Example among the Antients.

Bouts-rimez, are certain Rhimes in the *French* Poetry, disposed in Order, and given to a Poet, together with a Subject, to be filled up with Verses ending in the same Words, and in the same Order.

The Invention of the *Bouts-rimez*, is owing to one *du Lot*, a Poet, in the Year 1649, in fixing the *Bouts*, it is usual to chuse such as seem the remotest, and have the least Connexion. Some good Authors fancy that these Rhimes are of all others the easiest, that they assist the Invention, and furnish the most new Thoughts of all others. *Sarrafin* has a Poem on the Defeat of the *Bouts-rimer*.

All the Verses of all Kinds of Poetry soever, in the modern Languages, the *English* excepted, which admits of Verses without Rhimes, end in a Rhime; which is a Similitude of Sound, between the last Syllable, or Syllables of one Verse, and the last Syllable, or Syllables of a Verse succeeding either immediately, or at a Distance of two or three Lines.

Rhime is a modern Invention, the Product of a Gothick Age; *Milton* calls it the *modern Bondage*; yet some Authors will have it, that the *English*, *French*, &c. borrow their *Rhime* from the *Greeks* and *Latins*. The *Greek* Orators, say they, who endeavoured to tickle the Ears of the People, affected a certain Cadence of Periods, which ended alike, and called them *ομοιοτελευτα*. The *Latins*, who imitated them, called these chiming Terminations, *similiter desinentia*.

This Affectation increased as the *Latin* Tongue declined; so that in the later *Latin* Writers scarce any Thing is more common than rhyming Periods.

The *French*, and from them the *English*, adopted this Cadence of *Rhime*, which seemed to them more pretty and agreeable than the metrical Verses of the *Greek* and *Roman* Poets.

This Kind of *Latin* Poetry in *Rhime* was much in Vogue in the 12th Century; and the Verses thus running were called, the *leonine Verses*; for what Reason *Camden* owns he does not know, (for a Lion's Tail, says he, does not answer to the middle Parts as those Verses do) but doubtless they had their Name from a Canon called *Leoninus*, who first composed them with Success, and of whom we have several Pieces remaining, addressed to Pope *Adrian IV.* and *Alexander III.*

Camden has given us a Collection of *Latin Rhimes* of the ancient *English* Writers, among whom *Walter de Mapes*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, in the Time of *Henry II.* makes a principal Figure; especially for two Pieces, the one in praise of Wine, the other against the Pope, forbidding the Clergy to have Wives.

Since the Restoration of Learning, in the 16th Century, Attempts have been made to banish *Rhime* out of the modern Poetry, and to settle the *English* and *French* Verses, on the Footing of the antient *Greek* and *Latin* ones, by fixing the Quantities of the Syllables, and trusting wholly to those, and the Number of Measures.

This *Milton* has done with great Success, in his *Para-*
dise

dise Lost, and other Pieces; and after him, *Philips*, *Addison*, and some others. Verses of this Kind, the *English* call *Blank Verses*.

The *French* have attempted the same, but not with the same Success. *Jodelot* made the first Essay, and after him *Pasquier*; but they failed. *Paferat* and *Rapin* follow'd them, and failed like them. Their Hexameter and Sapphick Verses were neither imitated nor approved; and the Cadence of *Rhyme* was preferred to Quantity, or the Use of long, and short Syllables. *Des Portes*, likewise, made some Essays of Verses, constructed of long and short Verses, without *Rhymes*, but the Attempt only served to convince the World, that this Kind of Measure is inconsistent with the Genius of the *French Tongue*.

To succeed in such Kind of Verses, there must be a Liberty of varying the Order of the Words, or of changing their Situation as may best suit the Occasions of the Poet; of making the Substantive either go before, or follow after the Verb, as the Verse requires, &c. Now none of the modern Tongues admit of such an arbitrary Situation of the Words, equally with the Antients; yet none more than the *English*, nor less than the *French*.

Rhymes are either *simple* or *double*, or *triple*; though the two last are now disused.

Single RHYMES are divided into perfect or whole *Rhymes*, and imperfect or half *Rhymes*.

A *whole* or *perfect RHYME*, is where there is a Similitude of Sound, without any Difference; or where a thorough Identity or Sound appears in the Pronunciation of the two Syllables, notwithstanding that there may be some Difference in the Orthography.

An *imperfect* or *half RHYME*, is where there is a Similitude with a Difference, either in Respect of the Pronunciation, or the Orthography; but chiefly the former.

In the Time of St. *Louis*, the *French* began to be more exact in their Versification, and to distinguish their *Rhymes* into *Masculine* and *Feminine*; and to observe a regular Mixture of the two, in their Verses.

The *Feminine RHYME*, is that where the last Syllable of the *Rhyme* ends with an *e* mute, or quiescent: As in *Doree*, *Belle*, &c.

Masculine RHYMES are those of all other Words.

Manage observes, that *Masculine Rhymes* close the Periods better: But that the *Feminines* being the softer and more languishing, are more agreeable, especially in mournful Subjects.

Double RHYMES, by the *French* called *rich Rhymes*, are those where the two Words terminate alike through the whole two last Syllables, as *Squabble*, and *Rabble*, &c.

Plain RHYMES are those where the two *Rhyming* Verses succeed immediately to each other.

Cross RHYMES, those where the Verses are so disposed, as that the first *rhymes* with the third, and the second with the fourth, &c.

Assonant RHYMES is a Term particularly applied to a Kind of Verses common among the *Spaniards*, where a Resemblance of Sound serves instead of a natural *Rhyme*.

Thus *Ligiera*, *Cubierta*, *Tierra*, *Mesa*, may answer each other in a Kind of *Assonant Rhyme*, in Regard they have each an *e* in the penultimate Syllable, and an *a* in the last.

There is also a jocose Kind of Poetry, called *Burlesque*, chiefly used in the Way of Drollery and Ridicule, to deride Persons and Things.

The Word, and the Thing too, seem to be both modern: F. *Vavassor* maintains, in his Book *De ludicra dictione*, that *Burlesque* was absolutely unknown to the Antients; against the Opinion of some others, that one *Raintovius*, in the Time of *Ptolemy Lagus*, turned the serious Subjects of Tragedy into Ridicule; which perhaps is a better Play for the Antiquity of Farce, than of *Burlesque*.

The *Italians* seem to have the justest Claim to the Invention of *Burlesque*. The first in this Kind was *Bernia*; he was followed by *Lalli*, *Caporali*, &c. From *Italy* it passed into *France*, and became there so much the Mode, that in 1649, appeared a Book under the Title of the Passion of our Saviour, in *Burlesque* Verses. Thence it came into *England*.

The best Work we have of that Taste in *French*, is

the *Virgil Travestey* of *Scarron*; which was also done in *English* by *Cotton* and *Philips*; for which poor *Cotton* paid very dear, for having dressed *Dido* in the antique Manner of his old Aunt, and named her as an Original, she resented it so much, as to carry her Resentment so far as to disinheret him.

The *MACARONICK*, or *MACARONIAN*, is a Kind of the *Burlesque* Poetry, and consists of a Jumble of Words of different Languages, with Words of the vulgar Tongue latinized, and *Latin* Words modernized.

Theoph. Folingius, a *Benedictine* Monk of *Mantua*, was the first who invented, or at least cultivated, this Kind of Verse: For though we have a *Macaronea Ariminensis*, in a very old Letter, beginning *Est Author Typhis Leonicus atque Paransus*; yet it seems to have been the Work of *Guarinus Capellus Sarfinas*, who in the Year 1526, printed six Books of *Macaronick* Poetry, in *cabrinus Gagamogæ Regem*: But as both these came out after the first Edition of *Folingius*, which was published under the Name of *Merlinus Coccajus* in 1520; so were they likewise much inferior to both in the Style, Invention, and Episodes, wherewith he has enriched the History of *Baidus*; which makes the Subject of his Poem.

The famous *Rablais* first transferred the *Macaronick* Style out of the *Italian* Verse into *French* Prose, and on the Model thereof formed some of the best Things in his *Pantagruel*.

Merlin Coccajus met with so much Success in his new Way, that he composed another Book, partly in *Macaronick* Style, called *Il Chars del tri per uno*; but with very different Success. — After this appeared in *Italy*, *Macaronica de Syndicatu, & Condemnatione Doctoris Samsonis Lembi*, a low Performance; and *Macaronis Forza*, an excellent one, by *Stefonio* a Jesuit. — In 1620, *Bajani* published a *Carnavale Tabula Macaronea*. The last *Italian* who wrote in this Way, was *Cæsar Ursinus*, to whom we owe *Capricia Macaronica magistri stopini Poete Pouzanensis*, printed in 1636.

The first who succeeded in the *Macaronick* Style among the *French*, was *Antonius de Arena Provençalis de Bragar-dissima villa de Soleris*, in two Poems, which he has left us, *De arte dansandi, & de guerra Neapolitana Romana & Genuensi*. He was followed by another Lawyer, who wrote *Historia bravissima Caroli V. Imperat. a Provincia-libus Paysanis triumphanter fugati*. Some Time after, *Remi Belleau*, among his other *French* Poësies, printed *Diætamen metrificum de bello Hugonotico, & rusticorum pigliamine ad sodales*, a Piece much valued. This was succeeded by *Cacasanga Recstro suisso Lans quenotorum per M. I. B. Lichiardum recatolicatum, spaliporcium Poctam*; to which *Stephen Tabouret* returned an Answer in the same Strain. *Moliere's* Ceremony of the Reception of a Physician, is one of the best Pieces of the Kind.

We have little in *English* in the *Macaronian* Way; nothing scarce but some little loose Pieces, collected in *Camden's* Remains.

But the *Germans* and *Netherlanders* have their *Macaronick* Poets; witness the *Certamen Catholicum cum Calvinistis*, of one *Martinius Hamconius frifius*, which contains about twelve hundred Verses, all the Words whereof begin with the Letter C.

As to Poetry in general, it is observed, that the ancient Eloquence was full of Mysteries and Allegories. The Truth was by them usually disguised under those ingenious Inventions, called *μυθοι*, Fables, q. d. Words; as if there were as much Difference between these fabulous Discourses of the Learned, and the common Language, as between the Speech peculiar to Man, and the Voice of Brutes.

At first Fables were chiefly used in treating of the divine Nature, after the Manner they then conceived it: This occasioned the first Poets to be called *Divines*, and Poetry, the *Language of the Gods*. — The divine Attributes they separated into a Number of Persons; by Reason the Weakness of the human Mind could not conceive so much Power, and so much Action, in a Simplicity so strict and indivisible as that of God.

Nor could they speak of the Operation of this Almighty Cause, without speaking likewise of its Effects. — They therefore added Physicks to their Theology, handling both after the same Manner, without quitting their Veils or Allegories.

Now

Now Man being the most considerable of all the Works of the Deity, and there being nothing so proper for Poets, or of such general Use to Mankind; as such a Subject; they therefore added Ethicks to the former, and treated the Doctrine of Manners in the same Way as they had done Divinity and Physiology. And hence arose the *Epopœia*, or Epick Poem.

The Epick Poets have done with Regard to Morality, just the contrary of what the divine Poets did for their Theology. As the too great Diversity of the divine Actions and Perfections, so little proportionate to our Understanding, occasioned the latter to divide the single Idea of the simple Essence of God, into several Persons under different Names; as *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Neptune*, &c. so on the contrary, the Nature of moral Philosophy, which never gives any Rule for particular Things, occasioned the Epick Poets to unite in one single Idea, in the same Person, and even in a single Action, whatever of the like Kind occurs in different Persons and different Actions.

Thus, says *Aristotle*, Poetry teaches moral Philosophy, not by reciting historically what *Alcibiades* has done or suffer'd; but by proposing what such a Person, whom the Poet calls by any Name he pleases, would necessarily or probably have done or said on the like Occasion. It is in this Manner he represents either the unhappy Consequences of Designs ill-concerted, of wicked Actions, &c. or the Reward of good Actions, and the Pleasure reaped from a Design laid in Virtue, and conducted by Prudence.

Thus, according to our Critick, the poetical Actions and Persons are all feigned, allegorical, and universal; not historical and singular. — This is, likewise, the Sentiment of *Horace*, who adds, that Poets teach Morality, as well as Philosophy; but the Preference herein he gives to *Homer*.

This Advantage of the Poets over mere Philosophers, arises hence, that all Poetry is an Imitation. Now Imitation is a Thing extremely natural, and hence this Manner of proposing Things becomes better fitted to engage the Auditors. Again, Imitation is an Instruction given by Examples; and Examples are the more proper to persuade, in Regard they prove the Thing possible. — In effect, Imitation is so much the Nature of Poetry, that *Aristotle* tells us, it is to this the Art owes its Rise.

But the Poets, by becoming Philosophers, did not cease to be Divines; on the contrary, the Morality they taught, obliged them frequently to introduce the Deity in their Works; and the Share so august a Being had in the Action, obliged the Poet to make it grand, important, and conducted by Persons of Kings and Princes.

Add to this, that it likewise obliged the Poet to think and speak after a Manner elevated above the common Pitch of Men; and to equal, in some Measure, the divine Persons he introduced; and to this Purpose, served the poetical, figurative Language, and the Majesty of heroick Verse.

To convey their Truths to the best Advantage, and adapt them the particular Purposes they were intended for; Poets found out Forms. Hence the *Epopœia* and Drama.

Epick Poetry is more for the Manners and Habits than the Passions; these last rise all at once, and their Violence is but of a short Duration; but the Habitudes are cooler and more gentle, and rise and fall more slowly.

The Epick Action, therefore, could not be restrained to a Day or two, as that of the Drama; a longer and a more just Space was required for this, than for the Tragedy, which is only for the Passions. And hence arose a still greater Difference between Tragedy and the *Epopœia*.

For the tragick Violence required a stronger and more lively Representation than the Epick; and accordingly it consists wholly in the Action, the Poet never speaking as he does in the *Epopœia*, where there are no Actors.

Augustus's Reign, *M. de St. Evremont* observes, was that of the excellent Poets; but it does not follow hence, that it was that of the best Genius's; since Poetry requires a particular one, which is not always agreeable to good Sense: Sometimes it is the Language of the Deities, and sometimes that of mad People; seldom that of a Man of Merit. It delights, as already observed, in

Fictions, Figures, and always foreign to the Reality of Things; tho' that Reality be sole capable to satisfy a sound Understanding.

Not but that there is something gallant, in making Verses well, but we should be very great Masters of our Genius, otherwise the Mind is possessed with something foreign, which does not allow it to dispose easily enough of itself.

Cicero relates it as a Saying of *Democritus* and *Plato*, that there could be no good Poet, *Sine afflatu furoris*, without a Tincture of Madness; and *Aristotle* calls Poets expressly *Maniaci*, Maniacks, Madmen.

M. Spanheim tells us, that the *Arab* Authors are more poetically given than those of any other People; and adds, that there are more Verses among the *Arabians*, than among all the other Nations put together.

The *Greek* Word ποιητής, *Poet*, signifies *Maker*, from ποιεω, *facio*, *I make*; whence the Poets were also antiently called *Fatists*. The Name they were properly denoted by among the *Romans*, was *Vates*, which signifies *Prophet*.

By a Law of the Emperor *Philip*, inserted in the *Code*, lib. 10. tom. 52. Poets are expressly excluded from the Immunities granted the Professors of all other Sciences.

Homer, *Virgil*, *Tasso* and *Milton*, are the chief, and almost the only Epick Poets; tho' *Boileau* censures severely the two last.

Of *Tasso*, he says, that his Books had not been so much in Vogue, if his Heroes, always in Prayer, had done nothing else but to bring Satan to Reason.

Sophocles, *Euripides*, *Shakespeare*, *Otway*, *Corneille*, and *Raune*, are the best tragick Poets. *Aristophanes*, *Menander*, *Plautus*, *Terence*, *Fletcher*, *Ben Johnson*, &c. the chief comick Poets. *Horace*, *Malherb*, and *Cowley*, excelled as Lyrick Poets. *Juvenal*, *Reignier*, *Boileau*, *Dryden*, *Oldham*, *Pope*, *Swift*, *Paul Whitehead*, &c. as Satyrick Poets.

A P P E N D I X.

Of Romances.

As *M. Fontenelle* calls *Romance* Poems in Prose, and *Bosju* is not averse to their being admitted as poetical Pieces, I'll place them here, and say, that a *Romance*, antiently *Romaunt*, and *Romant*, is a fabulous Relation of certain Intrigues and Adventures in the Way of Love or Gallantry, invented to entertain and instruct the Readers.

The just Notion therefore of a *Romance* is, that it is a Discourse invented with Art to please and improve the Mind, and to form or mend the Manners, by Instructions disguised under the Allegory of an Action, or Series of Actions, related in Prose, in a delightful, probable, yet surprizing Manner.

A just *Romance* consists of two Parts, *viz.* a moral, as its Foundation and End; and a Fable or Action, as the Superstructure and Means. It must also have the Manners, that is, the Characters must be distinguished, and the Manners must be necessary, and have all the other Qualities of poetical Manners.

The Incidents must be delightful, and to that End rightly disposed and surprizing. The Sentiments fall under the same Rules as the Drama. But the Diction is allowed to be more lofty and figurative, as being a Narration; and not having Terror or Pity, but Admiration for its End.

As Compositions of this Kind have a long Time been little else but Histories of amorous Adventures, and Feats of Knight-Errantry: The Origin of *Romances* is referred to that of Love-Histories: And accordingly *Dearchus*, a Disciple of *Aristotle*, who first wrote of those Matters, is usually esteemed the Author of *Romances*. Tho' *Photius* is of Opinion, that *Antonius Diogenes's* Book on the Errors and Amours of *Dinias* and *Dercyllis*, gave Birth to most of the Works of this Kind. Be this as it will, it is certain, the Antients have had their *Romances* as well as we. Such are the Amours of *Rhodanis* and *Sinonides*, described in Iambicks: Such is the *Romance* of *Leucippe* and *Clitophon*, composed by *Achilles Tatius*, a *Greek* Writer, afterwards a Bishop: Such are the four Books of incredible Things, wrote by *Damascus*: Such are the *Ethiopicks* of *Heliodorus*, wherein he relates the Amours of *Theogenes* and *Chariclea*. — Lastly, under the

the same Class may be ranked the Fables of *Parthenius Nicemus*, of *Athenagoras*, *Theodorus Prodranus*, *Eustathius* and *Longus*. Indeed Antiquity could scarce be reconciled to such Pieces, and always looked on them as Abuses. *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca*, cod. 87. gives a frightful Account of that of *Tatius*; and the Ethiopicks of *Heliodorus*, though one of the most modest and reserved Pieces of the Kind, met with very severe Treatment. That Author was Bishop of *Tinea* in *Thessalia* in the fourth Century. *Nicephorus* tells us, that a Synod considering the Danger which might accrue to Youth for reading his *Romance*, authorized as it was, by the Dignity of its Author, proposed it to him, either to suppress his Book, or renounce his Bishoprick; and that he chose the latter. But this History is a little apocryphal.

Be this as it will, *Heliodorus* has served as a Model to all the *Romances* wrote since; the Marriage of *Theagenes* and *Chariclea*, has produced a very numerous Issue; even all the *Romances* now extant in the World.

In Imitation of the Archbishop *Turpinus*, who passed for Author of the *Romance* of the Feats of *Charlemagne*, and *Orlando*, a great Number of Histories of the like Kind were wrote in *France* during the Time of *Philip the Fair*; the Authors whereof seem to improve on each other, contending who should go furthest in the Merveilleux. These Books being intended for the polite People, were wrote in the Court Language of that Age; which was called the *Romans*, *romant*, or *romanic*; whence the Books themselves were called by those Names: And thus by Degrees *Romans*, &c. became the general Name of all Books of this Kind; whence at length the *English Romance*.

Others derive the Word from the Spanish *romansero*, I invent, as intimating *Romances* to be meer Fictions. And hence it is that the ancient Poets of *Provence*, who were the first great Dealers in *Romances*, are called *Troubadours*, q. d. Finders or Inventors.

The *French*, above all other Nations, have applied themselves to this Kind of Writing; which is owing in part to the Freedom, &c. wherewith they converse with Women. They began chiefly with *Romances* of Chivalry; hence our *Amadis*, in 24 Volumes; *Palmerin d'Oliva*, King *Arthur* of *England*, &c. whereof we have an agreeable Critick in *Don Quixot*.

The later *Romances* are much more polite; the best of which are the *Astrea d'Urfé*, the *Cyrus* and *Clelia* of *Mademoiselle de Scuderi*; the *Cassandre* and *Cleopatre* of *la Calprenede*; the *Ariane* of *Des Marets*; *Francion*, &c. which *M. Boileau*, in that dreadful Combat between the Canons and Chanters of the *St. Chapelle*, signalized in his *Lutrin*. The most celebrated *Romance* wrote in *French*, and which is worth all other *Romances* wrote in any Language whatever, and which till now has been inimitable, is the Adventures of *Telemachus*, by *M. de Fenelon*, Archbishop of *Cambray*.

The *Germans* too have their *Romances*, especially *Hercules* and *Herculiscus*; the *Aromena*, *Octavia*, *Arminius*, *Othert*, &c.

The *Italians* have their *Fromena* by *Biondi*; the

Works of *Leredano*, *Marino*, &c. The *Spaniards* their *Diana*, and *Don Quixot*. The *English* their *Arcadia*, &c. the *Argenis* of *Barclay*, is rather a Satyr than a *Romance*.

Romances, whether they have Knight errantry, or Love for Objects, are always very dangerous Reading for Youth, for as their Mind then is like a new Canvas susceptible of all Sorts of Impressions, which are rather strengthened than weakened by the Time, it is dangerous to trace upon it, depraved, vicious, or fantastical ones. The vicious ones prove to be in Process of Time a Source of Luxury or Debauchery, which their natural Inclinations, make flow with greater Impetuosity, in Proportion as they grow stronger; and the Fantastical render themselves so absolute Masters of their Imagination, especially if it be a weak one, that it is morally impossible to root them out afterwards; whereof *Cervantes* gives us several Instances in the Conduct of his Hero *Don Quixot*. To make a young Nobleman designed for the Army, read *Charlemagne*, or *Amadis*, &c. under Pretence of inspiring him with Bravery, or Courage, and making him thereby a good Soldier, is running the Risk of making him rather a Madman; the Histories of our modern Heroes, which have nothing of the Fable in them, and consists on real Facts, some of which can even be witnessed by our Contemporary, are far preferable to those Fables, and much more capable to produce the desired Effect; besides that, the modern military Art and Discipline is quite different from what the Fable is pleased to entertain us with of those dark Times; the most sensible Part of Mankind doubting, even with very great Reason, if some of those antient Heroes so much vaunted, had ever any Existence but in the Brain of the Romancers.

The Proximity of *Romances* having rendered them tedious, and the Multitude of incredible Incidents they are stuffed with, incapable to please or entertain a judicious Mind, having entirely discredited them in the polite World, some Authors have invented in our Time, short *Romances*, wrote in a more easy and natural Style, agreeably diversified of modern Incidents, better appropriated to our Manner of conceiving Things; which modern *Romances* they have also distinguished from the Antients, by the Title of Novels. We have a great many *Romances* of this Kind wrote both in *French* and *English*; very proper to entertain the most judicious Mind at his leisure Hours. Tho' as the best Things are often corrupted by the Depravation of our Imagination; there are some Works of this Kind, as much calculated to debauch Morals, and flatter the most vicious Inclinations, as others are either to inspire us with Virtues, noble and generous Principles, or to reform our Manners. Nothing shocks me more than to see those poisonous Sources of Debaucheries flowing from the Pen of a female Author, especially when I consider that it has always been the common Opinion, that Modesty was a Quality essential to the Fair Sex. They cannot be excused by alledging, that it is the Taste of the Age, since the Age owe that Taste to those debauched Authors who make Use of their Talents to flatter it.

P O T T E R Y.

POTTERY, is the Art of making earthen Pots and Vessels; which Art is as much subject to Improvements as any other mechanical Art.

The chief, and almost the only Tools, or Instruments used in Pottery, are the *Wheel* and the *Lathe*; the greatest Perfection and Beauty of the Work, depending chiefly on the Dexterity of the Workman's Hands.

The *Wheel*, consists of a Nut, which is a Beam or Axis, the Foot or Pivot thereof plays perpendicularly on a free-stone Sole or Bottom. From the four Corners a-top of this Beam, which does not exceed two Feet in Height, arise four Iron Bars, called the *Spokes* of the Wheel, which forming diagonal Lines with the Beam, descend, and are fastened at Bottom to the Edges of a strong wooden Circle, four Feet in Diameter, perfectly

like the Felloes of a Coach-Wheel, except that it has neither Axis nor Radii; and is only joined to the Beam, which serves it as an Axis, by the Iron Bars. The Top of the Nut is flat, of a circular Figure, and a Foot in Diameter. On this is laid a Piece of the Clay or Earth, to be turned and fashioned.

The *Wheel* thus disposed, is encompassed with four Sides of four different Pieces of Wood, sustained on a wooden Frame: The hind Piece, which is that whereon the Workman sits, is made a little inclining towards the Wheel: On the fore Piece are placed the Pieces of prepared Earth. Lastly, the Side-Pieces serve the Workman to rest his Feet against; and are made inclining to give him more or less Room, according to the Size of the Vessel to be turned. By his Side is a Trough of Water,

Water, wherewith from Time to Time he wets his Hands, to prevent the Earth sticking to them.

The Potter having prepared his Clay or Earth, and laid a Piece of it suitable to the Work he intends, on the Top of the Beam, sets down; his Thighs and Legs much expanded, and his Feet rested on the Side-Pieces, as is most convenient.

In this Situation he turns the Wheel round, till it has got the proper Velocity; when, wetting his Hands in the Water, he bores the Cavity of the Vessel, continuing to widen it from the Middle; and thus turns it into Form, turning the Wheel afresh, and wetting his Hands from Time to Time.

When the Vessel is too thick, they use a flat Piece of Iron with a Hole in the Middle, and somewhat sharp on one Edge, to pare off what is redundant. Lastly, when the Vessel is finished, they take it off from the circular Head by a Wire passed underneath the Vessel.

The Potter's *Lathe*, is also a Kind of Wheel, but simpler, and slighter than the former. Its three chief Members, are an Iron Beam or Axis, three Feet and an half high, and two Inches in Diameter; a little wooden Wheel all of a Piece, an Inch thick, and seven or eight in Diameter, placed horizontally a-top of the Beam, and serving to form the Vessel on; and another larger wooden Wheel, all of a Piece, three Inches thick, and two or three Feet broad, fastened to the same Beam at Bottom, parallel to the Horizon. The Beam or Axis turns, by a Pivot at Bottom on an Iron Stand.

The Workman gives the Motion to the *Lathe* with his Feet, by pushing the great Wheel alternately with his Foot; till giving it a greater or lesser Degree of Motion, as his Work requires.

They work with the *Lathe*, with the same Instruments and after the same Manner as with the Wheel; but neither the one nor the other serves for any more than forming the Body of the Vessel, &c. The Feet, Handle, and Ornaments, if there be any, besides the Mouldings being to be made, and set on by hand; if there be any Sculpture in the Work, it is usually done in earthen or wooden Moulds, prepared by a Sculptor, unless the Potter has Skill enough to do it himself, which is very rare.

The Piece of earthen Ware being done, it is put to dry, to a certain Degree; and from thence carried to the Oven to be baked. As to the glazing, or varnishing of it, it is usually done with Sand, Litharge or Lead-Ashes, Wood-Ashes, and Smalt, melted into a Cake.

But the most curious Operation of this Kind, is that of making *Porcelain*; the Process thereof is as follows.

In the Manufacture of *Porcelain*, there are four Principal Things to be considered, *viz.* the Matter it is made of, the Art of forming the Vessels, and other Works; the Colours wherewith it is painted; and lastly, the Baking, or giving it the proper Degree of Fire.

There are two Kinds of Earths, and as many Kinds of Oils or Varnishes used in the Composition of *Porcelain*, vulgarly called *China*. The first Earth, called *Kaulin*, is beset with glittering Corpuscles; the second, called *Betanse*, is a plain White, but exceeding fine, and soft to the Touch. They are both found in Quarries twenty or thirty Leagues from *Kingteching*; and hither these Earths, or rather Stones, are brought in an infinite Number of little Barks, incessantly passing up and down the River *Jauchen* for that Purpose. The *Petunses* are brought in Form of Bricks, having been so cut out of the Quarries, where they are naturally Pieces of a very hard Rock. The White of the best *Petunse* is to border a little on Green.

The first Preparation of these Bricks, is to break and pound them first, into a coarse Powder with Iron Mallets, then in Mortars with Pestles, that have Stone Heads, armed with Iron, and wrought either with the Hand or with Mills.

When the Powder is rendered almost impalpable, they throw it in a large Urn full of Water, stirring it briskly about with an Iron Instrument. After the Water has rested a little while, they skim off from the Top a white Substance formed there, of the Thickness of four or five Fingers, and dispose this Scum or Cream in another Vessel of Water. They then stir again the Water of the first Urn, and again skim it, and thus alternate-

ly, till there remain nothing but the Gravel of the *Petunses* at Bottom; which they lay afresh under the Mill for a new Powder.

As to the second Urn, wherein are put the Skimmings of the first; when the Water is well settled and become quite clear, they pour it off; and with the Sediment collected at Bottom in form of a Paste, fill a kind of Moulds: Whence, when almost dry, they take it out, and cut it into Pieces, which are what they properly call *Petunses*; reserving them to be mixed with the *Kauling*, in the Proportion hereafter assigned.

These Squares are sold by the Hundred, but it is very rare to meet with them unfalsified. The Workmen, who like the rest of the *Chinese*, are errant Knaves in their Dealings, usually mixing Refuse along with them; so that they are commonly obliged to purify them as they can be employed.

The *Kauling*, which is the other Earth used in *Porcelain*, is much softer than the *Petunse* when dug out of the Quarry; yet it is this, which by its Mixture with the other gives the Strength and Firmness to the Work. F. *Dentrecolles* (who learn'd in *China* the Secret of making *Porcelain*, and has communicated this and all the following Process to us) observes, that some *English* or *Dutch*, having procured some *Petunses* to be brought privately, upon their attempting to make *Porcelain*, at their Return into their own Country, could not succeed for want of taking *Kauling* along with it; which the *Chinese* being apprized of, said, 'that the *Europeans* were wonderful People to go about to make a Body, whose Flesh was to sustain itself without Bones.'

The Mountains whence the *Kauling* is dug, are covered without-side with a reddish Earth. The Mines are deep; and the Matter is found in Glebes or Clods, like the Chalk in ours. The Author is of Opinion, that the white Earth of *Malta* is not much different from the *Kauling*, except that it wants the silvered Particles. The Preparation of *Kauling* is the same with that of the *Petunses*, except that the Matter being less hard, less Labour is required.

The Oil or Varnish, which makes the third Ingredient in *Porcelain*, is a whitish liquid Substance, drawn from the hard Stone whereof the *Petunses* are formed; that which is whitest, and whose Stains are the greenest, being always chosen for this Purpose.

The Manner of preparing the Oil is thus: The *Petunses* being washed, undergo the same Preparations as for making the Squares, excepting that the Matter of the second Urn is not put in Moulds, but the finest Part of it taken to compose the Oil. To an hundred Pounds of this Matter they cast a mineral Stone called *Shekau*, resembling our Alum: This Stone is first heated red-hot, and thus reduced in a Mortar into an impalpable Powder; and serves to give the Oil a Consistence; which however is still to be kept liquid.

The Oil of Lime makes the fourth Ingredient; the Preparation whereof is much more tedious and circumstantial. They first dissolve large Pieces of quick Lime, and reduce it to a Powder, by sprinkling Water on it; on this Powder they lay a Couch of dry Fern, and on the Fern another of slacked Lime, and thus alternately, till they have got a moderate Pile; which done, they set Fire to the Fern: The whole being consumed, they divide the Ashes that remain on new Couches of dry Fern, setting them on Fire as before. And this they repeat five or six Times successively, or even more; the Oil being still the better, as the Ashes are oftner burnt.

In the Annals of *Feuliang*, 'tis said, instead of Fern they antiently used the Wood of a kind of Medlar-tree; and that 'twas this gave the antient *Porcelains* that admirable Hue, which the Moderns cannot come up to for want of that Wood. 'Tis certain, however, the Quality of the Fern and Lime contribute very much to the Goodness of the Oil.

A Quantity of these Ashes of Fern and Lime are now thrown into an Urn full of Water; and to an hundred Pounds of Ashes is added a Pound of *Shekau*, which dissolves therein. The rest being performed after the same Manner as in preparing the Earth of the *Petunses*; the Sediment found at the Bottom of the second Urn, and which is to be kept liquid, is what they call the

Oil of Lime; which the *Chinese* esteem as the Soul of the former Oil, and which gives the *Porcelain* all its Lustre. This Oil is easily sophisticated by adding Water to increase the Quantity; adding, at the same Time, proportionable of the same *Shekau* to maintain the Consistence. Ten Measures of Oil of *Petunse* usually go to one of *Lime*. To have the Mixture just, the two Oils should be equally thick.

Now to form Vessels of these Materials:—The first Thing is, to purify the *Petunse* and *Kauling*; which, for the first, is done after the Manner already describ'd in preparing the Squares. For the second, as its Softness makes it dissolve easily, 'tis sufficient, without breaking it, to plunge it in an Urn full of Water in an open Basket. The Dregs that remain are perfectly useless, and are emptied out of the Workhouse, when a Quantity is got together.

The Workhouses are properly great Yards walled round, with Sheds, and other Conveniencies for the Workmen to work under; as well as other Buildings for them to live in. It is almost inconceivable what Numbers of Persons are employed in these Works; there being scarce a Piece of *Porcelain* but passes through above twenty Hands, ere it comes to the Painter's Workhouse; and above sixty ere it be brought to Perfection.

To make a just Mixture of *Petunse* and *Kauling*, Regard must be had to the Fineness of the *Porcelain* to be made: For the finer *Porcelains*, they use equal Quantities; four Parts of *Kauling* to six of *Petunse*, for moderate ones; and never less than one of *Kauling* to three of *Petunse* for the coarsest.

The hardest Part of the Work is the kneading and tewing the two Earths together; which is done in a kind of large Basons, or Pits, well paved and cemented, wherein the Workmen trample continually with their Feet, relieving one another, till the Mass be well mixed, growing hard, and becomes of the Consistence required to be used by the Potter.

The Earth, when taken out of the Basons, is kneaded a second Time by Piece-meal, and with the Hands on large Slates for that Purpose; and on this Preparation, in effect, it is that the Perfection of the Work depends; the least heterogenous Body remaining in the Matter, the least Vacuity that may be found in it, being enough to spoil the whole. The smallest Grain of Sand, nay sometimes a single Hair, shall make the *Porcelain* crack, splinter, run, or warp.

The *Porcelain*, is formed or fashioned, either with the Wheel, like Earthen-ware, or in Moulds. Smooth Pieces, as Cups, Urns, Dishes, &c. are made with the Wheel. The rest, *i. e.* such as are in Relievo, as Figures of Men, Animals, &c. are formed in Moulds, but finished with the Chissel.

The large Pieces are made at twice; one half of the Piece is raised on the Wheel by three or four Workmen, who hold it till it has acquired its Figure; which done, they apply it to the other Half, which has been formed in the same Manner; uniting the two with *Porcelain* Earth, made liquid by adding Water to it, and polishing the Juncture with a kind of Iron Spatula.

After the same Manner it is that they join the several Pieces of *Porcelain* formed in Moulds, or by the Hand; and after the same Manner they add Handles, &c. to the Cups, and other Works formed with the Wheel.

The Moulds are made after the Manner of those of our Sculptors, *viz.* divers Pieces, which separately give their respective Figure to the several Parts of the Model to be represented; and which are afterwards united to form a Mould for an entire Figure. The Earth they are made of is yellow and fat, dug out of its proper Quarries, whereof there are Abundance about *Kingteching*. It is kneaded like Potters Earth, and when sufficiently mellow, fine, and moderately dry, beating it stoutly, they form it into Moulds, according to the Works required, either by Hand, or on the Wheel; these Moulds are sold very dear, but last a long Time.

All these Works made in Moulds are finished by the Hand, with several Instruments proper to dig, smooth, polish, and to touch up the Strokes that escape the Mould; so that it is rather a Work of Sculpture than of Pottery. There are some Works whereon Relievo's are

added, ready made, as Dragons, Flowers, &c. Others that have Impressions in Creux; which last are engraven with a kind of Puncheons. In general, all *Porcelain* Works are to be sheltered from the Cold; their natural Humidity making them liable to break when they dry unequally.

To conceive the Number of Hands each Piece of *Porcelain* passes through ere perfect, we shall close this Article with what *F. d'Entrecolles* instances of a common Tea-cup, ere it be fit for the Painter.—The Cup begins with the Potter, who has the Management of the Wheel, where it acquires its Form, Height, and Diameter. This Operator has not a Farthing Sterling for a Plate furnished with twenty-six Cups; accordingly they go out of his Hands exceedingly imperfect, especially towards the Feet, which are only unformed Lumps of Earth to be afterwards cut with the Chissel when the Cup is dry. When it comes from the Wheel the Cup is received by a second Workman, who fits it to its Base; a third takes it immediately from him, and applies it on a Mould to bring it to its true Form. This Mould is on a kind of Lathe. A fourth Workman polishes the Cup with a Chissel, especially about the Edges, and brings it to the Thinness necessary to make it transparent; in doing which he moistens it from Time to Time, lest its Dryness should make it break. When of its proper Thickness, another Workman turns it gently on a Mould, to smooth its Inside, taking a deal of Care it be done equably, lest any Cavity be formed, or it warps. Other Workmen add some Ornaments in Relievo; other Impressions in Creux; others only Handles, as the Quality of the Cup requires. At last they round and hollow the Foot on the Inside with a Chissel, which is the Function of a particular Artist, who does nothing else.

This Multiplicity of Workmen, so far it is from retarding the Work, that it is found by Experience to go on the faster for it, as well as to be the better done; each Workman by a continual Attention to the same Thing, becoming very dexterous at it; besides saving the Time of changing Instruments, &c.

As to the *Painting of Porcelain*; the *Chinese* Painters, especially those that meddle with human Figures, our Author observes, are all sorry Workmen: He adds, that the Defect is scarce any where so sensible as in the whapey, or *Porcelain* Painters, among whom, setting aside Flowers and Landskips, which are sometimes tolerable, the greatest Masters are not to be compared to ordinary Apprentices among the *Europeans*, for the Beauty and Justness of Design. But it is otherwise with the Colours these Whapey use; which are so exceeding lively and brilliant, that there are but little Hopes our Workmen should ever come to vie with them.

The Painting Work is distributed among a great Number of Workmen, in the same Laboratory: To one it belongs to form the coloured Circle about the Edges of the *Porcelain*; another traces out Flowers, which another paints: This is for Waters and Mountains alone; that for Birds and other Animals, and a third for human Figures.

There are *Porcelains* made of all Colours, both with regard to the Grounds, and to the Representations thereon. As to the Colours of Landskips, &c. some are simple; such are all Blues, which are those most usually seen in *Europe*; others are mixed up of several Tints, and others again heightened with Gold.

The Blue is made of *Lapis Lazuli*, prepared by burning it the Space of twenty-four Hours in a Kiln, where it is buried up in the Gravel, to the Height of half a Foot; when burnt, they reduce it into an impalpable Powder in *Porcelain* Mortars not varnished, and with Pestles of the same Matter.

For the Red, they use Copperas, which they call *Sausan*; a Pound of this they put in a covered Crucible, in the Lid whereof is left a little Aperture, through which the Matter on Occasion may be seen. The Crucible is heated with a reverberatory Fire, till the black Smoke ceases to ascend, and a fine red one succeeds it. A Pound of Copperas yields four Ounces of red Liquor, which is found at the Bottom of the Crucible, though the finest Part is that usually adhering to the Lid and Sides of the Crucible.

The Powder of Flint is likewise an Ingredient in most

of the other Colours, *e. gr.* for green; to three Ounces of Tonghapeen, or Scoria of beaten Copper, they use half an Ounce of Powder of Flint, and an Ounce of Ceruse. Violet is made by adding a Dose of white to the green already prepared; the more green is added, the deeper is the Violet. For yellow, they use seven Drachms of white, and three of the Copperas red.

Most of these Colours are mixed up with Gum-Water, for Application; a little Salt-petre, sometimes Ceruse or Copperas, but more usually Copperas alone, being first dissolved in the Water. Indeed, for *Porcelains* that are to be quite red, the Colour is usually applied with Oil, *i. e.* with the common Oil of the *Porcelain*, or another made of the white Flints.

There is also another red, called *blown red*, because in Reality applied by blowing with a Pipe, one of whose Orifices is cover'd with a very fine Gauze. The Bottom of this Tube is lightly applied to the Colour wherewith the Gauze is smear'd; when blowing against the *Porcelain*, it becomes all sprinkled over with little Points. This *Porcelain* is very rare, and of great Price.

Black *Porcelain*, which they call *Umian*, has likewise its Beauty. This Colour has a leady Cast, like our Metal burning Mirrors; and is usually heighten'd with Gold. It is made of three Ounces of Lapis Lazuli, with seven of the common Oil of Stone; though that Proportion is varied, as the Colour is designed to be more or less deep. The black is not given the *Porcelain* till it be dry, nor must the Work be put to the Fire till the Colour be dry.

The Gold is not applied till after the Baking, and is rebaked in an Oven for the Purpose. To apply the Gold, they break and dissolve it in Water at the Bottom of a *Porcelain*, till a thin gilded Cloud arise on the Surface: It is used with Gum-Water, and to give it a Body they add three Parts of Ceruse to thirty of Gold.

There is likewise a Kind of *marbled Porcelain*, which is not made by applying the Marbling with the Pencil, but for Oil to varnish it withal, using that of white Flints, which hatches and cuts the Work with a thousand humorous Strokes, in Manner of Mosaick Work. The Colour this Oil gives, is a white, somewhat ashy. This *Porcelain* is called *Tfwiki*.

There are several Kinds of *Porcelain*; but they are such as are rather for Curiosity than Use: The prettiest are the magick *Porcelains*, whose Colours only appear when filled with some Liquor. These are made double; the Outside is white, and all laid out in Compartiments; the Inside is a solid Cup, of colour'd *Porcelain*; though the Cup is sometimes of Glass, which has a better Effect than *Porcelain*. The Secret of those magick *Porcelains*, which the *Chinese* call *Kiatfim*, is almost lost; yet Father *d'Entrecolles* has furnished us with a following Account.

The *Porcelain* to be painted thus, must be very thin; and the Colours, which in other *Porcelains* are applied on the Outside, are here applied on the Inside. When the Colour is dry, they lay over it a light Couch of a Size made of the *Porcelain* Earth; by which Means the Colour is inclosed between two earthen Laminæ. When the Size is dry, they throw Oil within the *Porcelain*; and when it has enough, they return it to the Mould, and the Wheel, to render it as thin, and transparent as possible. When dry it is baked in the common Furnace: The Colours here used are always the finest, and the Figures painted are Fishes; as most suitable to the Liquor put within them, and in which they seem to swim.

The several Kinds of *Porcelains* above-mention'd, being quite painted, with their several Colours, and all the Colours dry, are to be polished to prepare them to receive the Oil, or Varnish; which is done with a Pencil of very fine Feathers, moisten'd with Water, and passed light over, to take off even the smallest Inequalities.

The Oiling or Varnishing, is the last Preparation of *Porcelain*, before it be carried to the Oven: This is applied more or less thick, and seldomer or oftener repeated, according to the Quality of the Work. For thin, fine *Porcelains*, they give two very thin Couches; to others one, but that one equivalent to the other two. — There is a great deal of Art in applying the Varnish; both that it be done equally, and not in too great Quantity. The Couches on the Inside are given by Asperision,

i. e. by casting in as much Varnish as is necessary. Those on the Outside, by Immersion, or by plunging the Pieces in a Vessel of Oil.

It must be observed, that the Foot is not yet formed, but continues in a mere Mass, till the Work has been varnished: It is at length finished on the Wheel; and when hollowed, a little Circle is painted in it, and sometimes a *Chinese* Letter. This Painting being dry, the Foot is varnished, and the Work now carried to the Oven to be baked.

Our curious Author omits nothing; not even the Dexterity of the People who carry the *Porcelain* to the Bake-house. He has been frequently surprized, he tells us, to see a Man pass through several Streets full of People, with two very long narrow Boards, ranged with *Porcelain* on his Shoulders, still preserving the Equilibrium so accurately, as not to do any Damage to so frail a Commodity.

There are two Kinds of Ovens used in Baking, or Kealing of *Porcelain*; large ones, for Works that are only to come to the Fire once, which is the common Way; and small ones for such as require a double baking. The large ones are two *Chinese* Fathoms deep, and almost four wide. They are formed of a Mixture of three Earths; one whereof yellow, and common, makes the Basis; the two others are scarcer, and dug out of deep Mines, wherein People can only work in Winter. One of them called *Lautou*, is a very strong, stiff Earth; the other *Touto*, oily.

The Sides and Roof of the Ovens are so thick, that one may lay the Hand on them, when the Fire is at its Height, without Danger of Burning. At the Top of the Dome, which is in Form of a Tunnel, is a large Aperture, to give Vent to the Flames and Smoke, which mount up incessantly, as soon as Fire is once set to the Oven. Beside the principal Aperture, there are four or five small ones around; which, by being open'd and shut, serve to augment or diminish the Heat: Like the Holes in the Chymists Furnaces, called *Registers*. The Earth, which takes up the whole Breadth of the Oven, is placed in Front, precisely against the Opening of the Door, and is two or three Feet deep, and two broad; People passing over it on a Plank, to go into the Furnace to range the *Porcelain*.

As soon as the Fire is lighted, the Door is walled up; only leaving an Aperture for the Conveyance of Wood. Lastly, the Bottom of the Oven is cover'd with Sand, wherein Part of the first *Porcelain* Cases are buried. The Oven itself is usually placed at the Extremity of a long, narrow Vestible, which serves in lieu of Bellows, the cold Air being thus driven directly in the Face of each Oven.

Each Piece of *Porcelain*, of any Note, is disposed in the Furnace in its separate Case or Coffin. Indeed, as to the Tea-Dishes, &c. the same Case serves for several. The Cases are all of the same Matter with the Oven: They have no Lids, but serve each other mutually, the Bottom of the second Case fitting into the Aperture of the first; and thus successively to the Top of each Column. Each Coffin, which is usually of a cylindrical Form, that the Fire may communicate itself more equally to the *Porcelains* inclosed, has at Bottom, a little Lay of very fine Sand, cover'd over with Dust of Kauling, that the Sand may not stick to the Work, and Care is taken that the *Porcelain* may not touch the Sides of the Case. In the larger Cases which hold the small Pieces, they leave the Middle vacant, in regard *Porcelain* placed there would want the necessary Heat. Each of these little Pieces is mounted on a little Massive of Earth, the Thickness of two Crowns cover'd with Powder of Kauling.

F. *d'Entrecalles* observes, that the *Porcelains* are put in Cases to prevent any Diminution of Lustre from the too violent Effect of a naked Fire; adding, that it is owing to these thick Veils, that the Beauty, or as he calls it, the Completion of the *Porcelain* is not tanned by the Heat of the Fire.

As fast as the Cases are filled, a Workman ranges them in the Cavity of the Furnace; forming them into Piles or Columns, whereof those in the Middle are at least seven Feet high: The two Cases at the Bottom of each Column are left empty; because being partly sunk in

in the Sand, the Fire has the less Effect on them; and for the same Reason, the uppermost one is left empty. In this Manner is the whole Cavity of the Oven filled with Columns, excepting that Part precisely under the grand Aperture.

In ranging the Cases, they observe always to place the finest Pile of *Porcelain* in the Centre; the coarsest at the Bottom; and those that are high-colour'd, and consist of as much *Petunse* as *Kauling*, and wherein the waste Oil is used, at the Mouth.

These Piles are all placed very near one another, and are bound together at Top, at Bottom, and in the Middle, by Pieces of Earth; in such Manner as that the Flame may have a free Passage among them, and insinuate equally on all Sides: In which a great Part of the Workman's Art lies, and on which the Perfection of the *Porcelain* much depends. Another Thing to be observ'd is, that an Oven must never be set all together with new Coffins; but half one, half the other; the old ones at the Bottoms and Tops of the Piles, and the new ones in the Middle. Indeed it were better to have all burnt in an Oven a-part, ere they come to be used for *Porcelain*; as was anciently done. The Cases, our Author observes, are brought ready prepared from a large Village on the River, a League distant from *Kingteching*. Ere burnt, they are yellow; and afterwards of a dark red.

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I am of Opinion, that the best *English* Chalk, and the whitest, well beaten, sifted very fine, to free it of all sandy, or other heterogeneous Matter, and mixed afterwards with a sixth Part of Quick-lime, the whole Mixture buried in a Hole out of which Clay has been dug, and left there to ferment, and incorporate for two or three Years, would produce a Matter very proper to imitate *Porcelain*.

Having been desired by some Friends to give them a Secret to join *Porcelain* when broke: I must inform them, that they must take the largest Snails they can find in their Shells; and take the Tail of these Snails, which they'll find at the Bottom of the Shell, white like a Roll of Fat; dissolve that fatty Matter in the best Brandy, so as to form of it a kind of thick Glue, and besmearing the Edges of the broken China with that Glue, join the Pieces, thus smear'd, together, and put them to dry from the Sun. This is a Secret, which I'm persuaded no Body knows in *England*; and *Porcelain* thus joined, appears as if it was only flawed. Flint and other Glasses, may also be joined with the same Matter, and in the same Manner.

P R I N T I N G.

PRINTING, *Typographia*, is the Art of taking Impressions with Ink, from Characters and Figures, moveable or immoveable, upon Paper, Vellum, and Silk.

There are two Kinds of *Printing*, the one for Books; the other for Copper-Plates for Pictures. The first called *Letter-Press Printing*, the second *Rolling-Press Printing*.

The prime Difference between the two consists in this, that the Characters of the former are cast in Relievo; and those of the latter engraven in Creux.

Note, That as I have already given the Rules for *Rolling-Press Printing*, in my Treatise of *Engraving*, under the Letter *E*; I'll confine myself here to speak only of *Letter-Press Printing*, which is the most curious, and most useful of the two.

To proceed with some order in this curious Treatise, we must begin by providing the Instruments necessary for *Printing*; or, to speak in the Dialect of the Art, erect, or fit up a *Printing-House*, which, when compleat, cannot be done at a small Expence; and which consists, chiefly in several Fonts of different Characters, or Types, Presses, and Cases divided into little Cells or Boxes of different Sizes, to contain the Types; *Composing Sticks*, *Galleys*, *Chases*, *Rules*, *Stones* for Imposing, *Head-Sticks*, *Gutter-Sticks*, *Side-Sticks*, *Foot-Sticks*, *Quoins*, *Plainers*, *Riglets*, *Cisterns*, *Ink*, *Paper*, &c. all which I'll describe in a more particular Manner hereafter.

The most expensive Implements of a *Printing-House*, are the Characters or Types; but as it is impossible to do without them, and we suppose ourselves capable to purchase the best, we'll have Recourse, for that Purpose, to that most celebrated Letter-Founder, Mr. *William Caslon*, where we may be sure to find some of the most beautiful in *Europe*.

Those Characters or Types have different Names, according to their Sizes or Bodies, viz. *Pearl*, *Nonpareil*, *Brevier*, *Long Primer*, *Small Pica*, *Pica*, *English*, *Great*

Primer, *double Pica*, *two-lined English*, and *French Canon*, all which we should have in our *Printing-House*, together with *Hebrew*, *Saxon*, and *Greek* Types, &c.

We call a Set of any of these Sizes a *Font*, which includes current Letters, Capitals, numeral Letters, Points, Quadrats, Spaces, &c.

Besides the several Kinds of Characters and Letters above-mentioned, we must have Rules for black Lines, Borders, and Head and Tail-Pieces, accommodated to the several Kinds of Letters.

The Rules for blank Lines are of Brass, and made exactly the Height of the Letter; otherwise they will either hinder the neighbouring Letters from *Printing*, or will themselves be hinder'd by them. This the Compositor occasionally cuts into proper Lengths as his Work requires.

The Borders are a Kind of Ornaments in Form of long Bars, serving for the Divisions of Books, Chapters, &c. their Depth is proportioned to the Letter, and their Length adjusted to the Page, for being composed of several moveable Pieces, it is easy lengthening or shortening them.

The Head and Tail Pieces cut either in Wood or Pewter, are Compartments used at the Beginnings and Endings of Books.

The initial Letters are sometimes cut in Wood and figured; sometimes cast like the other Characters.

Having purchased our Fonts of Letters, and sent them to our intended *Printing-House*, our next Care is to have a *Printing-Press* (represented *Tab. Miscel.*) which is a very compleat Machine: Its two principal Parts, each whereof consists of several others, are the Body of the Press, which serves to give the Pinch or Stroke for the Impression; and the Carriage, on which the Form is laid to undergo the same.

The Body consists of two strong Cheeks, placed perpendicularly, and joined together by four cross Pieces or Planks.

The first Plank, called the Cap of the Press, is fixed, and

in the Sand, the Fire has the less Effect on them; and for the same Reason, the uppermost one is left empty. In this Manner is the whole Cavity of the Oven filled with Columns, excepting that Part precisely under the grand Aperture.

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Grain of the Matter, the Beauty and Turn of the Vessels, the Exactitude of the Design, and the Lustre of the Colours, the *French* are not much behind the *Chinese*.

There is also a beautiful Manufacture of *Porcelain* at *Miken*, the Capital of *Misnia*, in *Saxony*, which the Baron *de Polnitz* assures us, produces *Porcelains* painted and enamelled in such Perfection, that they are more beautiful, as well as dearer, than those of *China* itself. The Invention is owing to a poor Alchymist, who being clapped up in the Castle of *Konigstein*, by the late King of *Poland*, on a Suspicion of being Master of the Secret of the Philosopher's Stone, had Leisure enough, not indeed to make Gold, but to invent a Ware, which by the great Vent of it, considerably enriches the Country.

I am of Opinion, that the best *English* Chalk, and the whitest, well beaten, sifted very fine, to free it of all sand, or other heterogeneous Matter, and mixed afterwards with a sixth Part of Quick-lime, the whole Mixture buried in a Hole out of which Clay has been dug, and left there to ferment, and incorporate for two or three Years, would produce a Matter very proper to imitate *Porcelain*.

Having been desired by some Friends to give them a Secret to join *Porcelain* when broke: I must inform them, that they must take the largest Snails they can find in their Shells; and take the Tail of these Snails, which they'll find at the Bottom of the Shell, white like a Roll of Fat; dissolve that fatty Matter in the best Brandy, so as to form of it a kind of thick Glue, and besmearing the Edges of the broken China with that Glue, join the Pieces, thus smear'd, together, and put them to dry from the Sun. This is a Secret, which I'm persuaded no Body knows in *England*; and *Porcelain* thus joined, appears as if it was only flawed. Flint and other Glasses, may also be joined with the same Matter, and in the same Manner.

P R I N T I N G.

PRINTING, *Typographia*, is the Art of taking Impressions with Ink, from Characters and Figures, moveable or immoveable, upon Paper, Vellum, and Silk.

There are two Kinds of *Printing*, the one for Books; the other for Copper-Plates for Pictures. The first called *Letter-Press Printing*, the second *Rolling-Press Printing*.

The prime Difference between the two consists in this, that the Characters of the former are cast in Relievo; and those of the latter engraven in Creux.

Note, That as I have already given the Rules for *Rolling-Press Printing*, in my Treatise of *Engraving*, under the Letter *E*; I'll confine myself here to speak only of *Letter-Press Printing*, which is the most curious, and most useful of the two.

To proceed with some order in this curious Treatise, we must begin by providing the Instruments necessary for *Printing*; or, to speak in the Dialect of the Art, erect, or fit up a *Printing-House*, which, when compleat, cannot be done at a small Expence; and which consists, chiefly in several Fonts of different Characters, or Types, Presses, and Cases divided into little Cells or Boxes of different Sizes, to contain the Types; *Composing Sticks*, *Galleys*, *Chases*, *Rules*, *Stones* for Imposing, *Head-Sticks*, *Gutter-Sticks*, *Side-Sticks*, *Foot-Sticks*, *Quoins*, *Plainers*, *Riglots*, *Cisterns*, *Ink*, *Paper*, &c. all which I'll describe in a more particular Manner hereafter.

The most expensive Implements of a *Printing-House*, are the *Characters* or *Types*; but as it is impossible to do without them, and we suppose ourselves capable to purchase the best, we'll have Recourse, for that Purpose, to that most celebrated Letter-Founder, Mr. *William Caslon*, where we may be sure to find some of the most beautiful in *Europe*.

Those *Characters* or *Types* have different Names, according to their Sizes or Bodies, viz. *Pearl*, *Nonpareil*, *Brevier*, *Long Primer*, *Small Pica*, *Pica*, *English*, *Great*

Primer, *double Pica*, *two-lined English*, and *French Canon*, all which we should have in our *Printing-House*, together with *Hebrew*, *Saxon*, and *Greek* Types, &c.

We call a Set of any of these Sizes a *Font*, which includes current Letters, Capitals, numeral Letters, Points, Quadrats, Spaces, &c.

Besides the several Kinds of Characters and Letters above-mentioned, we must have Rules for black Lines, Borders, and Head and Tail-Pieces, accommodated to the several Kinds of Letters.

The Rules for blank Lines are of Brass, and made exactly the Height of the Letter; otherwise they will either hinder the neighbouring Letters from *Printing*, or will themselves be hinder'd by them. This the Compositor occasionally cuts into proper Lengths as his Work requires.

The Borders are a Kind of Ornaments in Form of long Bars, serving for the Divisions of Books, Chapters, &c. their Depth is proportioned to the Letter, and their Length adjusted to the Page, for being composed of several moveable Pieces, it is easy lengthening or shortening them.

The Head and Tail Pieces cut either in Wood or Pewter, are Compartments used at the Beginnings and Endings of Books.

The initial Letters are sometimes cut in Wood and figured; sometimes cast like the other Characters.

Having purchased our *Fonts* of Letters, and sent them to our intended *Printing-House*, our next Care is to have a *Printing-Press* (represented *Tab. Miscel.*) which is a very compleat Machine: Its two principal Parts, each whereof consists of several others, are the *Body* of the *Press*, which serves to give the Pinch or Stroke for the Impression; and the Carriage, on which the Form is laid to undergo the same.

The *Body* consists of two strong Checks, placed perpendicularly, and joined together by four cross Pieces or Planks.

The first Plank, called the *Cap* of the *Press*, is fixed, and

and serves to keep the two Cheeks together at the due Distance a-top: The second called the *Head* is moveable; being sustained by two Iron Pins or *long Bolts*, that pass the *Cap*: In this Plank is fixed a Female Screw, or *Worm*, with a *Brass Nut*, sustained by two *Short Bolts*, which keep it up: The third Plank called the *Shelves*, serves to keep steady a Part called the *Hose*, in which the Spindle (to be spoken of hereafter) is inclosed: The fourth Plank, called the *Winter*, is moveable; it bears the Carriage, and sustains the Effort of the *Press* beneath, as the Head does above; each giving Way a little, the one upwards, the other downwards, to make the Pull the easier.

The *Spindle* is an upright Piece of Iron, pointed with Steel, of different Dimensions, having a Male Screw, which goes into the Female of the Head, about four Inches. Through the Eye of this Spindle is rivetted the *Bar*, by which the Press-man works the Press.

The lower Part of the Spindle passes through the Shelves, being inclosed in a square wooden Frame, called the *Hose*; and its Point works into the Plug, fixed in a Brass Pan supplied with Oil; which Pan is fixed to an Iron Plate, let into the Top of the Platten. The Press-man, then, by turning or pulling the Bar fixed in the Eye by an Iron Key, presses upon a square smooth Piece of Wood, called the *Platten*, and enables it to compress the Form cover'd with the Paper, *Tympans*, and its Blankets, which in order thereto, are brought under the *Platten*.

At each Corner of the *Hose* is an Iron Hook fastened to those at each Corner of the Platten, with Cords or Packthread, very exactly.

The *Carriage*, which makes the second principal Member of the Press, is placed a Foot below the Platten, having its fore Part supported by a wooden Prop, called the *Fore Stay*, while the other rests on the Winter. On this Carriage which sustains the Plank, are nailed two long Iron Bars or *Ribs*; and on the Plank are nailed short Pieces of Iron or Steel, called *Cramp-Irons*, equally temper'd with the Ribs, and which slide upon them when the Press is turned in or out.

Under the Carriage is fixed a small Piece of Iron, called the *Spit*, with a double Wheel in the Middle, round which Leather *Girts* are fastened, nailed to each End of the Plank. To the Outside of the *Spit*, is fixed a Handle, or Rounce, by which the Pressman turns the Press in or out at Pleasure.

Upon the Plank is a square wooden Frame or Coffin, wherein is inclosed a Marble or polished Stone, for the Form to be laid on. To this Coffin are fasten'd Leather Stay Girts, one to each Side; which being again fasten'd to the Cheeks of the Press, prevent the Plank from running too far out, when drawn from under the Platten. On the fore Part of the Plank is a Gallow, which serves to sustain the *Tympans*, when taken from off the Form.

On the Front of the Coffin are three Frames, much alike, though serving for different Purposes, *viz.* the two *Tympans* and *Frisket*: The *Tympans* are square, made of three Slips of very thin Wood, and a top, of a Slip of Iron, still thinner, called a *Head-Band*: That called the outward *Tympan*, is fasten'd with Iron Joints to the Coffin. They are both cover'd with Parchment; and between the two are placed Blankets, which serve to make the Impression of the Platten, upon the Surface of the Letters more equable; as also to prevent the Letters from being bruised by the Force of the Press. The *Frisket* is all of Iron, very thin, fasten'd a-top to the great or outward Tympan, and sustained by a Slip of Wood hanging from the Ceiling, when open'd to take out the printed Sheets, and put in others. It is also cover'd with Parchment or Paper, cut in the necessary Places, that the Sheet, which is between the great Tympan and Frisket, may receive the Ink, and that nothing may hurt the Margin. On the Parchment of the great or upward Tympan it is, that the blank Sheet is laid to be printed.

To regulate the Margin, and make the Lines and Pages answer each other when printed on the other Side, in the Middle of the Wood, in the Sides of this Tympan, are two Iron Points, which make two Holes in

the Sheet, to be placed on the same Pins, when the Sheet is return'd for an Impression on the other Side, called the Reiteration.

This *Press*, thus well conditioned, we'll have fixed by a Carpenter in a proper Place, in our *Printing-House*, where it may have Room enough to play, without the Press-man, and his Assistant being strained within a too narrow Compass.

Our *Press* thus fixed, we'll range in order the *Cases*, which are to contain our Letters, placing two of them, one over the other; the upper one is divided into 98 Boxes, to contain the *Capitals*, *Small Capitals*, *accented Letters*, &c. and the lower one divided into 54, to contain the *common running Letters*, with the *Points*, *Comma's*, *Quadrats*, &c. placing each Case a little Slope, like a reading Desk, that the Compositor may reach the upper Boxes the better, and be in less Danger of mixing the Letters by stretching his Arm over them.

In the Boxes of these Cases, our Letters which are come from the Founder must be distributed, according to the Order of the Alphabet; together with *Spaces*, *Quadrats*, *Quotations*, &c.

The *Printing-House* thus in Order, we must seek next for a good Set of Workmen, *viz.* *Compositors* and *Press-men*; *Compositors* to range and dispose the Letters into Words, Lines, Pages, &c. according to the Copy deliver'd them by the Author: And *Press-men* to apply Ink upon the same, and take off the Impression: Which two Things should be well minded by the several Operators, in their different Employments; since nothing is more to the Discredit of a Printer, than to see Sheets come out of his *Printing-House* ill printed.

We'll take Care, likewise, to have a good Corrector for the Press, entire Master, not only of his Mother Tongue, but also of several other Languages, particularly *Latin*, *Greek*, and *French*; and to engage him to discharge that important Trust, on which Part of the Reputation of a Work depends, with Care and Honour, we'll allow him an honourable Sufficiency, requisite for the Subsistence of a Gentleman.

Thus provided, we'll begin by setting our *Compositor* to Work, who most commonly works standing; and who must place himself against the Middle of the Case; holding his *Composing-Stick*, (*Tab. Mijcel.*) usually made of Iron, in one Hand; with the other he takes the Letters, Points, Comma's, &c. as he needs them, out of the Boxes; ranges them on a Slip of Brass, called a *Rule*, in his *Composing Stick*; and putting a Space to make a Blank between each two Words, forms one Line after another, till the Stick being full he empties it out upon another Instrument, called the *Galley*; which two Instruments, the *Composing-Stick* and *Galley*, need a more particular Description: Therefore;

The *Composing Stick*, consists of a Plate or Slip of Iron, Brass, Wood, &c. more or less broad, and contrived to as to be made more or less long, according to the Width of the Page, and the Number of Lines to be composed in it. From the right Side of this Plate arises a Ledge, about half an Inch high, running the whole Length of the Plate, and serving to sustain the Letters, the Sides of which are to rest against it; from the said Plate likewise arise three other lesser Pieces, two of which are contrived to slide along it, that so the two Pieces may be either approached or withdrawn at Pleasure, to adjust the Length of the Line to the Measure intended.

Add, that where marginal Notes, References, &c. are required in a Work, the two sliding Pieces are opened in the Composing Stick, to a proper Distance from each other.

Ere the Workman proceeds to compose, a *Rule*, or thin Slip of Brass Plate, cut to the Length of the Line, and of the same Height as the Letter, is placed in the Composing-Stick against the Ledge thereof, for the Letters to bear immediately against.

Things thus prepared, the Compositor having the Copy (which is what the Author has wrote) lying before him, and the Stick in his Left Hand, with the Right he picks up the Letters, Spaces, &c. and places them against the Rule; while with the Thumb of the Left he places them close to the upper Screw, or Check; and thus keeps them steady, while the other Hand is con-

constantly employed in setting in more Letters: The whole being performed with such Expedition and Address, not easy to be imagined.

A Line being thus composed, if it ends with a Word or Syllable, and fills the Measure, there needs no further Care; otherwise more Spaces are to be put between the several Words to justify the Lines, *i. e.* to make the Measure quite full, so that every one may end even; and thus he proceeds to another Line.

The Spaces here used are a sort of Blanks of the like Dimensions with the Letters, but less high; and whose Faces therefore, when set, do not appear, nor give any Impression. They are of several Kinds, according to the Dimensions of the Whites, or Intervals to be made by them, *viz.* Quadrats, to fill up a Break at the End of a Paragraph, or the like; *m* Quadrates, which are square, and of the Thickness of an *m*, serving to make the Distance after a Period, or between Sentence and Sentence; *n* Quadrates, of the Thickness of an *n*, to be placed after the Colons, Semi-colons, and Comma's; and thick or thin Spaces, to be used between the Words in justifying, as above.

Note, That *Quadrat* in *Printing*, is a Piece of Metal, cast like the Letters.—There are *Quadrats* of divers Sizes, as *m* *Quadrats*, *n* *Quadrats*, &c. which are respectively of the Dimensions of such Letters.

For marginal Notes, in the Spaces reserved for them, between the two sliding Pieces of the Composing-Stick, are put little quadrated Pieces of Metal, called *Quotations* (already mentioned) which are justified by other smaller Pieces; a Slip of Scaleboard being placed from the Top of the Page to the Bottom, to keep the Note and Text at a due Distance.

The first Line thus compleatly justified, the *Compositor* advances to the next; in order to which he moves the Brass Rule from behind the former, and places it before it, and thus composes another Line against it, after the same Manner as the former: And thus he goes till his Stick be full, which he empties into the *Galley* after the Manner following. Taking the Rule from behind the last Line, he places it before it; and with his two middle Fingers squeezes the Lines in the Stick close; his two fore Fingers at the same Time being applied on the Outside of the Rule: Thus he lifts them out of the Stick, and clapping his two Thumbs behind the first Line, lifts them into the *Galley*; taking Care to disengage his two Thumbs without breaking the Lines.

The *Compositor* having thus set the proper Number of Lines in his Stick, *viz.* four, five, six, or more, and emptied them thus out into the *Galley*; he again fills and empties, as before, till a compleat Page be formed, remembering at the Bottom of every Page to set a Line of Quadrats, and at the End thereof the first Word of the Page ensuing, for a Catch-word; and if it be the first Page of the Sheet, one of the Letters for a Signature.

Note, That the *Galley* is a flat wooden Instrument, in form of a long Square; of a Length and Breadth proportionable to that of the Page: It consists of two Parts, the upper called the *Slice*, whereby the Pages of large Volumes, when composed, are slid upon the Stone; the other, called the *Coffin*, which is the Body of the *Galley*, is ledged on three Sides, to contain the *Slice*; the inner Ledge not to exceed half an Inch in Height, that the composed Page rising above it by one half the Height of the Letter, may be tied up or bound down, and removed without Danger.—This *Galley* is placed at the Top of the Case, and detained by a wooden Pin from sliding down the Boxes.

The Page then composed and ranged in the *Galley*, he ties it down therein with a Cord of Packthread, and lets it by; and proceeds to the next till the Number of Pages in the Sheet be composed: Which done, he carries them to the Imposing or Correcting-Stone, there to range them in Order in a *Chase*, which they call *Imposing*.

Note, That the *Chase* is a rectangular Iron Frame of different Dimensions, according to the Size of the Paper

to be printed on; having two cross Pieces of the same Metal, called a *Long* and *Short Cross*, mortised at each End, into the Frame, so as to be taken out occasionally.—By the different Situations of these Crosses, the *Chase* is fitted for different Volumes; for Quarto's and Octavo's one traverses the Middle Lengthwise, so as to intersect in the Center; which is the most customary Situation: For Twelves and Twenty-fours, the *Short Cross* is shifted nearer to one End of the *Chase*: For Folio's, the *Long Cross* is left entirely out, and the short one placed in the Middle; and for Broad-sides, or Sheets printed on one Side only, both *Crosses* are set aside. To dress the *Chase*, or range and fix the Pages therein, they make Use of a Set of Furniture, consisting of Riglets, or Slips of Wood of different Dimensions, and of about half an Inch high, that they may be lower than the Letters: Some of these are placed at the Top of the Pages, called *Head-Sticks*; others between them to form the inner Margin, called *Gutter-Sticks*, others at the Sides called *Side-Sticks*; and others at the Bottom, called *Foot-Sticks*.

The Pages then placed in Order on the Stone, the *Chase* is put over them, and the Riglets applied between the Letter and the *Chase*, in the Position above-mentioned; the whole is locked up by means of small Pieces of Wood, cut in the Wedge-form, called *Quoins*, which are driven with a Mallet and Shooting-stick, to a sufficient Tightness.

Before the Form be quite locked up, they dress down the same, by passing a smooth Piece of Wood, called the *Plainer*, over the Letters, to make their Surfaces stand flat and even; and when locked up, they shake it to see that nothing stir.

In this Condition the Work is called a Form, containing more or fewer Pages, according to the Volume.

As there are two Forms required for every Sheet, when both Sides are to be printed, it is necessary they be exactly of the same Length and Breath, *i. e.* the corresponding Riglets, *Head-sticks*, &c. are to be equal in both Forms, that the Pages may fall exactly on the Back one of another, which is called *Register*.

Note, That for the Conveniency of the Binding, the Printers had early Recourse to Signatures, *i. e.* Letters of the Alphabet, placed at the Bottom of the Sheet, which shews the Order they are to be bound in; as well as whether the Quires be compleat. The Catch-words serve nearly the same Purpose: They are the first Words of each Page, which are inserted at the Bottom of the preceding Pages. The Number of the Pages are equally serviceable to the Binder, and the Reader, to guide to References, and to warrant the Book duly bound and collated: Some Printers formerly put them at the Bottom of the Pages; but Custom has carried it for the Tops.—In the Infancy of *Printing*, they had likewise a *Registrum Chartarum* for the Convenience of the Binders: To draw this at the End of each Volume, they collected the Signatures, and the first Words of the four first Sheets of each Alphabet. To abridge it, they afterwards contented themselves to express the Signatures, and how oft each Letter was repeated: But the *Registrum* has been long disused.

The Form thus finished is committed to the Pressmen, to pull a Proof there; in order to rectify the Errors which may have slipped the Compositor's Attention; which are in a greater or lesser Number, according as the Compositor has been more or less careful in his Composition; or has a greater or lesser Capacity.

The Proof pull'd is carried to the Corrector of the Press, who ought to read it over with a great deal of Attention, and compare it carefully with the Copy, in order to rectify all the Mistakes; which is seldom done as it ought to be.

The Corrections are placed on the Margin of each Page, right against the Line where the Faults are found. There are different Characters used to express different Corrections, *v. g.* *D* or *Δ* *dele*, for any Thing to be effaced or left out. When any Thing is to be inserted, the Place is marked in the Line with a Caret *^*, and the In-

sertion added in the Margin. When a Word, Syllable, &c. is to be altered, it is erased out of the Proof; and that to come in its Room written in the Margin; always observing, if there be several in the same Line, that they be separated by little Bars or Strokes, | if a Space be omitted, its Place is marked with a Caret, and the Thing expressed in the Margin #: If a Letter be inverted, it is expressed in the Margin with 3: If any thing be transposed, it is marked thus;

the shortest are the Follies best; for, *the shortest Follies are the best*: And in the Margin is added *tr* in a Circle. If Roman Characters are to be changed for *Italick*, or *vice versa*, a Line is drawn under them *thus*, and Roman or *Italick* added in the Margin.

The *Proof* or *Sheet* corrected, is delivered back to the Compositor, that he may rectify in the Form the Mistakes marked by the Corrector; in order to which he goes with his Composing-Stick to the Case, to take the Letters he thinks necessary for this Operation; then comes to the Form, which he unlocks on the Correcting-Stone, by knocking out or loosening the Quoins; and spreading his corrected Proof so, as that the Line thereof range with the respective ones of the Metal; by running his Eye along both, he easily spies where the Corrections are to be made; according to which, he proceeds to pick out the faulty Letters, Points, &c. with a sharp-pointed Steel Bodkin, and puts others in their Places.

Where the Alterations are considerable, and particularly where Insertions or Omissions are to be rectify'd, there usually arises a Necessity of over-running; in order to which they must decompose, or return the Lines back from the Chase into the Galley, and from the Galley again into the Composing-Stick, to be new-modeled and rectified accordingly.

If, *e. gr.* one or more Words to be inserted in a Line, cannot be got in by changing the Spaces of the Line for lesser ones; Part of the Line must be put back into the Close of the preceding one, or forward into the Beginning of the subsequent one, or both, till Room is got. If the Insertion be large, several Lines will need to be over-run, either backward or forward, till a Break is arrived at; when, if it be not got in, a Line is to be driven out; and to get in that Line, the next Pages, either backward or forward, must sometimes be over-run, ere it can come in.

When an Omission is to be made, the contrary Course must be taken; if it be but little, the Compositor takes it out, and drives out the remaining Matter, by either enlarging his Spaces, or bestowing the Beginning of the following, or the Close of the preceding Line therein. If it be considerable, he may be obliged to over-run several Pages ere it can be driven out.

Some Compositors are very careless in correcting the Form, whereby several Mistakes which had been rectified by the Corrector of the Press, are left in the Form, and consequently found in the printed Sheet; which are attributed to the Author by those who know no better. Therefore there ought to be a Regulation made, that a Compositor, who through Carelessness lets Mistakes escape in the Sheet, after they have been rectified by the Corrector, should be punished, by losing some of his Pay, in Proportion to the Number of Mistakes left uncorrected: The Corrector should be treated in the same Manner; and this Regulation would be much to the Credit both of the Author and Printer.

Note, That as to the Faults which have escaped the Corrector and Compositor, they are usually noted in what we call *Errata*. The antient Editions had no *Errata*; but in lieu thereof they corrected the Faults in each printed Copy with a Pen; which was easy enough in those Days, though impracticable now. In effect, we have antiently had Printers who did not need an *Errata* of above five Articles in a Volume of five hundred Sheets: How different from some of the present Set, who might make an *Errata* of an hundred Articles in a Book of five Sheets.

The Form corrected, and locked again by the Compositor, is delivered for good to the Press-men, who is to work it off; who, to be ready for this Operation,

has took Care to prepare his Ink, Press, and Paper for it.

The *Ink* for Printing is of two Kinds, Black and Red: The last occasionally used in Title-Pages, Kalendars, &c. the first for the Body of the Book. — The Composition of each, though now reckoned no Part of the Printers Business, but usually furnished them by other Hands, is as follows:

For *Black Ink*, a hundred Pounds of Nut, or Linseed Oil, being reduced by boiling; to the Consistence of a Syrup, is cleansed and purified by throwing into it two Pounds of coarse Bread; and about a dozen of Onions. They then boil thirty or thirty-five Pounds of Turpentine apart, till such Time as they find, upon its cooling on Paper, that it breaks clean, like Glass, without pulverizing; for if it pulverizes easily, it is a Sign it is burnt. The Oil and Turpentine thus prepared, the first is gently poured half cold into the latter; and the two stirred together with a Stick, till they be well mixed; after which, the Composition, which is called the Varnish, is set by to be used occasionally.

Now to proceed to make *Ink*, they take a Quantity of this Mixture, and add to it a certain Quantity of Lamp-black, working it up with a kind of wooden Mullet, or Brayer, till the whole be incorporated, and reduced into a kind of Pulp, which is the Ink for Use.

Where note, that its Thickness or Strength is always to be proportioned to that of the Paper, and the Warmth of the Weather; strong Paper, and hot Weather requiring strong Ink; and that the Strength or Weakness of the Ink depends on the greater or less Degree of Coction of the Varnish.

They use for *red Ink* the same Materials as for Black, excepting that instead of Lamp-black they add a proper Quantity of Vermillion. Some hold, that by mixing and incorporating the Bigness of a Nut of Fish-glue, or Brandy, or the White of an Egg with the Ink, the Vermillion acquires a greater Lustre.

To fit the *Paper* for Use, it must be first wet or moistened, by dipping several Sheets together in the Water: These are afterwards laid in a Heap over one another; and to make them take the Water equally, are all pressed close down with a Weight a-top. As to the Degree of Wetting, it must be according to the Quality of the Paper, and the Size of the Letter; small Letters, and stiff Paper, requiring most wetting. But the Paper ought not to be wet long before it is used, otherwise it would be covered with a great Number of yellow Specks, which are very disagreeable to the Sight in a printed Sheet; and would besides smell musty.

The Paper, being fit for Use, the Ink prepared, and the Form placed on the Stone in the Press, the Press-men goes to work: and for the greater Dispatch, sometimes three Persons are employed in this Operation, one to beat the Form with the Ink, another to lay the Blank-Sheet on the outward Tympan, and work the Press, and another to take off the Sheet, when printed; which Operator they call the *Fly*; the first Thing done is beating the Form with Ink, by means of Balls, which are a kind of wooden Funnels, the Cavities whereof are filled with Wool, covered with Leather nailed to the Wood. One of these the Operator takes in each Hand, and applying them on the Ink-Block, to charge them with Ink, he rubs them against one another to distribute the Ink equally; and at last smears over the Form, by beating or dabbing them several Times over the whole Face thereof; taking Care to do it so evenly, that no Part thereof may be left unsmeared; whence would ensue Fryars, as they call them, *i. e.* Places in the Sheet left unprinted, which is a very great Detriment to it, a Scandal to the Operator, and his Master, and a Baulk to the Reader: While he is beating the Form, the Press-man lays the white Sheet on the Tympan; and the Form smeared, he brings the Tympan and Frisket down from the Gallows upon it; and advancing the Plank under the Platten, by means of the Spit-handle or Rounce, gives two Strokes or Pulls with the Bar, and with an equal Strength, that the Sheet may be printed every where equally; and with the same Handle turned the contrary Way, brings back the Plank, so takes out the printed Sheet, and put on afresh; the Form being beaten with Ink every Time a fresh Sheet is put on; and this

this he repeats till he has taken off the full Number of Sheets the Edition is to consist of.

One Side of the Sheet being thus printed, it is remanded to the Press for the other; and so disposed, as that the Iron Points pass thro' the Holes already made in the Sheet.

Sometimes it is requir'd to cut the Frisket afresh, where the second Side is more or less full of *Printing* than the first, as is frequently the Case at the Beginning and Ending of Books, &c.

The Number of Sheets of the Edition being complete, and the Form to be separated, to restore the Letters into the Cases, they first wash it in Lye to take out the Remains of the Ink, scrubbing it with a Brush, and then wash it with fair Water. This done, it is carried to a Board, on which it is unlocked, and the Furniture, *i. e.* the Sticks, &c. taken off to disengage it from the Chase. Then the Compositor taking up several Lines at once upon a little wooden Ruler, he replaces each Letter in its proper Box, to be again used in the Remainder of the Impression.

The most considerable *Printing-Houses* in the World, are those of the *Louvre* at *Paris*, and *Vatican* at *Rome*. The first begun under *Francis I.* was carried to its utmost Perfection under *Louis XIII.* by the Care of Cardinal *Richelieu*, and removed into the Galleries of the *Louvre*, by *Louis XIV.*

The *Vatican Printing-House*, called also the *Apostolical Printing-House*, because the Pope's Bulls, Decrees, &c. are printed therein, was begun by *Pius IV.* and furnished with great Magnificence by *Sixtus V.*

Out of both these *Printing-Houses* have come forth very beautiful, and splendid Editions of the antient Authors. The *Vatican* was the first that printed Books in the *Arabick* Language.

The *Clarendon Printing-House* at *Oxford* (so called because built, in great Measure, with the Profits arising from the Copy of Lord *Clarendon's* History which had been given to the University) promises well; it has already furnished us with a very fine *English Bible*; and several other magnificent *Printing-Houses* could be erected in *England*, while they have one of the best Letter-Founders in the whole World, *viz.* Mr. *William Casson*, if Arts and Sciences were more encouraged in this Kingdom.

The *Chinese* have a Manner of *Printing* quite different from ours, it is true it has some Advantage over ours in Correctness, and the Beauty of the Characters; but in other Respects it comes far short, the single Advantage of moveable Characters, making more than amends for all that is urged against us by some zealous Advocates for this oriental *Printing*.

Books are printed in *China* from wooden Planks or Blocks, cut like those used in *Printing* of Callico, Paper, Cards, &c. among us.

These Blocks are made of a smooth, firm, close Wood, and of the Size of the Leaf required. On the Face-Side they glue a Paper, upon which some able Penman draws out the several Letters and Characters with a *Chinese* Pen, which is a Kind of Pencil. This is the principal Part of the Work, and that whereon the Success of the rest depends.

When finished, the Block is put in the Hands of a Sculptor, or Cutter in Wood; who following the several Strokes of the Writer with his Gravers, and other sharp little Instruments, makes them all appear in Relief on the Wood.

When the Carving or Cutting is finished, they moisten what remains of the Paper, and rub it gently off.

The Ink they use in *Printing* is the same with the common *Chinese* Ink, wherewith they also write; and is made of Lamp-black mixed up with Oil.

Their Press resembles our Rolling-Press, much more than the Letter-Press.

As to their Paper, it is inferior to ours: It is made of the inner Bark or Rind of a Kind of Rushes, beat up with Water into a Pulp or Press, and formed in Moulds much like ours.

The Advantages of the *Chinese* Paper consists in this, that they are not obliged to take off the whole Edition at once, but print their Books as they need them; that the Blocks are easily touched, and made to serve afresh;

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and that there needs no Corrector of the Press.

Its Disadvantages are, that a large Room will scarce hold all the Blocks of a moderate Volume; that the Colour of the Ink easily fades; and that the Paper is apt to tear, and is subject to Worms: Whence it is that we see so few antient Books in *China*.

The Art of *Printing* is a modern Invention: It is indeed of a very antient Standing among the *Chinese*. It must be owned, that the *European Printing*, in its Original, was much the same with the *Chinese*; yet, as there was at that Time no Commerce or Correspondence between *Europe* and *China*, the Passage into the East by the Cape of *Good Hope* being as yet undiscover'd by the *Portuguese*, there is no Room to charge the *Europeans* with borrowing their Art from the *Chinese*; but each must be own'd to have fallen on the same Thing, though at very different Times.

Father *Couplet* assures us, that *Printing* has been in Use in *China* from the Year 930. Father *le Comte* speaks more largely; saying, that it has been there from almost all Ages: He adds, that there is this Difference between theirs and ours, that whereas we have but a small Number of Letters in our Alphabets, and by the various Arrangement of those, are able to form infinite Volumes; we have the Advantage, by making our Characters moveable, to print the largest Works with an inconsiderable Quantity of Letters; those that served for the first Sheet, serving over again for the succeeding ones: The *Chinese*, on the contrary, by Reason of the prodigious Number of their Letters, are precluded this Resource; and find it more easy and less expensive, to cut all their Letters on wooden Blocks; and thus to make as many Blocks as there are Pages in a Book, and these of no other Use but for that single Work.

Who the first Inventors of the *European Printing* were, in what City, and what Year it was first set on Foot, is a famous Problem long disputed among the Learned. In effect, as the *Grecian* Cities contended for the Birth of *Homer*, so do the *German* Cities for that of *Printing*.

Mentz, *Hacrem*, and *Straßbourg*, are the warmest on this Point of Honour: *Italy* also would have entered the Lists; but the Suffrages being at first divided between the first three Pretenders, they are left in Possession of the Question, which, in Reality, is not yet justly decided; though it must be owned, *Mentz* has always had the Majority of Voices.

We shall not enter into a nice Disquisition of the Merit of the Cause, but only propose the Pretensions of each. *John Mantel* of *Straßbourg*, *John Guttemberg*, and *John Fust* of *Mentz*, and *L. John Koster* of *Hacrem*, are the Persons to whom this Honour is severally ascribed, by their respective Countrymen; and have all their Advocates among the Learned.

Mantel, a Physician of *Paris*, enters the Lists in Favour of his Name-Sake of *Straßbourg*; and contends it was he first invented *Printing* in the Year 1442, and that in Consideration hereof, the Emperor *Frederick III.* gave him a Coat of Arms corresponding thereto: He adds, that *Guttemberg*, whom he had taken in as a Partner or Associate, carried it to *Mentz*, where he took in *Fust* a Partner.

The *Hacremers*, with *Boxhornius*, *Screwelius*, &c. refer the first Invention to *Laurence*, *Janus Koster* of *Hacrem*, in the Year 1430, adding, that his Associate *Guttemberg* stole away his Tools while he was at Church, and carried them to *Mentz*, where he set up for the first Inventor; though others attribute this Theft, &c. to his Partner *Fust*.

Munster, *Polydore Virgil*, *Pasquier*, &c. will have *Guttemberg* or *Guttembourg*, to have really been the Inventor of *Printing*; and add, that he took in *Fust* and *Schoeffer* for Associates.

Naude, in his *Masquade*, espouses the Cause of *Fust*, or *Faust*, or *Fauslus*; and will have him to be the first Printer in *Europe*, and that he took in *Guttemberg* for a Partner. His Reason for putting *Fust* in Possession of this Privilege, is, that the first Books that were printed, appear to have been all of his Impression. It is more than probable, had *Guttemberg* or *Koster* had a greater or an equal Share in the Invention, they would not have allowed him to attribute the whole to himself, and his

Son-in-law *Schoeffer*, as he has done, without ever offering to do the like, or in the least contradicting him, and asserting their own Right.

These Editions are, 1. The *Catholicon Januensis*, dated in 1460, and now in the King of *England's* Library, *Fust's* Name, indeed, is not to this; but it is perfectly like the following ones, where it is. 2. The *Latin Bible* of 1462, now in the King of *France's* Library. 3. *Tully's Offices*, in 4to, (the rest being all Folio's) in the Year 1465, and 1466, for there are Copies in the *Bodleian*, and the Library of *C. C. College Oxon*, of both those Dates. 4. Other Bibles of 1471. 5. *St. Augustine, De civitate Dei*, 1473. 6. *Mercurius Trismegistus, De potestate & sapientia Dei*, in 1503. 7. *Titus Livius*, in 1518.

Add to this, that at the Beginning of *Livy*, is a Privilege granted by the Emperor *Maximilian* to *Schoeffer*, for the sole Power of *Printing* that Author for ten Years; and for six Years to all the other Books he should print thereafter, in Consideration of his Father-in-law *Fust's* having invented the Art of *Printing*. This Privilege is dated 1518, and signed *Jac. Spiegel*.

Erasmus, however, in the Epistle after that Privilege, does not positively own the Fact; he only observes, that the first, or the chief Inventor of that Art is held to be *J. Fust*. In the Advertisement to the said Book, *Nic. Carbachius* speaks to the same Effect as to the Privilege, as *Erasmus*.

As to *Guttemberg*, *Mantel*, and *Koster*, *Naude* observes, the Person is not yet born that can say he has seen Books printed by any of them before, or as early as those of *Fust*. All that is urged on their Behalf, is only founded on Reports, Conjectures, Probabilities, forged Authorities, and the Jealousies of Cities against one another.

Yet *Salmuth*, in his Additions to *Pancirollus*, cites a publick Act, whereby it appears, that *Fust* having invented *Printing*, and sustained it a long Time on his own Footing; at last took in *Guttemberg* as a Partner, to contribute to the Expence; which was very great, by Reason the first Books were most of them printed on Vellum, or at least Parchment, and after the *Chinese* Way.

But the Cause is not thus decided: The Advocates for *Koster* urge divers Things, to put him in the Place here assigned to *Fust*. Mr. *Ellis*, in his *Philosophical Transactions*, fathers Books on him prior to any of those above referred to *Fust*; and even some as early as 1430, and 1432. It is certain, the *Haerlemers* shew printed Books of that Date, which agreeing so well with the Account given by *Theod. Schrevelius*, and others, leave Mr. *Ellis* little Room to doubt, whether the Honour of the Invention be his, or the other's Due. All that belongs to *Fust*, according to this Writer, is the Honour of establishing the Art in greater Lustre and Perfection at another Place many Years after.

But the Difficulty lies either in shewing whether the Practice should be at a Stand, from 1432, to the reviving of it at *Mentz* by *Fust* and *Schoeffer*, in 1465, or else in giving some Account of the Condition and Progress of this Invention during that Interval.

Now *Baxhornius*, *Schrevelius*, and other Authors, expressly affirm, that so large a Work as the *De Spiegee, Speculum salutis*, of *Koster*, shewn at *Haerlem* for the first printed Book, could never be his first Essay: He must have had the Art in its rougher Rudiments before, and have made many Trials on lesser Works: No doubt his first Attempt were on loose Sheets, which we may suppose are easily lost. In effect, it must be allowed no inconsiderable Argument in *Koster's* Behalf, that the rudest and most artless Performances seem to be his: Mr. *Ellis* mentions something of this Kind without Date, which he had seen in the King of *England's* Library at *St. James's*, in that of *Bennet College*, and the *Bodleian* at *Oxford*, with all the Marks of the utmost Simplicity, and which might fairly bid for first Essays. There is something so awkward and coarse in them, that any Body almost might have done them; where Nature being sufficient, without any Art or Experience at all. The Ink was only common Writing-Ink unartfully spread upon wooden Blocks, very clumsily cut, &c.

By this Time we have traced the Art to such a State, that it may, perhaps, seem worth the contesting who it was invented it; and no doubt *Printing*, as it now stands, owes more to the Genius and Address of some of the later Improvers than it did to its first Author.

The same Consideration may make us more easy under our present Ignorance of the Inventors of most other Arts; many of which had such unmeaning Originals, that you and I should, perhaps, think it no mighty Credit to be esteemed the Authors of Inventions nothing less artful and ingenious.

The first Printers, then, whoever they were, whether *Koster*, *Fust*, *Schoeffer*, or *Guttemberg*, made their Essays on wooden Blocks, or Forms, after the *Chinese* Manner.

It is not improbable, says Mr. *Bogford*, they might take the Hint from antient Medals and Seals; but others rather imagine it to have come from the Method of making playing Cards, which, it is certain bears a near Resemblance to the primitive Process of *Printing*; as appears from the first Specimen of that Art above-mentioned.

The Book at *Haerlem*, the Vocabulary called *Catholicon*, and the Pieces in the *Bodleian* and *Bennet's College*, are all performed in this Way, and the Impression appears to have been only given on one Side the Leaves; after which the two blank Sides were pasted together.

But they soon found the Inconveniencies of this Method; and therefore bethought themselves of an Improvement, which was by making single moveable Letters, distinct from one another.

These being first done in Wood, gave Room for a second Improvement; which was the making of them at length of Metal; and in order to that cutting Moulds, Matrices, &c. for casting them.

From this ingenious Contrivance, we ought to date the Origin of the present Art of *Printing*, as practised throughout *Europe*; contradistinguishing'd from the Methods of the *Chinese* abroad, and the Card-makers at Home, which were the same Art, only practised in a different Place, or with a different View.

And of this, *Schoeffer* or *Scheffer*, first Servant, and afterwards Partner and Son-in-law of *Fust*, at *Mentz*, before-mentioned, is pretty generally allowed the Inventor: So that he was properly the first Printer; and in Strictness, the Bible, which was printed with moveable Letters in 1450, was the first printed Book; the next was *St. Augustine De civitate Dei*, then *Tully's Offices*, &c. about the Year 1461.

But the Art being yet in its Infancy, there were some Imperfections in the Books they printed; among the rest was the Want of capital Letters: Hence they left the Places of initial Letters blank, and gave them to the Illuminers to paint in Gold or Azure: Though others say, this was done designedly, to enable them to pass off their Books for Manuscripts.

Some Authors tell us, that *Fust* carrying a Parcel of his Bibles to *Paris*, and offering them to Sale as M S S. The *French* upon considering the Number of Books, and their exact Conformity with one another, even to a Point, and that the best Book-Writers could not be near so exact, concluded there was Witchcraft in the Case; and by either actually indeluding him as a Conjuror, or threatening to do so, extorted the Secret. And hence the Origin of the popular Story of Dr. *Faustus*. But any Body may see that this is a ridiculous Fable.

From *Mentz*, the Art of *Printing* soon spread itself throughout a good Part of *Europe*; *Haerlem* and *Strasbourg* had it very early; which, as the Current of Authors represent it, occasioned their pretending to the Honour of the Invention.

From *Haerlem* it passed to *Rome*, in 1467, and into *England* in 1468, by Means of *Tho. Bouchier*, Archdean of *Canterbury*, who sent *W. Turner*, Master of the Robes, and *W. Caxton*, Merchant, to *Haerlem*, to learn the Art. These privately prevailing with *Corsilles*, an Under-Workman, to come over, a Press was set up at *Oxford*; and an Edition of *Raffinus* on the Creed, printed the same Year in a broad Octavo, on Paper.

From *Oxford*, *Caxton* brought it to *London* about the Year

Year 1470, in the same Year it was carried to *Venice*, and to *Paris*, where *Gering*, *Grantz*, and *Friburger*, all *Germans*, invited thither by two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, set up a Press in that learned House.

Hitherto there had been nothing printed but in *Latin*, and the vulgar Tongues; first in *Roman* Characters, then in *Gothick*, and at last in *Italick*. But in 1480, and, as some say, in 1476, the *Italians* cast a Set of *Greek* Types; and it was at *Venice*, or as some say, at *Milan* or *Florence*, that the first Editions in that Language appear'd.

The *Italians* too have the Honour of the first *Hebrew* Editions, which were printed about the same Time with the *Greeks*, at *Saccino*, a little City in the Duchy of *Milan*; under the Direction of two *Jewish* Rabbins, *Joshua* and *Moses*, whose Works are dated in the Year of the World 5240, answering to the Year 1480 of the Christian *Æra*.

Towards the End of the 16th Century, there appear'd various Editions of Books in *Syriack*, *Arabick*, *Persian*, *Armenian*, *Coptick*, or *Egyptian* Characters; some to gratify the Curiosity of the Learned, and others for the Liturgick Uses of the *Christians* of the *Levant*, printed chiefly at *Paris*; whither *Punchions* and *Matrices* were sent from *Constantinople* by Mr. *Savary*, then Ambassador at the *Porte*.

Out of *Europe*, the Art of *Printing* has been carried into the three other Quarters of the World: For *Asia*, we see Impressions of Books at *Goa*, and in the *Philippines*; at *Lima*, *Mexico*, *Boston*, &c. for *America*; and at *Morocco* for *Africa*.

The *Turks*, indeed, rigorously prohibit *Printing* throughout their Empire, as imagining, that the too free Communication with Books, might occasion some Change in Religion or Government; yet the *Jews* have several Editions of their Books printed at *Constantinople*, *Ithessalonica*, &c.

Those who profess the Art of *Printing*, are called *Printers*. The first *Printers*, as already observed, were *Fust*, *Guttemberg*, *Schoeffer*, *Menzel*, and *Koster*. The first that practised it in *England* was *Frederick Corseilles*, brought over from *Haerlem*, under King *Henry VI*; in *France*, *Gering*; at *Rome*, *Conrad Sweynham*, and *Arnold Pommarts*, both *Germans*; at *Naples*, *Sixtus Rasinger*.

The great *Printers*, were *Aldus*, and *Paulus Manutius*; the two *Badii*; *William* and *Frederick Morel*; *Oporin*, *Frobenius*, *Rob. Hen.* and *Char. Stephens*; *Gryphius*, *Turnebus*, *Torres*, *Commelin*, *Plantin*, *Raphelengius*, *Vascofan*, *Bleau*, *Crispin*, *Petit*, *Coignard*, and the two *Elzevirs*.—The learned *Printers* were the *Manutii*, the *Stephens's*, the *Badii*, *Turnebus*, *Wechel*, *Morel*, *Juntæ*, &c.

Plantin had the Title of *Arch. Printer*, *Archi typographus*, given him by the King of *Spain*, in Consideration of his printing the *Polyglot* of *Antwerp*.

The Names, Characters, and Eloges of all the famous *Printers* are found in Part II. of the first Tome of the *Jugemens des Sçavans*.

The *Printers*, since the Establishment of that Art, are esteemed a Part of the Company of Stationers and Bookfellers: Before that Establishment, the Company consisted only of Bookfellers, Binders, Writers, Illuminators, and Parchment-makers.—The *Parchment-makers* prepared the Skins, and made the Parchment or Vellum; which were then almost the only Matters Books were written on. The *Writers* or *Copists* wrote and transcribed Books after Copies given them by the Bookfellers. The *Binders* were charged with the Binding of those Days, which was very coarse, only consisting of two slight Boards covered with some paltry Leather. The *Illuminators* painted in Miniature, and gilt initial Letters, Head Pieces, Tail Pieces, and other Compartments. Lastly, the Stationers or Bookfellers set the Writers to work, and sold their Copies in Shops and other Places.

P Y R O T E C H N Y.

PYROTECHNY, πυροτεχνια, is the Art of Fire, or a Science, which teaches the Management and Application of Fire in several Operations.

Pyrotechny is of two Kinds, *military* and *chymical*.

Chymical Pyrotechny, is the Art of managing, and applying Fire in Distillations, Calcinations, and other Operations of Chymistry, of which I have spoke at large in my Treatise of *Chymistry*, under the Letter C.

Military Pyrotechny, is the Doctrine of artificial Fire-works, as *Rockets*, *Stars*, *Serpents*.

A **ROCKET**, is an artificial Fire-work, consisting of a cylindrical Case of Paper, filled with a Composition of certain combustible Ingredients; which being tied to a Stick, mounts in the Air to a considerable Height, and there bursts.

The *Rocket* has a great Part in all Fire-works of Entertainment, being not only used singly, but sometimes also as an Ingredient in others; as we shall see hereafter.

Besides the *Rocket* here defined, which is properly called the *Sky-Rocket*, there is another, which from the Sphere it moves in, the Water, is denominated *Water-Rocket*. The Mechanism, Preparation, &c. of each whereof we shall here describe.

1. A concave cylindrical Mould or Frame, is turned of Walnut-tree, or Box, with a Base and a Capital, usually adorned with architectural Mouldings.—The Cylinder is to be opened at both Ends, and its Dimensions, for Rockets of various Sizes, as in the following Article.—When large, it is sometimes also made of Brass or Tin; and when small of Bone.

2. Of the same Matter with the Mould is prepared a Quadra or Foot; in the Middle whereof is turned a Hemisphere, considerably less than that of the Cavity of the Mould; making the Cap or Head of another Cylinder, and reaching up within the Case, where it is kept steady by a Pin.

Authors do not agree about the Proportions.—*Simonowitz* prescribes those that follow. If the Diameter of

the Aperture be equal to that of a leaden Ball of a Pound, or at most two Pounds in Weight; the Height of the Cylinder, with the Base and Capital, to be seven Diameters, and the Height of the Quadra $1\frac{1}{2}$. The Altitude of the Cylinder 1; the Diameter $\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{3}$; the Diameter of the Hemisphere $\frac{2}{3}$; the Height of the Capital 1; the same Author adds, that he finds by Abundance of Experiments, that if the Diameter of the Aperture be divided into a hundred Parts, according to the different Weight of the leaden Balls to whose Diameter it is equal, the following Numbers give the Height.

Height of Leaden Ball.	Substuple of Altitude.	Height of Leaden Ball.	Substuple of Altitude.
1	100	20	86
2	98	30	82
4	96	40	78
6	94	50	75
10	91	70	67
15	88	100	57

The Mould being ready, a wooden Cylinder or Mould is provided; whose Diameter is $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Aperture of the Frame, and its Length equal to the Height of the same; to which is fixed a Haft or Hilt. About this Mould is a strong Paper, or rather Card, rolled as tight as possible, and passing the Paper or Card, in Proportion as it is rolled; and rolling it till it be of a Bigness to enter easily the Frame.—This Card thus rolled must be of the Height of the Frame, when off its Base.

When the Card thus rolled, and passed, is dry, it is pared at both Ends to make it even and straight.

This done, where the Haft is joined to the Cylinder, it is choaked, *i. e.* firmly bound with a strong Packthread, wherewith the Artificers make two Turns round the rolled Card, fastening an End of the Packthread to a Nail fastened in the Wall, or somewhere else, and

the

the other End to a Stick, which the Artificer passes between his Legs, and behind him, then introduces another Mould into the Place left empty, that while he shakes hard the Paper, it may not lose its first Diameter, nor its first Figure.

When the Cylinder is sufficiently choaked, and there remain Inside thereof an Aperture even too small for the Introduction of the Spike of the Frame, the Packthread which served to choke it is taken off, and another Packthread put in its Place, wherewith several Turns are made round it, binding it very tight, and fastening it with good running Knots made one over another, so that the Cylinder becomes as is seen in our Table of Miscellanies.

The Cylinder thus prepared, the Frame is placed on its Base, and the Cylinder introduced into it, the choaked End foremost, by means of the Base the Cylinder comes out of the Mould about an Inch, or thereabout, then a hollow Spike is introduced into the Cylinder, in the Middle thereof it meets with the Spike of the Base of the Frame, which runs into it, the Artificer knocking three or four Times upon it with a wooden Mallet, that the choaked End may re-assume entirely the Form and Proportion of the Body of the Cylinder, which then is fit to be filled.

The Preparation being likewise prepared in the Manner I'll explain it hereafter, the Artificer shall take a Spoon of Tin or Copper, and fill it with the Composition, and put it into the Cylinder, introducing the first hollow Spike over it, and having knocked three or four Times pretty hard upon it, and likewise round the Mould, to make fall what could be left of the Composition on the Borders thereof; repeating the same Process, and ramming the Composition sometimes with the hollow Spike, and sometimes with a Rammer, till the Cylinder be quite charged, which is done when the Composition has reached the upper End of the Spike of the Basis, which may be felt with the End of the Finger through the Cylinder.

When you feel the Spike no more, you put in a Spoonful of the Composition, and take the massive Spike or Rammer to beat three Times the Composition.

The Composition reaching the Top of the Mould, well beaten, and evenly rammed, there will remain in the Cylinder an empty Place, of about an Inch and a half, as already observed; take then the Bodkin, wherewith you'll separate the Plaits of the Card, and loosen the Extremity of the Cylinder, which you'll beat down Inside on the Composition, so that there remain no more than one or two Plaits of the Card upright. The Card or Paper thus beaten down, you'll ram it still harder than you have done the Composition, and taking afterwards your Bodkin you'll make two Holes in the Card which is down, near that which stands upright, that when Fire is set to the Chaffie, which is the Space left at top, and which must be filled with a particular Composition, it may be communicated to the Body of the *Rocket*. When the Operation is carried thus far, the *Rocket* is taken out of the Mould; the Vacuity left at the Bottom of the Cylinder, through which the Spike of the Ball ran, must be carefully stopped with a little Lump of Paper.

Then the Chaffie is put at the End which came out of the Frame; which Chaffie is composed of an equal Quantity of whole Powder, and of the Composition the *Rocket* is charged with, passing a Paper over it, to keep up that Charge; afterwards you take a Pot, which you adapt to the Top of the *Rocket*, introducing your Cylinder into the narrowest Part of the Pot, so that the widest be upwards, passing those two Parts together, and tie them with Packthread; which done, you'll dispose as many Serpents in the Cup as it can contain, taking Care to put the primed End of the Serpents downwards, that they may have a greater Communication with the Fire.

The Pot full, you'll paste a Piece of Paper over it, to hinder the Serpents from falling out. Over the Pot you'll place what is called the *Capital*, which juts out a little, and must be patted round, and tied besides with small Packthread, that the Pot and Capital may hold fast together, passing even a Slit of Paper over all.

The *Rocket* thus ready to be primed, you introduce the Spike of the Ball or the Mould downwards into it,

holding the *Rocket* very hard, while you turn the Ball two or three Times into it, to press the Composition, stopping the Hole afterwards with a Stopple, which should not penetrate further than an Inch into the *Rocket*, another Inch thereof being left out; and to keep this Stopple fast in the Hole, you'll smear it with a Paste made with Gun-powder pulverized, and Water; covering afterward the Gorge of the *Rocket* with a Piece of Paper tied round it with Packthread.

To make this *Rocket* mount strait, it is tied fast to the End of a long slender Stick, eight Times as long as the *Rocket*; in such Manner as that when posted on the Finger near the Touch-hole, the Stick (which is usually made biggest at this End, and sloping gently to the other) may preponderate, though very little.—The *Rocket* thus equipped, is hung at Freedom, and lighted with Port-fire.

The Composition wherewith *Rockets* are filled, is made in the following Manner.

You must take the biggest Gun-powder, bruise it on a Table with a wooden Muller, and pass it afterwards through a very fine silk Sierce, take sixteen Ounces thereof, and put it by itself: Then you'll bruise Charcoal likewise, made of Willow, or white Wood, and pass it afterwards through a Sierce of Horse-hairs, a little coarser than that of Silk. You'll mix with your Hands four Ounces of this Coal, with your sixteen Ounces of Powder, and pass the Mixture four or five Times through a Horse-hair Sierce, much coarser than the other; and every Time you'll have passed it you'll stir it with the Hand. This Composition well mixed and incorporated together, must be kept in a proper Vessel for Use.

You'll try one of your *Rockets* charged with this Composition; if it does not ascend there is too much Charcoal, and the Composition is too weak, therefore it must be strengthened with an Ounce of Gunpowder pulverized; and if it bursts in ascending into the Air (as it often happens when the *Rockets* have not been tried, the Composition is too strong, and an Ounce of Charcoal must be added to it, or more, according to the Prudence of the Artificer.

Several Artificers are of Opinion, that *Sky Rockets* can be made with the following Compositions, in proportion to their Bigness; some of them weighing, when filled and equipped, as far as twelve Pounds, as it is explained in the following Table.

Dose to make Sky-Rockets.

Composition for a Mould of 2 lb.	Composition for a Mould of 1 lb.	Composition for a Mould of ½ lb.	Composition for a Mould of ¼ oz.	Composition for a Mould of 2 oz.
Powder 2 lb.	— 1 lb.	— 20 oz.	— 5 oz.	8 or 9 oz.
Salt-petre 1 lb.	— 12 oz.	— 12 oz.	— 1 oz.	½ of an Oz.
Sulphur 5 oz.	— 2 oz.	— 1 oz.	— 1 oz.	1 an Ounce
Charcoal 4 oz.		— 3 oz.	— ½ oz.	or 1 Ounce.
Iron filings 2 oz.				
The Mould has 9 ½ Inches in Height.		The Mould has 8 ½ In. in Height.	The Mould has 7 Inches in Height.	The Mould has 4 ½ In. in Height.

As an additional Ornament to *Rockets*, it is usual to furnish them either with Stars, or with Serpents, or Sparks, or with a Shower of Rain, which take Fire when the *Rocket* bursts; and sometimes little *Rockets* are included in great ones, to take Fire when the great one is at its greatest Height.

To make *Stars* for *Rockets*.—Mix three Pounds of Salt-petre, with eleven Ounces of Sulphur, three Ounces of beaten Gunpowder, and ten of Antimony. Moulder the Mass with Gum-Water, and form them into little Balls of the Size of Filberds; drying them well either in the Sun or an Oven. When dry, include a Number of them in the conical Cap of the *Rocket*.

As to the Theory of the Flight of *Sky Rockets*, Mr. *riotte* takes the Rule of *Rockets* to be owing to the Impulse or Resistance of the Air against the Flame: Dr. *Defaguliers* accounts for it otherwise.

Conceive the *Rocket* to have no Vent at the Chock, and to be set on Fire in the conical Bore; the Consequence would be either that the *Rocket* would burst in the weakest Place, or that if all its Parts were equally strong

and able to sustain the Impulse of the Flame, the *Rocket* would burn out immoveable. Now, as the Force of the Flame is equal, suppose its Action downwards, or that upwards sufficient to lift 40 Pounds; as these Forces are equal, but their Directions contrary, they will destroy each other's Action.

Imagine then the *Rocket* open at the Choak; by this Means the Action of the Flame downwards is taken away, and there remains a Force equal to 40 Pounds, acting upwards, to carry up the *Rocket*, and the Stick it is tied to. Accordingly we find, that if the Composition of the *Rocket* be very weak, so as not to give an Impulse greater than the Weight of the *Rocket* and Stick, it does not rise at all; or if the Composition be slow, so that a small Part of it only kindles at first, the *Rocket* will not rise.

The Stick serves to keep it perpendicular; for if the *Rocket* should begin to tumble, moving round a Point in the Choak, as being the common Centre of Gravity of *Rocket* and Stick, there would be so much Friction against the Air, by the Stick against the Centre and the Point, and the Point would beat against the Air with so much Velocity, that the Re-action of the Medium would restore it to its Perpendicularity.

When the Composition is burnt out, and the Impulse upwards is ceased, the common Centre of Gravity is brought lower towards the Middle of the Stick; by which Means the Velocity of the Point of the Stick is decreased, and that of the Point of the *Rocket* increased; so that the whole will tumble down with the *Rocket* End foremost.

All the while the *Rocket* burns; the common Centre of Gravity is shifting and getting downwards, and still the faster and the lower, as the Stick is lighter; so that it sometimes begins to tumble, before it be burnt out: But when the Stick being a little too heavy, the Weight of the *Rocket* bears a less Proportion to that of the Stick, the common Centre of Gravity will not get so low, but that the *Rocket* will rise straight, though not so fast.

As to the Method of making *Water-Rockets*; make a *Rocket* after the usual Manner, excepting in the Number of Choaks. Let its Diameter be equal to that of a leaden Ball of two or three Inches Diameter, and let it be bored to a third Part of its Height. Inclose the *Rocket* in a hollow perpendicular Cylinder, which lineer over with melted Pitch or Wax, that it may resist the Moisture.

The Weight of the *Rocket* is to be so proportioned to that of the Water, that the whole Cylinder may be immersed. Some instead of a Cylinder use a truncated Cone, or even a Spheroid; and some hang a Weight to the End where it is lighted.

To make a Rain of Fire for the *Rockets*, take equal Quantity of Sulphur, Salt-petre, and Gunpowder, beat well each Ingredient by itself; and melt, afterwards, the Sulphur in a glazed earthen Pot, or in a Copper-Pot which is best; when melted, put the Salt petre by little and little into it, stirring continually the Matter; and lastly the Powder; this must be done over a very little Fire, lest it should catch the Mixture, while you stir it. Those three Ingredients being well incorporated together, pour the Mixture on Paper, or Board, where it will grow hard, and when you'll want to make a Rain of Fire, you must break it into small Pieces, and mix it with the Powder of the Cracker of your *Rocket*.

To make what we call in *French* a *Courant*, or a *Rocket* to run along a Cord. Take two *Sky-Rockets*, of the Bigness of those first in order in our Table; but without a Cap, or any other Apparatus, only as they come out of the Mould; join those two *Rockets* together side-wisè, the upper End of the one turned towards the lower End of the other, so that the Stopple, which comes out of the Massive of the one, enters the Choak of the other; and paste Paper over it, lest the Violence of the Effort should part them; taking Care, likewise, to stop with wet and pasted Paper, the End of the Massive which is to Fire last.

Those two *Rockets* thus disposed, an empty Cylinder is fasten'd to them very tight in three Places, and the Cord run afterwards through it.

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The *Rocket*, which is lighted first, runs along the Cord, from the End it departed to the other End; and when exhausted, the other takes Fire, and returns back the same Way.

These *Rockets* are used, when in publick Rejoicings, the Artificer will have the Fire carried from one Place to another, and even represents in the Air a Kind of Fight between Men, or Animals, sometimes from the Top of a Steeple or Dome, the Artificer sends those Sorts of Figures, to set Fire to that which is at the Top of a Fire-work; without meddling with it himself.

Therefore if we want to make use of one of those Figures to carry the Fire, for Example, a Dragon, the Figure being made of Card, and covered with painted Paper; those two *Rockets* are run through its Body, one whereof coming out at its Throat, and the other at its Backside; taking Care that the *Rockets* should be proportioned to the Weight of the Figure.

To make a *Serpent*, you must roll upon an Iron Rod, or round Stick, two Gaming-Cards, one over the other, which must be cover'd with a Paper, so that the Paper appears always a-top, and Cards inside: It will be necessary to wet a little the Cards to make them more tractable; but they are not to be used before they are dry; pasting Paper afterwards, which cover them all its Length, to fasten it. You introduce the Base of the Mould into the *Serpent*, and choak it at that Place, with a Pack-thread greased with a little Soap; and tie it afterwards with Thread; then you put the Mould over the *Serpent*, which thereby is inclosed in it; charging it afterwards by Means of a Quill, with the same Composition the *Rockets* are made of; filling half the *Serpent* first, and then ramming the Charge with the same Iron Rod, the Cylinder has been rolled upon; and having put a Grain of Vetch over the Charge, you fill up the *Serpent*, with whole Gun-Powder, leaving a Place empty a-top, to thrust in a Stopple of chew'd Paper, which must be rammed down with the Iron-Rod: the Paper being rammed down, and a little Space left empty over it, you choak likewise the *Serpent* at that Place, and tie it with a Thread, as you have done the other End; with this Difference, that this End is quite close, and the other has preserved the Aperture made to it, by the Spike thrust into it at first; this empty Place is primed afterwards with Gunpowder, bruised and mixed with Water.

The FIRE-LAUNCE is made of a Sheet of large and strong Paper, for Drawing, rolled lengthwise on a Rod, of the Bigness of a Musket-Stick, and a Foot and a half long; that Paper rolled, is pasted all along to stop it; after which is introduced into one End of the Cylinder, about an Inch far, a Piece of Wood called the Handle or Foot of the Launce, and of the Caliber of the Cylinder; having first dipped the Wood, or Stick in Paste, that it may be fasten'd to the Cylinder: The other End of the Foot is flat, and pierced with two Holes, that it may be nailed in any Place the Artificer judges proper.— Thus the *Launce* is ready for Charging.

The Composition must be of four Ounces of refined Salt-petre in Powder, two Ounces of Gunpowder pulverised, likewise, and passed through a fine Silk Sieve; and an Ounce of Flower of Sulphur: The whole mixed afterwards, and passed through a pretty coarse Horse-Hair Sieve. You charge your *Launce* with this Composition, ramming with the same Rod the Cylinder has been rolled upon, on Proportion as you charge it; and when it is charged to a Quarter of its Height, you'll put as much Gunpowder into it, as would serve to prime a Pistol, which must be rammed gently with the Rod, without knocking upon it; proceeding in the same Manner till the *Launce* be full to the Top: This done, you'll take some Gunpowder beaten, and mix with Water to prime it; passing afterwards a Piece of Paper over it.

For a SAUCISSON, the Cylinder is made four Inches long, of a Card rolled twice on a round Stick, and well pasted every where. It is choaked at one End, at the Distance of half an Inch from its Extremity, and tied with a Pack thread; a Stopple of Paper is introduced through the back Part of the Cylinder into it; by Means of the Iron Rod, wherewith it is rammed tight, after which the Cylinder is near filled with common Gunpowder.

der, without any Preparation; over which is rammed another Stopple of Paper; choaking afterwards and tying the *Sauciffon* at that Place: This done, it is tied with Pack-thread from one End to the other, so that it may be quite cover'd with it; then it is thrown into strong Glue, and lastly put to dry.

To fasten that *Sauciffon* to the *Launce*, you must pierce it with a Bodkin, at that End which is the best made, till you reach the Powder; then taking a Quill, you'll cut it, as if it was for Writing, and having filled the End which is not cut so, with Gunpowder, you'll introduce that same End thus filled, into the *Sauciffon*, and the other End cut in Form of a Writing-Pen, into the *Launce*, immediately above its Foot or Handle, where you'll make a Hole to receive it; and having tied them together at the very same Place, you'll cover them with Paper, afterwards, in such a Manner, that the whole be well closed and joined, without hindering, however, the Fire from communicating itself from the *Launce* to the *Sauciffon*, by Means of the Quill.

For a *SKY-SAUCISSON*, you make its Cylinder four Inches and a half high; you choak it, and tie it at one Inch and a half Distance from one of its Extremities.

Having placed it on the Base, you charge it with whole Gunpowder, which you cover with a Stopple of Paper, tying it afterwards at that End; then you take it off the Base, and fill it at several Times, ramming it each Time with the Iron Rod, with the same Composition used for Sky-Rockets: When full, you take a Piece of Cord of Prime, which is made of Cotton, beaten Gunpowder and Brandy, so that the Mixture of Gunpowder and Brandy be liquid to stick to the Button; so soon as the Cotton is dry, you take two Pieces thereof, which you place Cross-wise on the End of the *Sauciffon*, putting over it some of the Composition, and ramming well the whole with the Iron Rod. By this Means come out four Ends of the Cord of Prime, which serves to set Fire to the *Sauciffon*.

To use this *Sauciffon*, you must make a Pot six or seven Inches high, the Diameter thereof must be stronger by a Line than the *Sauciffon*. This Pot must be choaked downwards, at an Inch Distance from the Extremity; make afterwards a Port-fire of a Playing-Card, and fill it with the Composition of a Sky-Rocket; when charged and rammed, make a Button of the Diameter of the Pot; put an Ounce of whole Gunpowder in it, put the Port-fire in the Middle, and tie the whole together: Carry the Button into the Fire-pot, the upper End turned downwards, so that it may come through the End which is choaked: When you see the End of the Port-fire come out, you'll tie that choaked End of the Pot to bind tight the Port-fire, and through the other End you'll introduce the *Sauciffon*, the primed End, where are the four Ends of the primed Cord, foremost; and the Vacuity remaining, stopped with Paper, with another Paper pasted over it.

These Pots of Sky, or *Flying Sauciffons*, are commonly disposed on a Board or Bench, pierced through of the Bigness of the Port-fire, which is introduced into the Hole, and glued, lest the Effort of the Powder should carry it off; and underneath that Board the Fire is set to each Port-fire. That Port-fire well fastened to the Pot, remains fast to the Board, and all that was in it flies into the Air.

There is another Manner of setting Fire to these Sorts of Pots, without being obliged to do it to every one of them in particular; which is to make a Kind of Groove underneath the Holes, pierced in the Board; to place in that Groove Port fires open at both Ends, and dispose them one after another, and paste a Slit of Paper over them, to keep them tight together, that the Fire may pass from one to the other without Interruption: That Work must be done before the Pots of *Sauciffons* are placed, and those *Port-feux* must even be pricked through the Holes with a Bodkin, that when the *Port-fires* of the Pots of *Sauciffons* are introduced into them, the Fire of those which are placed leaning be communicated to those which stand upright.

For FIRE-POTS, you must roll Card two or three Turns round a Piece of Wood turned, a Foot long, and three Inches of Diameter, passing well the Card: Then you'll take off the Mould, and thrust into an End of

the Cylinder another Stick, called the Foot of the Fire-pot. This Stick must not penetrate the Cylinder further than an Inch; and then it ought to be fastened to it with three or four small Pegs.

You'll take a *Fire-Launce*, of a Foot long, and place it in the Middle of the Cylinder, so that it may come out by two or three Inches; then you'll take it out, and take the Mould on which the Cylinder has been rolled, on one End thereof you'll fit a Sheet of white Paper cut in two, and which you'll dispose Cross-wise, to make of it a kind of Cap; in the Bottom of that Cap, which has took the Form of the Pot, you'll put an Ounce of whole Gunpowder, and two Ounces of the Composition used for *Sky-Rockets*: In the Middle of these three Ounces of Matter place the Fire-launce above-mentioned, and gather round the Foot thereof, all that Matter equally on all Sides, keeping it close round the Launce, with the Ends of the Paper, which is tied round the Launce with Packthread: And this is called the Button of the Launce.

For a *GIRANDOLE*, it must be made in Form of a Wheel, with six Faces: The Spokes of the Wheel to be of a light Wood turned as near as one will have it: The Nave of the Wheel of a little stronger Wood, the Bands of the Wheel only a Line thick, and an Inch or thereabout broad; those Bands are nailed to their Joints, and even glued that they may hold faster; that Wheel thus disposed, you'll apply on each of the Joints or Bands, a Sky-Rocket of the same Length with the Joint, which you'll tie very tight with Packthread in three Places, *i. e.* in the Middle, and at both Ends; proceeding thus round the Wheel, taking Care that one End of the Stopple which comes out of one Rocket, may enter the Massive of the next, for the Communication of the Fire to one another without Interruption: All this being thus well prepared, the Places where the Rockets are joined, are covered with Paper, putting two or three more Papers over it, to hinder the Fire from forcing through that Way: And at the Joints which remain between the two last Rockets, Care must be taken to stop well that which is to play last, with wet Paper, and well rammed at the Extremity which touches the End of the first Rocket, to which the Fire is set, at the Stopple which comes out of it.

To use this *Girandola*, a Foot must be made to it, four Feet long, which is easily introduced through the Nave, to make it turn easier; and at the Extremity of the Nave a Pin is adapted, to hinder the Wheel from falling while it turns round. Those *Girandoles* are nailed at the Corner of the Theatre or Scaffold.

No other Pieces of *Artifices*, but those above-mentioned, enter the Composition of a Fire-work; they are only multiplied as much as is necessary, and according to Art; which is commonly done in the following Manner.

A square Scaffold is erected, twenty-four Feet high, and eighteen broad, supported by nine Pillars: In the Middle of the Scaffold is placed a square Pedestal of Joinery, six Feet high, to support the Figure designed.

The Outside of the Joiner's Work is covered with a Decoration of Paintings, representing Rails, Emblems, Motto's, and allegorical Figures alluding to the Subject of the publick Rejoicing; the whole according to the Fancy of the Painter, and of those which have the Direction of the Feast.

Sometimes, at the four Corners of the Theatre are painted Vases, or Pots full of Fire and Flame, or bursting Bombs.

To order all Things as it should be behind those Figures, at each of the four Corners of the Scaffold is placed a Deal-box containing twelve Sky-Rockets, which are fired together, by means of a Stopple which communicates to all.

The Top of the Rails is garnished round with Fire-launces, each carrying its *Sauciffon*, and a Foot distant from one another: The Intervals are garnished with Fire-pots, and Sky-*Sauciffons*.

At the Foot of the Rail above, the same Thing is done, excepting that the Fire-pots and Launces, are not set quite to upright as those a-top of the Balustrade, but the Fire should communicate from below to the Top.

The four Corners may be garnished with Fire pots, which operate horizontally.

The *Girandoles* are placed likewise at the four Corners Outside; and even in the Middle of the four Faces of the Scaffold, where they are nailed to the Floor.

The Pedestal of the Figure is garnished round in the same Manner; and four Boxes of Sky-Rockets are placed at the four Corners.

The Stopple used to light this Fire-work must run round the Stage, and be placed directly on the Prime of the Fire-launces, and even sunk into it with Pins.

As to the Fire pots, there is no Stopple to them, but they are fired with the Hand, and the *Girandoles* likewise.

The Fire-launces are fired first, that the Disposition of the Figure, and the Ornaments it is accompanied with, may be seen on all Sides; firing from Time to Time, a Face of the Fire-pots on the Right and Left, of the Scaffold, and of Sky-Rockets likewise: And when you perceive that the Fire diminishes, you light your four *Girandoles*, which concludes the Feast in an agreeable Manner.

Besides those Fire-works, for Diversion, there are others used in the Defence of Places besieged, to throw on the Besiegers, when they come to the Breach, or attack some other Works; and though few of those *Fire-works* are at present in Use; since a Barrel, or a Sackful of Gunpowder to which a Fusee is fastened, and rolled into a Ditch, or on a Breach, produce as good an Effect as those Machines; I'll give here notwithstanding a concise Description of a few of them; beginning by a *Fire-Ball*.

For a *FIRE-BALL*, you must have a Port-fire, a Foot and a half, or two Feet long, according to the Bigness the *Fire-Ball* is to be, on an Inch, or an Inch and a half of Diameter, which must be charged with a Composition made of two Pounds of Salt petre, a Pound of Sulphur, and half a Pound of Gunpowder, all well pounded separately, and passed through a fine Sierce, mixing them all together afterwards.

In case the Fire should be too slow, you'll add to it a little Gunpowder pulverized, and Salt-petre, if it burns too quick, to make it last longer; in the Middle of the Ball should be a little Sack filled with this same Composition; the Port-fires shall be run thro' that Sack; and over it, the Ball shall be covered with Tow, and Chips of Wood, dipt in a Mixture made of Linseed-Oil, and Oil of Turpentine, seven Pounds of each, and eight Pounds of Pitch or Tar, gently heated, and well incorporated together; the Tow and Chips must be left to be half dry before they are used; dipping mean while a Piece of

very coarse Cloth, in the same Mixture, to envelope the Ball, throwing afterwards on the Cloth Tow and Chips, Salt-petre and Sulphur coarsely pounded, that the Fire may be clearer; observing to put by Intervals Iron-ware round the Matter which is put in the Ball, to make it hold, without being too tight, otherwise the Fire would be too slow; for when the Matter is a little loose, the Flame is greater: If you want to quicken the Fire you must take three Pounds of Gunpowder pulverized, and a Pound of Charcoal pulverized likewise, and having mixed them well together, spread it on a Table, and roll the Ball, covered with the Chips and Tow upon it, covering it afterwards with the Cloth.

For a *FIRE-ROCK*, you'll put three Pounds of Sulphur in Powder, in a glazed earthen Pot, place the Pot over a little Charcoal Fire without Flame; the Sulphur melted, you'll add to it a Pound of Mutton Suet, a Pound of Gunpowder pulverized, and passed through a Sierce, and a Pound of Salt-petre in Powder: the whole being well mixed, throw it into a Bason, where it must be left to grow cold; or else, while it is hot, cover your *Granadoes*, Circles, Launces, and other Artifices with it.

Powder, which will be sometimes under Water, and sometimes above it. Take Gunpowder, three Parts of Colophone, a fourth of common Oil, and a sixth of Sulphur; mix them all together, and being dry, try if it burns more or less than it ought; if it does not burn enough add Sulphur and Colophone to it; wrap that Mixture in a Piece of Cloth, then put Straw round it, which must be tied with Packthread, and dip it afterwards in Pitch; cover it over again with other Straw which must be dipped as the first, to keep it from the Water; this done, you'll make a little Hole in it to set it on Fire: The Mixture would be better, if some Petroleum was added to it.

To make *Torches*, which are never extinguished either by the Wind or Rain.—Take old Ropes pretty big, and boil them in Salt-petre Water; and when very dry, cover them with Sulphur pulverized, and coarse Gunpowder, mixed with some Brandy: Take afterwards three Parts of Wax, three Parts of Pitch, one Part of Sulphur, half a Part of Camphire, and half a Part of Turpentine, and with all these Matters mixed together, cover your Ropes, putting four of them together; and as a Torch in the Middle, add besides, between those four Ropes, Quick-Lime, with three Parts of Sulphur mixed together.—These *Torches* will light in all Weathers.

QUAKERS M.

QUAKERS, are a religious Sect, who made their first Appearance in *England* during *Cromwell's* Usurpation.

They took their Origin from *George Fox*, an illiterate Person, born at *Draiton* in *Leicestershire*; and by Profession a Shoe-maker.

The Accounts of those Times tell us, that as he worked at his Trade he used to meditate much on the Scriptures; which, with his solitary Course of Life, improving his natural Melancholy, he began at last to have Visions, and in consequence thereof, and of an immediate Mission he said he had received from the Holy Ghost, began to preach the Gospel, in a Manner he imagined the most agreeable to the primitive apostolical Simplicity.

The new Apostle proposed but few Articles of Faith, dwelt mostly on Morality, preached mutual Charity, the Love of God, and a deep Attention to the inner Motions and secret Working of the Spirit. He would have a simple Worship, and Religion without any Ceremonies; making it a principal Point to wait in profound Silence, the Motion and Direction of the Holy Spirit.

The Genius of the Time, and the Novelty of the Doctrine, and the great Appearance of Devotion in the Man soon gained him Disciples; and some unusual Shakings and

Convulsions they were seized withal at their first Meetings, procured them the Appellation of *Quakers*: Tho' I have learned from very good Authority, that the Innocency and Simplicity of their Manners; their Probity, Disinterestedness, so rare in those Times of Confusion, Trouble and Hypocrisy, and the great Abhorrence they shew'd for all that had the least Appearance of Oppression, Rebellion, Injustice, and other monstrous Vices, which reigned at that Time with Impunity in the three Kingdoms, contributed more to the Increase of their Sect than any Thing else; and that the most loyal Subjects to their legitimate Sovereign, were glad to shelter themselves among them, against the Persecution of the common Oppressors; for as *George Fox* had set aside all Oaths as prohibited by the Gospel; those of the *English*, who continued in their Loyalty, and were not willing to take the Oaths to the Usurper, were glad to be accounted *Quakers*, to be excused from it: Their despising all worldly Honours, as incompatible with the evangelical Simplicity, and Abnegation they professed, and their disclaiming against War, as contrary to the Profession of a Christian, was also a very good Pretext with *Cromwell*, who affected much Religion, though like all other Hypocrites, he had none, for not appearing at his Court, or serving in his Army.

Contrary to the scandalous Maxims of all the new Sects,

Sects, which had preceded theirs, and have appeared since, most of which have been founded on Blood and Slaughter, and have risen from the Devastation of the Countries where they appear'd first, *Quakerism* had no other Foundation than the Disinterestedness, Meekness, and Patience of those who professed it; whose innocent Hands were never seen polluted with the Blood, not even of their most mortal Enemies, and those that persecuted them most; opposing no other Arms to the most atrocious Injuries, than that marvellous Patience which had been admired in the primitive Christians; observing in that Point with a scrupulous Obedience, the Advices which Christ had left us in his holy Gospel, and which the pretended Christians of those Days must have thought till then impracticable. This could not have been an Excess of Hypocrisy, since they had no temporal End to serve thereby, none admitting to be maltreated in so outrageous a Manner as they were then, Nature itself revolting against it, and their Patience, serving only to render them still more despicable in the Eyes of an ambitious World. Neither is it very surprizing, that *George Fox* made no Profelytes among the Great, which the Enemies of that Sect attribute to the Incoherency and Ridicule of his Maxims, and which should rather be attributed to their being so diametrically opposite to those of the grand World, which could never be reconciled with *Christ crucify'd*. For how could *George Fox* have persuaded the Great to a Self-Abnegation, to despise the World and its Poms, to follow *Christ*, and prefer an eternal Felicity to a temporal one, since the most eloquent Preachers, from the very Infancy of Christianity till then, had not been capable to do it? If it be objected, that the Absurdity of his Doctrine was more than capable to revolt the most sensible Part of Mankind; and that to embrace it was to make an entire Divorce with common Sense; I'll answer, that Part of that most sensible Part of Mankind, have been persuaded to embrace Doctrines, which were not only absurd, but were even condemned by *Christ* himself, and accounted as such by all true Christians; but those Doctrines flatter'd the Passions of the Great, and that was enough to render them reasonable and just.

The *Quakers* profess a great Austerity of Behaviour; a singular Probity and Uprightness in their Dealings; Demureness and Gravity of Countenance; a Coldness and Sparingness of Discourse, to have Time to weigh what they say; though, to my certain Knowledge, they are notwithstanding very chearful, and do not neglect a modest and becoming Complaisance, without Deceit or Dissimulation: They are also frugal in their Tables, and decently plain in their Dress.

They condemn the interested View of the Clergy, of what Denomination soever, therefore would by no Means admit such Orders among them; every one of them (Women not excepted) that thinks himself inspired, being allowed to preach, provided he be known to be of an irreproachable Life.

According to the Genius of rising Sects, an eager Zeal at first led them to some Extravagancies; it is said, that they would run about the Streets naked, perhaps when they had been stripped by those who knew that they followed literally the Counsel of Christ, that when they should be robbed of Part of their Garment, they should also let go the other Part, rather than make any Resistance.

One of their Company, *Nailor*, (if I may credit an Author I have before me) had the Impiety to allow his Followers to call him *Son of God*, *Son of Justice*, and *King of Israel*; to strew Garments before him, and hail him at his Entry into *Bristol*, with *Hosanna*, *Son of David*. He had his Trial for the same, was whipped for Blasphemy, and excommunicated by the rest.

Besides other Penalties inflicted on them, they were laughed at, and rallied in Writing, and exposed on the Theatre; while those who revolted against their legitimate Superiors, dyed their sacrilegious Hands in the Blood of the best of Kings, and massacred their own Countrymen, were caressed, encouraged, and esteemed true Disciples of *King Jesus*. But the *Quakers* despised alike both Prefs and the Prison, and formed their Sect,

maugre all Opposition of both; and under the Direction of *Fox*, *Dewsbury*, and others, grew from a loose, undisciplined Multitude, into a regular Body, with stated Laws and Polity; which they retain with great Economy to this Day.

The modern *Quakers* retain nothing of the Extravagancies charged on their Leaders; having approved themselves a sober, quiet People, of exemplary Morals, just in their Dealings, sincere Friends, without Affectation or Dissimulation (which I know, not only by Report, as I do of some other Sects, but by Experience) and remarkably charitable to each other; without picking one another's Pockets under the specious Pretence of relieving the Poor; or rather rendering the Poor poorer still, if it was possible, under Pretence of relieving them.

The Doctrines of the *Quakers* are not easily collected; at least not easily collected out of their own Terms; which appear somewhat ambiguous; for they leave most of the Dogma's to the other Sects to believe; while most of the other Sects leave to the *Quakers* all the Moral and Christian Virtues to practise.

They hold *Christ* to be a Light which has lighted every Man; and that whoever will soberly and seriously turn into himself with a sincere Desire to know and practise his Duty, will not fail to find there a sufficient Director; a Ray from the Fountain of Light illuminating the Understanding, and assisting to distinguish good from Evil.

They add, that such as follow the Directions and Convictions of this Light, shall be holy and acceptable to God; and that this was the End of Christ's coming into the World.—That so far as they follow this Light, they shall be infallible; and that it is not Opinions, Speculations, or Notions of what is true, or Subscription of Articles or Formula's of Faith, how soundly soever worded, that make a Man a true Believer or Christian; but a Conformity of Mind and Practice to the Will of God, according to the Manifestation, and Dictates of this divine Principle of Light within them.

Our Saviour's Injunction about Baptism they understand in a figurative Sense of a Conversion and Change of the Heart; and wholly neglect the outward Sign.—Water-Baptism they hold was only *John's*; that it was no more than a Type or Figure, fitted for the Infant-State of the Gospel; and therefore now useless, in a Dispensation which is spiritual and inward.

The same they hold of the Eucharist; alledging that both allude to old *Jewish* Practices, and were used as Types and Significations of a near and accomplishing Work. They add, that the Communion of Saints consists only in a Participation of the same divine Principle, shewing itself in an Unity of Spirit.

As to Ministry and Ordinances, they deny that any are to be used of Man's Wit, Will, or carnal Invention, or Imitation; or other than what the inward Principle directs them to. Accordingly, as I have observed already, they have no Persons set apart for the Ministry; but without Distinction of Quality or Sex, every one who is of sober Life, and approved Conversation, and believes him or herself called or moved thereto, is permitted to speak and prophesy in their Assemblies.

They own the Scriptures to be given by divine Inspiration, and allow them the Appellation of the Word of sound Words; but refuse to call them the *Word of God*, as being a Denomination properly attributed to *Christ* alone. They add, that what makes them more scrupulous in this Respect is, that People are apt to be hereby led to think, that if they have the Scripture they have all; and so look for no farther Word or Light.

They acknowledge the *Holy Three* that bear Record in Heaven, *Father*, *Word*, and *Spirit*; but reject the School-Terms, *Trinity*, distinct Persons, *Hypostasis*, &c. as not scriptural, and as apt to convey too gross Ideas.

They have been even charged with denying the Incarnation, our Saviour's Humanity, Divinity, plenary Satisfaction, and the Resurrection of the Dead; but this is injurious to them; and all that can be justly said, is, that they do not allow of them in the same Sense, or speak of them in the same Terms, as is commonly done

done among others. They allow the Incarnation, and that the Godhead dwelt bodily in *Jesus*; and yet many of them say, that there is no *Christ* but what is within them: Whence it should seem, their Notion of the Incarnation only implied this, that the Light, which they call the *Christ* within, dwelt in the Man *Jesus Christ* fully. —

Their Reasoning here, is, that *Christ*, as God, not being divisible, the Measure or Manifestation of the Spirit of *Christ* in us, is a Manifestation of the same *Christ* which dwelt bodily and fully in the Man *Jesus Christ*.

They are silent as to the hypostatical Union; and some of them are charged with allegorizing away the whole History of the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and Ascension; though their best and most approved Writers, have been very explicit in their Acknowledgment of the Reality of the History.

They decline the Use of Modes or Forms of Civility; expressing their Respect to their Superiors no other Way than by obeying all just Laws under their Government, which is the best Sort of Respect.

The System of *Quakerism* is laid down in fifteen *Theses* by *Robert Barclay*, in a well-writ Apology addressed to King *Charles II.*—Their History writ in low *Dutch* by *William Sewel*, and since translated into *English*, traces them from the Beginning to the Year 1717. A History of them was also published *Anno* 1695, by *Gerard Croese*; but they accuse that Author of having misrepresented Facts, and in many Respects done them Injustice.

As to Discipline and Polity; the Affairs of the Communion are managed under a Democratical Government, by Rules established by common Consent; and this principally at their Meetings, whereof they have many Kinds, *viz.* *Monthly, Quarterly, Yearly, second Day's Meetings, Meetings of Sufferings, &c.* But these Meetings are not like those of some other Sects, calculated to divert the poorest Sort among them from their daily Occupation, and indulge them in Indolence, to the great Detriment of their Family; since they are perfectly well acquainted with this Maxim of the divine Wisdom, *Qui laborat orat, He that works prays*; and persuaded that those who neglect their lawful Occupations under Pretence of Devotion, are not acceptable to God.

Their *Monthly* and *Quarterly Meetings* are held in their respective Counties. To these, Deputies are sent from the several particular Meetings. Here Inquiry is made into the State of each Meeting; who stands fast to the Rules and Orders, and who backslides; who pays Tithes and Church-Rates, and who suffers for Non-Payment of either; who are married by Priests, &c. and accordingly they proceed to Censure, or encourage. Here too they excommunicate, and here receive again into Communion, of all which Things exact Registers are kept.

From these *Meetings* Appeal is made to their *yearly ones*, which are always held in *London*, and consist of three Orders or Classes, *viz.* Representatives sent from the *Quarterly Meetings*; Correspondents for the several Counties, and foreign Countries; and Ministers or Preachers. Hither are transmitted Accounts of what has been transacted in all the *Monthly* and *Quarterly Meetings* over the World. Here are Measures concerted, and Directions given as to Behaviour about Tithes and Rates, providing for the Poor, composing Differences, &c. Here publick Accounts are audited, and proper Instructions given to the Deputies to be observed at their Return, and an early Epistle of Admonitions dispatched to be read in all the *Monthly* and *Quarterly Meetings* throughout the World.

The *second Day's Meeting*, is a standing Committee, consisting of the principal Preachers in and about the City, who meet every *Monday* to concert particular Cases and Exigencies relating to the Body, happening between the yearly Meeting; particularly to examine, approve, license, &c. all Books printed in their Behalf.

The *Meeting of Sufferings* is held every Week, and consists of the Correspondents for each County. Its Business is to receive Complaints from such as have suffered for non-Payment of Tithes and Rates, and to procure them Relief, either by sending them Money, for which they have a settled Fund, or by soliciting their Causes above, or both.

This Form of Government, seems very well calculated for the Support of a Sect, which otherwise having met from Time to Time with very great Opposition from the Legislature, and having among them none of those who by their illustrious Birth, Credit, and Authority, could protect them against their Enemies, could not have subsisted long. Nothing but the wholesome Laws they have established in their Society, their strict Union, and their unfeigned Friendship for one another, always ready to encourage themselves mutually in their respective Undertakings and Dealings, and to relieve the Distressed with that Christian Compassion, Charity, and Liberality, to be found in no other Christian Sect, could alone hinder them from perishing, during those frequent and violent Tempests, which have been excited against them: Though, at the same Time, their Loyalty to their Sovereigns, from the very Infancy of their Sect, their Meekness, their pacifick Dispositions, their honest Industry to make the Commonwealth flourish, had a greater Title to a Toleration, than any of the Sects who enjoyed that Benefit. Fault is found with their Speaking in an unintelligible Manner, for which they are laughed at; whereas, if some of the other Sects had not been so well understood, the State had not suffered those violent Convulsions, which have so often brought it on the Brink of its Ruin, and has given so much Occasion for the Nation to weep, and obliged it to mourn in an extraordinary Manner. I say nothing of their Dogma's; but it is my Opinion, founded on Experience, that if a Legend was made of the moral and Christian Virtues practised by the *Quakers*, and of the Manner they practise them, without the Name of *Quakers* to it, and that compared with those we have of the primitive Christians, which are every Day proposed to us as Examples on which we should modelize our Conduct, the one would often be mistaken for the others; and the Reader often at a Stand to determine which of both has practised those Virtues to a greater Degree of Perfection.

This I speak without Partiality or Prevention, but according to my own Knowledge; for though I have frequented the *Quakers*, I do not remember that I have ever received any Favour from them, which could engage me to prefer them to any other Sect; but I have professed Impartiality at the Beginning of this Work, which Character will appear I hope throughout the whole, notwithstanding what my Enemies or their Emisaries can say to the contrary. I have hid none of the Perfections and Imperfections of the other Sects I have spoke of, though I have perhaps been misinformed of some of them, for it is impossible I should speak of them all on my own Knowledge, as I do of the *Quakers*, among whom, speaking in general, I have found no Imperfection worth minding, or deserving a publick Censure.

QUIETISM.

QUIETISM, is the Sentiments of *Molinos* a Spanish Priest, who appeared in the last Century, which he had borrowed from the *Illuminati*, his Countrymen, and only new modelized.

The Name *Quietist*, is taken from a Sort of absolute Rest and Inaction, which the Soul is supposed to be in when arrived at the State of Perfection, which in the

Language of the *Quietists* is called the *unitive Life*. To arrive at this, say they, a Man is first to pass through the purgative Way, that is, through a Course of Obedience inspired by the Fear of Hell: Hence he is to proceed into the illuminative Way, before he arrives at Perfection, to go through cruel Combats and violent Pains, *i. e.* not only the usual Dignities of the Soul, and the

the common Privations of Grace, but infernal Pains: He believes himself damned; and the Persuasion that he is so, continues upon him very strongly several Years.

St. Francis de Sales, say the *Quietists*, was so fully convinced thereof, that he would not allow any body to contradict him therein. But the Man is at length sufficiently paid for all this, by the Embraces of God, and his own Deification.

These Sentiments of the *Quietists* with regard to God, are wonderfully pure and disinterested. They love him for himself, on account of his own Perfections, independently of any Rewards or Punishments: The Soul acquiesces in the Will of God, even at the Time when he precipitates it into Hell; insomuch, that instead of stopping him in this Occasion B. Angelo de Foligny cried out, *Haste, Lord, to cast me into Hell: Do not delay if thou hast abandoned me, but finish my Destruction, and plunge me into the Abyss*; which appears to me rather an Excess of Despair than of Love; since it is impossible we could love an Object from which we desire to be eternally separated; and be thrown into a Place where we must necessarily hate him: Those emphatical Expressions proceed rather from a Motion of Pride and Vain glory, than from the Sincerity of the Heart, inspired with the Love of God.

At length, the Soul, after long Travail, enters into Rest, into a perfect *Quietude*. Here it is only employed in contemplating its God; it acts no more, thinks no more, but lies perfectly open, and at large, to receive the Grace of God, who by means thereof drives it where he will.

In this State it no longer needs Prayers, or Hymns, or Vows; Prayers where the Spirit labours, and the Mouth opens, are the Lot of the Weak and the Imperfect: The Soul of the Saint is, as it were, laid in the Bosom and between the Arms of its God, where, without making any Motion, or exerting any Action, it waits and receives the divine Graces; it then becomes happy; quitting the Existence it before had; it is now changed, it is transformed, and, as it were, sunk and swallowed up in the divine Being, insomuch as not to know or perceive its being distinguished from God himself.

These Sentiments of the *Quietists* are, in part, extracted from the Book of the *Maxim of the Saints*, written by that celebrated Genius M. de Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, Author of *Telemachus*, which Book was attacked by his Antagonist M. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, as containing the Sentiments of Molinos, and as such

delated to the Court of Rome. M. de Fenelon, conscious that his Book would be condemned there, anticipated that Condemnation by condemning it himself; though he had strenuously defended it against the violent Attacks of M. Bossuet.

The *Quietists* were accused of having other Sentiments besides, which smelled much of Impiety; as this, that provided a Person could retain the Memory of God, while he plunged himself in the most criminal Pleasures, he was guiltless; because, the Soul being then conversant in Heaven, had no Part in what was acted by the Body; which was then left to fall on its natural Penchant: Which dangerous Maxim tended to tolerate all Kinds of Vices and Disorders.

At the Time of the Disputes between Mess. de Fenelon and Bossuet, about the Book of the *Maxims of the Saints*, several Persons, even of the first Rank, in France, appeared inclinable to *Quietism*, and some of them professed it publicly, particularly the famous Madame Guion; which excited some Troubles in the Gallican Church, but which were soon smothered by the King's Authority, and the Recantation of M. de Fenelon; though Madame Guion remained a staunch *Quietist* to her Death; some pretending that the Duke of Montausier, and several others of the Nobility did the same.

Molinos, the Chief of this Sect, died in the Prison of the Inquisition at Rome.

Their Fore-Fathers the *Illumined*, or *Illuminati*, were a Sect of Hereticks, who sprang up in Spain about the Year 1575, and called by the Spaniards *Alumbrados*.

Their Leaders were Villalpando a Priest, originally of the Isle of Tenerif, and a Carmelite, called Catherine de Jesus. These had a great Number of Disciples and Followers, most of whom were apprehended, and clapped up in the Inquisition at Cordua; some whereof were put to Death, and the rest abjured their Errors.

Their principal Doctrines were, that by means of a sublime Manner of Prayer, which they had attained to, they entered into so perfect a State, that they had no Occasion for Ordinances, Sacraments, nor Good Works; and that they could give way, even to the vilest Actions without Sin; which last Opinion was smoothed a little, and new modeled by the *Quietists*.

The Sect of *Illumined* was revived in France in the Year 1634, and were soon after joined by the *Guerinets*, or Disciples of Peter Guerin, who together made but one Body, called also *Illumined*: But they were so hotly pursued by Lewis XIII. that they were soon destroyed.

REFINING.

REFINING, as I take it in this Place, is the Art of refining Metals and Salts.

All Sorts of Metals admit of *Refining*, viz. Gold, Silver, Iron, Tin, and Lead; only they are not all refined in the same Manner; nay, there are even several different Manners of refining each of them, *e. gr.*

GOLD, can be refined in three different Manners, viz. either with Antimony, with Sublimate, or with Aqua fortis.

The last of these three Manners, viz. *depart*, and which is the most usual, and most dangerous, is also called *departing*, or *parting*; the Process thereof is as follows.

They take at the Rate of one Pound of impure Gold, and two or three of Silver; these they fuse together in a Crucible, and when fused cast them into cold Water, where they become divided into Grains of the Bigness of Peas. These Grains taken out and dried by the Fire, are put in a departing Vessel, which is a Stone Matras, and to the Matras is added four Pounds of Aqua fortis. Then taking the Vessel they set it on the Coals, and in about an Hour's Space the Refining is done. For upon opening the Vessel they find nothing therein but the Aqua fortis, and the Gold reduced into a Calx, or Sand; the Silver being all dissolved and imbibed by the Water.

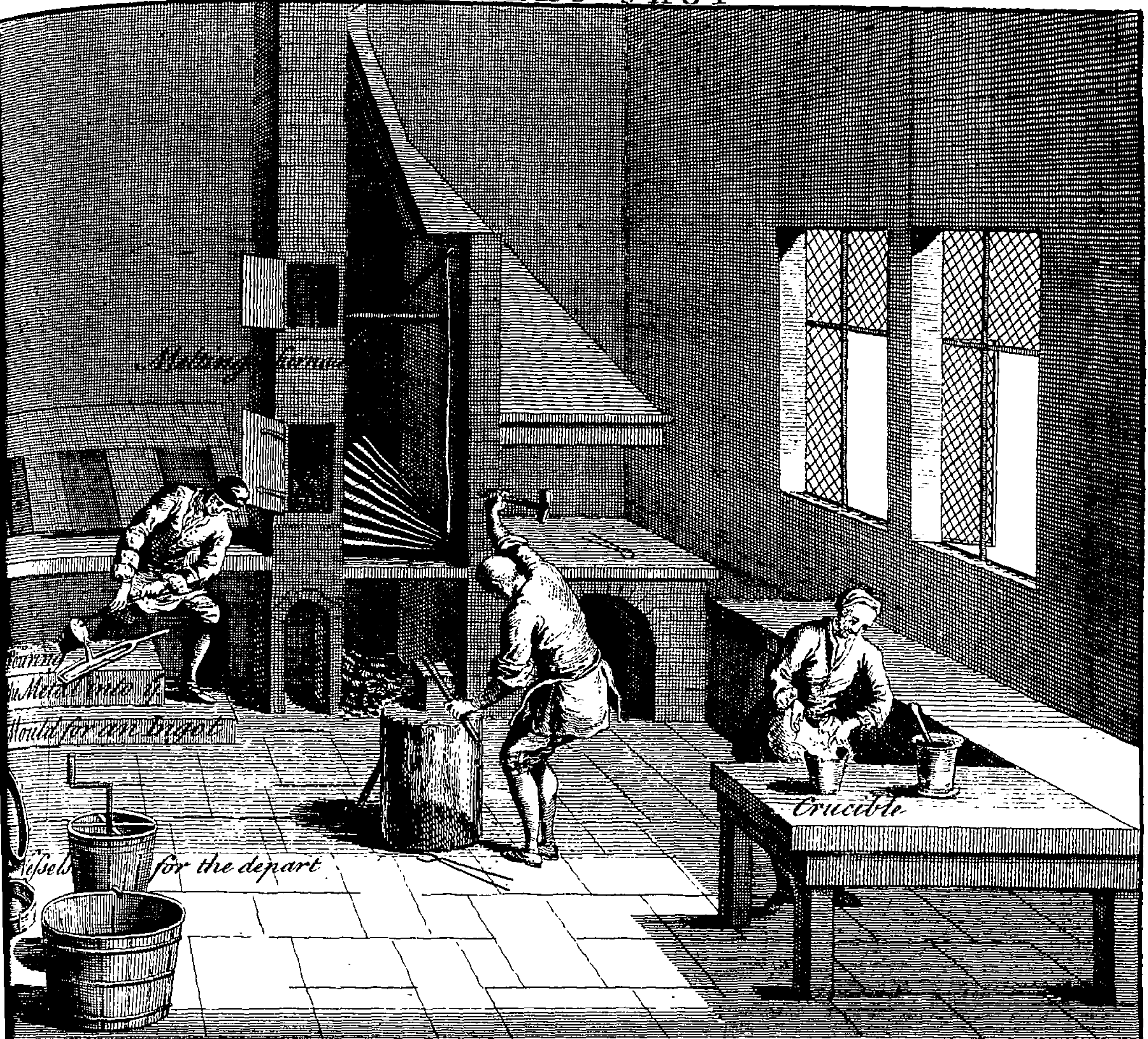
To raise the Gold to its due Fineness, they usually

give it the Aqua fortis again and again; using for the first Time half a Pound, and for the second a Quarter of a Pound of the Water to eight Ounces of Metal. If the third Water be found good and clear, the Operation is ended: And the Calx of the Gold being washed in repeated Water, is melted down in a Crucible, first by a gentle, and afterwards a vehement Fire, to be cast into Ingots or Wedges.

It must be added, that the Silver with the Impurities of the Gold, are so thoroughly incorporated with the Water, that to the Eye there does not appear any thing besides the pure Liquid, yet this Silver is not lost. To recover it again out of the Menstruum, they divide their Stock of Aqua fortis into several Stone Vessels, which they fill up with Spring Water, observing to put seven or eight Times as much of this as that. This done, in each Vessel they put a Quantity of Copper; and leaving the whole for twenty-four Hours, at the End thereof they find the Particles of the Aqua fortis have quitted the Silver, and are with the Copper, leaving the former in Form of a Calx, or incorporated Ashes at Bottom. This Calx being dried, is melted into an Ingot, with a little Saltpetre.

To husband the Aqua fortis, and make it serve again for a second Operation; they distil it in an Earthen or Glass Alembick; and when the Distillation is about a third

REFINERS SHOP



SILVERSMITHS SHOP



third over change the Recipient. The Water of the first Recipient serves for the first Operation of *departing*, and the rest for the subsequent ones.

If the Aqua fortis, having quitted the Silver, and being united with the Copper, be then filtrated, it is called *Aqua secunda*, in which, if you steep an Iron Plate some Hours, you will have another *Departure*, for the Menstruum will let go the Copper, and prey on the Iron, leaving the Copper in Powder on the Iron Plate. And filtrating this Dissolution, you may get the Iron out of it, by laying in it a Piece of Lapis Calaminaris; for the Iron in that Case will depart to the Bottom, and the Lapis be dissolved: And if you again filtrate this Water, and pour on it the Liquor of fixed Nitre, you will have another *Depart*, the Lapis precipitating to the Bottom. And, lastly, filtrating this Water as before, and evaporating Part of it, you'll have Crystals of Saltpetre.

To *refine Gold with Antimony*, you must take an ordinary Crucible, of a Size answerable to the Quantity of Gold to be refined; observing that the Gold and Antimony together do not above half fill it: Put that Crucible in a Wind Furnace, with the Gold alone in it; and when the Gold is melted throw into it the Antimony in Powder. The Proportion of the Mineral to the Metals, is about a Pound to eight Ounces, if the Gold be between 22 and 16 Carrats fine: If it be beneath 16 Carrats, they use about five Quarters of a Pound to eight Ounces: The coarser the Gold is, the more Antimony is required.

As soon as the Antimony is in the Crucible, it is covered up; and after charging the Furnace with Charcoal, they put on its Head a Cover, which stand till such Time as the Crucible be left quite bare; then the Head being taken off, and the Crucible left to cool in the Furnace itself, till such Time as it may be taken out by the Hand, they break it to get out the Bottom, or Culot, which is a Mass of fine Gold remaining at the Bottom, with the Focus of the Antimony, the Silver and Copper Alloy, and sometimes little Particles of Gold itself over it.

Though the Gold thus prepared be very pure, the Antimony gives it such a harsh brittle Quality, that it ceases to be ductile; and must be softened by Fusion, with Salt-petre and Borax, to bring it to itself.

For this Operation they prepare what they call a *dry Coppel*, that is, a Coppel made of crucible Earth, which does not imbibe like the Coppel made of Ashes.

The Coppel being sufficiently heated in the refining Furnace, they put the Gold in it and cover it up with Charcoal.

As soon as the Gold is dissolved, which is very soon by reason of the Remains of the Antimony, they blow it with the Bellows to drive the Mineral entirely away, which now goes off in Smoak; adding to it, as soon as the Fumes cease, a little Salt-petre and Borax in Powder; which collect the Impurities remaining upon Dissolution, and fix the Gold in the Coppel in Form of a Plate.

The Gold being taken out of the Coppel, and melted afresh in the Crucible, with an Addition of two Ounces of Salt-petre, and as much Borax in Powder, to each eight Ounces of Gold; as soon as it ceases to fume, they cast it into an Ingot; which, upon Trial, is found 23 Carrats, 26 Thirty-Seconds fine.

As to the Particles of Gold which may have been left behind with the Alloy in the Fæces of the Antimony, they get them out by a dry Coppel, with the same Meltings and Ingredients as are used in softening the former. And when they are assured by the Essay, of the Share of Gold the Matter contains, they refine it to separate the Copper; and afterwards make the Depart.

As to the Gold which may be left sticking to the dry Coppels, they get it out by breaking and pulverizing the Crucibles, and by repeated Lotions of the Powder thereof in several Waters; which is called Washing.

To *refine Gold by means of Sublimate*.—The Process is begun like that with Antimony, *i. e.* in the same Furnace, with the same Coal, the same Fire, and the same Crucibles.

The Gold being melted in the Crucible, they cast in the Sublimate, not pulverized, but only broke in Pieces. As to the Proportion, to eight Ounces of Gold to be

refined, they put an Ounce, or an Ounce and a half, or even two Ounces, if the Gold be of 22 Carrats; three Ounces if 20 Carrats; and 406 Ounces, if it only be from 18 to 20 Carrats. In which last Case they part the Sublimate into two; putting half at a Time, with the Gold, into a new Crucible; which, when the Operation is over, leaves the Gold from 18 to 23 Carrats, according to its Fineness before. After this, they raise it further by the Fire as follows:

The broken Sublimate being put into the Crucible with the melted Gold, the Crucible is immediately covered up, to smother the Mineral: Which done, the Furnace is filled with Charcoal, and the Head put on. A Quarter of an Hour afterwards they take off the Head, lay the Crucible bare, and give the Gold Air, *i. e.* blow off all the Ashes, and other Impurities that may be floating on the liquid Gold, with a Pair of Bellows, the Nozzle whereof is crooked.

This they repeat again and again, till the Impurities of the Gold being carried off, by virtue of the Sublimate, it be found of a bright glittering Colour; after which it is taken out of the Crucible, and the Gold cast into an Ingot.

The Method of *refining* by Sublimate is both more compleat and cheaper than that by Antimony; but they are both exceeding dangerous, by reason of their sulphurous and arsenical Exhalations: The only Difference in their Malignity consisting in this, that the Poison of the Antimony is slower than that of the Sublimate.

Gold may also be refined with Lead and Ashes, as observed in my Treatise of Chymistry, under the Letter C; but this is a Method seldom used, excepting in *Essays*.

For the Method of *assaying Gold*.—The Assayer having weighed the Gold he intends to make the Trial in, very exactly, with Scales that will turn with the hundredth Part of a Grain, and noted down the Weight, add twice as much fine Silver thereto; though this should be in proportion to the Fineness the Gold seems to be of, the basest Gold requiring the least Silver. The Gold and Silver thus weighed and mixed, are wrapped up in a Piece of Paper, to prevent their losing any Thing of their Weight, which would disturb the Accuracy of the Assay.

While the Assayer is weighing his Matters, a Reverberatory Fire is lighted in a Furnace, furnished with a Muffler and a Coppel or Test set therein to heat. This done, a little Bullet of Lead is put in the Coppel, of a Weight proportionable to the Quantity and Quality of the Gold to be assayed. When the Lead is well melted, and appears very clean and bright, they put in the Gold and Silver, and let it fuse and seethe till it appears of an opal Colour, and have fix'd itself in a little Lump to the Bottom of the Coppel.

This done, the Coppel is left to cool in the Furnace itself; after which the Lump is separated very exactly from the Place where it stuck to the Vessel; and stretched and hammered on the Anvil, heating it again and again on the Coals, to promote the Stretching.

When sufficiently hammered, they roll it up in Form of a Cornet or Coffin, and thus put it in a Glass Matrafs, capable of containing four Spoonfuls of Water; and having added to it a Quantity of Aqua fortis well corrected, that is, mixed with near one Third of the Quantity of River Water; they boil it over a Wood Fire, till such Time as the Aqua fortis yields no more red Fumes.

This first Water being poured off, and the Cornet left alone at the Bottom of the Matrafs, they fill the Matrafs again, but with pure Aqua fortis; which, after boiling, is poured off in its Turn at such Times as the Fumes are become white.—This done, they fill up the Matrafs with River Water, to wash the Cornet.

When washed they put it dry in a Crucible, with a Cover over it, and heat it till it become of a Cherry-Colour.

This done, the Assay is finished; and there remains nothing but to weigh it against the same Weight of fine Gold as was used at first before the Essay; for by comparing the first Weight of the Gold ere it was put in the Fire, and the Aqua fortis, with what it returned after

it had thus undergone the Test; they judge from the greater or less Loss it has sustained, of the Quantity of Alloy mixed with it.

In those different Manners Gold is *refined* and *assayed*.

Now for *refining Silver*; which is done two Ways; the one with Lead, the other with Salt-petre. The best and cheapest is that with Lead; though that with Salt-petre still obtains in many Places, for want of Workmen who understand the Process of the latter.

To *refine Silver with Lead*; a Coppel is filled with a Mixture of Brick Ashes, and Ashes of a Bullock's or other Bones. It is set on the Fire and heated red-hot; in which State the Lead is put in, and when this is melted, the *Silver*, in the Proportion of a Pound of Lead to four or five Ounces of Silver, and even somewhat more Lead, if the *Silver* be very coarse. As these two Metals melt together, the Copper, before mixed with the *Silver*, dissipates in Smoke, or goes away with the Scum and Litharge, and so does the Lead itself; leaving the Silver alone in the Coppel, in its proper Degree of Fineness.

In this Method of *Refining*, wherein 6 or 7000 Pounds may be refined at once; the Metal is drawn out of the Coppel two Ways; the one by plunging in it, while still liquid, a thick Bar of Iron, round which the *Silver* sticks in Form of a Shell, or Crust; repeating this again and again: The other is by letting the Coppel stand till it be cold; in the Bottom whereof the Silver fixes in Form of Cake.

The *refining Silver with Salt-petre*, is performed in a Wind Furnace.—The *Silver* to be refined having been reduced into Grains of the Size of little Peas, by pouring it, when melted, into a Tub of common Water; it is heated over again in a Boiler. After this they put it in a Crucible, and along with it, to every eight Ounces of Metal, two of Salt-petre.

The Crucible is now covered up with an earthen Lid, in Form of a Dome, exactly luted; which Lid however is to have a little Aperture in the Middle.

The Crucible being put in the Furnace, and covered with Charcoal, which is only to be lighted by Degrees; at length they give it the full Force of the Fire to put the Metal into a perfect Fusion. This they repeat three Times successively, at an Interval of a Quarter of an Hour.

After the third Fire they uncover the Furnace, and let the Crucible cool; and at length break it, to get out the Silver, which is found in a Button or Culot; the Bottom whereof is very fine Silver; and the Top mixed with the Fæces of the Salt-petre, and the Alloy of the Silver, and even some Particles of the fine Silver.

The Culot being separated from the Impurities, is melted in a new Crucible, and into the Dissolution is thrown Charcoal-Dust, and the whole briskly worked together. Then the Crucible being covered up again, and the Furnace charged with Coal, a second Fire is given it.

This done, the Ashes, and other Impurities are blown from the Top of the Metal, till it appears as clear as a Looking-Glass; and then an Ounce of Borax broke in Pieces is thrown in.

Lastly, the Crucible being covered up again, they give it the last Fire; after which it is cast into Ingots; which are found eleven Penny-weights, and sixteen Grains fine.

To recover the Silver that may be left in the Fæces or Scoria, they pound them, and give them repeated Lotions in fresh Waters.

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The Lead being well melted and clear, the Silver is put in; and after it is brought to an opal Colour, and fixed in a Lump at the Bottom of the Coppel, which happens in about half an Hour; they let it cool, and cleanse it; and lastly, weigh it again as in Gold; and from its Diminution estimate the Quantity of Alloy.

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RELIGION.

RELIGION, *Religio*, is that Worship or Homage due to God, consider'd as Creator, Preserver, and Redeemer of the World.

The Foundation of all *Religion*, is, that there is a God; and that he requires some Service at the Hands of his Creatures. From the different Manners wherein we arrive at the Knowledge of this Service; Religion is divided into *natural* and *reveal'd*.

Natural RELIGION, is all that's a natural Consequence of that innate Idea we have within us of a Divinity; and which joined with the Dictates of our Reason, gives us to understand, that that Divinity so infinitely above our Apprehensions, claims from us a certain Worship, Love, and Respect, far superior to that which is shewn to all that is the most eminent, the most respectful, and the most amiable among the created Beings.

The *reveal'd Religion* is what we learn to be due, by some supernatural Means; as by an express Declaration of God himself, by the Mouth of Prophets, &c.

The first flows immediately from the Relation between the Creature and the Creator; the latter does not flow from such a Relation; but is superadded from the mere Will and Pleasure of the Creator.

The first we ordinarily call *Morality* or *Ethicks*; because immediately conversant about the Manners and Duties of Men, towards one another; and towards themselves, consider'd as Creatures of that Being; which Religion has never much flourished among Men.

The latter we call, by Way of Eminence, *Religion*, as being the Rule of our Duty immediately to God himself.

The first supposes a God, a Providence, a future State, Rewards, and Punishments: The latter, likewise, supposes an immediate Mission from God himself, attested by Miracles.

The first reign'd from the Creation, to the Mission of *Moses*; though almost entirely disfigured by the Superstitions, ridiculous Romances, and Dreams of the Pagans, who formed to themselves as many Deities, as their depraved Imagination could invent; filling the Heavens with a confus'd Mixture of Heroes, virtuous Men, profligate, debauched, and lawless Ruffians and Scoundrels; virtuous Women, Prostitutes, &c. and placing on their Altars, not Men only, but even the vilest and most despicable Insects; which they had the sacrilegious Folly to honour with a Worship which was due to God alone; and the most unconceivable is, that those Nations where the Arts and Sciences flourished most, and distinguished from others for their Capacity and Sense, were the most guilty of that Folly.

The *Israelites* themselves, that People so much cherished of God, that by a Pre-dilection he had chosen them for his own, in a particular Manner, and exclusive of all other Nations, were not quite free from those Superstitions; till Revelation came to their Succour, to prevent their deviating still more and more from the true Worship; which Revelation was made by *Moses* and the Prophets, and which was the Foundation of the *Jewish* Religion, or *Judaism*; as I have explained in my Treatise thereof, under the Letter J.

The *Christian Religion*, which is that I design to treat of in this Place, is also founded on Revelation, which was made by Christ and his Apostles; part thereof is the *Jewish* Revelation. For the *Messiah* promis'd in the one, is revealed in the other: But all the rest of the *Jewish* Revelation, which related peculiarly to the *Jewish* People, is here set aside, and only that Part of it which was to affect the World in general, we mean that relating to the Coming of the *Messiah*, is here built upon.

Indeed it must be owned the *Jews* ever looked on this as peculiar to themselves, as any of the rest; the *Messiah* was promis'd to them; he was to be their Deliverer, their Restorer, &c. But upon the taking Place of this new Revelation, a new Scene was open'd. This Part of the old Revelation it was shewn, was all typical, or allegorical; and the Prophecies relating hereto, not to be understood in their primary or literal Sense.

VOL. II.

The *Messiah* was not to be the Restorer of the *Jewish* Sovereignty, and Liberties, which were now fallen into the Hands of the *Romans*, but to restore and re-establish the World, who had lost their original Righteousness, and were become Slaves of Sin; to preach Repentance and Remission; and at last to suffer Death; that all who believed in him, might not die, but have everlasting Life.

Such is the Tenor and Design of the *Christian* Revelation, which in the Event was so far from being what it had been apprehended to be by the People to whom it was first promised; that it proved the very Reverse; and instead of re-establishing and confirming the other Branches of their Revelation, superseded, and set them all aside. The Pale was now broken down, and the being of the Seed of *Abraham* ceased to be a Privilege, all the World being invited on the same Terms with the *Jews*.

The Consequence was, that the *Jews* denying this to be the *Messiah* that had been promised to them, as not able to see the Prophecies fulfilled in him, for want of the typical Means thereof, were generally excluded from the Privileges of that Mission which had been supposed wholly intended for them; and had their Ruin completed from the very Means, whence they expected their Redemption.

In Effect, one of the greatest Difficulties in Christianity turns upon the Completion of the Scripture Prophecies.—In the Prophets of the Old Testament, are frequent Predictions of the *Messiah*, as already observed, which the Writers of the New frequently urge to the *Jews* and Heathens as fulfilled in *Jesus Christ*; and on this Principle evince the Truth of his Mission: But these Texts thus urged from the Old in the New Testament, are sometimes not to be now found in the Old; whence most of the Christian Commentators, Divines, and Critics, antient and modern, judge them to be applied in a secondary, typical, allegorical, or mystical Sense.

Thus, *e. gr.* St. *Matthew*, after an Account of the Conception of the Virgin, and the Birth of *Jesus*, says, *All this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, saying, Behold a Virgin shall be with Child, and shall bring forth a Son, and they shall call his Name Immanuel.* But the Words, as they stand in *Isaiab*, whence they are supposed to be taken, do, in their obvious and literal Sense, relate to a young Woman who was to bring forth a Child in the Days of *Abaz*; as appears from the Context, and as is owned by *Grotius*, *Huetius*, *Castalio*, *Curallens*, *Episcopius*, *Le Clerc*, *Lamy*, *Hammond*, *Simon*, &c.

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Grotius observes, this to be the Case in most, if not all the Prophecies and Citations quoted from the Old in the New Testament; and *Dodwell*, with Sir *John Marsham*, refer even the famous Prophecy of *Daniel*, about the seventy Weeks, to the Time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; shewing that the Expressions taken thence by *Christ*, and urged by him, as predicting the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, have only in a secondary Sense a Respect to that Destruction.

And even that famous Prophecy in the Pentateuch, *A Prophet will the Lord God raise up unto thee, like unto me; to him shall ye hearken.* Which St. *Luke* refers to as spoken of *Jesus Christ*, is, by *Simon*, *Grotius*, *Stillingfleet*, &c. understood to signify, in its immediate Sense, a Promise of a Succession of Prophets.

It is allowed then the Apostles applied the Prophecies they quote from the Old Testament, in a typical Sense;

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it had thus undergone the Test; they judge from the greater or less Loss it has sustained, of the Quantity of Alloy mixed with it.

In those different Manners Gold is *refined* and *assayed*.

Now for *refining Silver*; which is done two Ways; the one with Lead, the other with Salt-petre. The best and cheapest is that with Lead; though that with Salt-petre still obtains in many Places, for want of Workmen who understand the Process of the latter.

To *refine Silver with Lead*; a Coppel is filled with a Mixture of Brick Ashes, and Ashes of a Bullock's or other Bones. It is set on the Fire and heated red-hot; in which State the Lead is put in, and when this is melted, the *Silver*, in the Proportion of a Pound of Lead to four or five Ounces of Silver, and even somewhat more Lead, if the *Silver* be very coarse. As these two Metals melt together, the Copper, before mixed with the *Silver*, dissipates in Smoke, or goes away with the Scum and Litharge, and so does the Lead itself; leaving the Silver alone in the Coppel, in its proper Degree of Fineness.

In this Method of *Refining*, wherein 6 or 7000 Pounds may be refined at once; the Metal is drawn out of the Coppel two Ways; the one by plunging in it, while still liquid, a thick Bar of Iron, round which the *Silver* sticks in Form of a Shell, or Crust; repeating this again and again: The other is by letting the Coppel stand till it be cold; in the Bottom whereof the Silver fixes in Form of Cake.

The *refining Silver with Salt-petre*, is performed in a Wind Furnace.—The *Silver* to be refined having been reduced into Grains of the Size of little Peas, by pouring it, when melted, into a Tub of common Water; it is heated over again in a Boiler. After this they put it in a Crucible, and along with it, to every eight Ounces of Metal, two of Salt-petre.

The Crucible is now covered up with an earthen Lid, in Form of a Dome, exactly luted; which Lid however is to have a little Aperture in the Middle.

The Crucible being put in the Furnace, and covered with Charcoal, which is only to be lighted by Degrees; at length they give it the full Force of the Fire to put the Metal into a perfect Fusion. This they repeat three Times successively, at an Interval of a Quarter of an Hour.

After the third Fire they uncover the Furnace, and let the Crucible cool; and at length break it, to get out the Silver, which is found in a Button or Culot; the Bottom whereof is very fine Silver; and the Top mixed with the Faeces of the Salt-petre, and the Alloy of the Silver, and even some Particles of the fine Silver.

The Culot being separated from the Impurities, is melted in a new Crucible, and into the Dissolution is thrown Charcoal-Dust, and the whole briskly worked together. Then the Crucible being covered up again, and the Furnace charged with Coal, a second Fire is given it.

This done, the Ashes, and other Impurities are blown from the Top of the Metal, till it appears as clear as a Looking-Glass; and then an Ounce of Borax broke in Pieces is thrown in.

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It is allowed then the Apostles applied the Prophecies they quote from the Old Testament, in a typical Sense; but

but unhappily the Rules whereby they are quoted are lost. Dr. *Stanhope* laments the Loss of the *Jewish* Traditions or Rules for interpreting Scripture received among the Rabbins, and followed by the Apostles. But this Loss, *Sarenhesius*, *Hebrew* Professor at *Amsterdam*, thinks he has retrieved from the *Jewish* Talmud, and the antient *Jewish* Commentaries; and has accordingly published to the World, the Rules whereby the Apostles quoted the Old Testament.

But the Truth is, these Rules are too precarious, strained, and unnatural to gain much Credit.

Mr. *Whiston* condemns all allegorical Explanation of the Prophecies of the Old Testament cited in the New, as weak, enthusiastick, &c. and adds, that if a double Sense of the Prophecies be allowed, and there be no other Method of shewing their Composition, than by applying them secondarily and typically to our Lord, after having been in their first and primary Intention long ago fulfilled in the Times of the Old Testament, we lose all the real Advantages of the antient Prophecies as to the Proofs of Christianity.

He therefore sets up a new Scheme in Opposition thereto: He owns, that taking the present Text of the Old Testament for genuine, it is impossible to expound the Apostles Citations of the Prophecies of the Old Testament, on any other than the allegorical Foundation; and therefore, to solve the Difficulty, is forced to have recourse to a Supposition contrary to the Sense of all Christian Writers before him, viz. that the Text of the Old Testament has been greatly corrupted since the apostolical Age by the *Jews*.

His Hypothesis is, that the Apostles made their Quotations out of the Old Testament rightly and truly from the *Septuagint* Version, which in their Time was in vulgar Use, and exactly agreed with the *Hebrew* Original; and that as they made exact Quotations, so they argued justly and logically from the obvious and literal Sense of the said Quotations, as they then stood in the Old Testament: But that since their Times both the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint* Copies of the Old Testament have been so greatly corrupted, and so many apparent Disorders and Dislocations introduced therein, as to occasion many remarkable Differences and Inconsistencies between the Old and New Testament, in respect to the Words and Sense of those Quotations.

As to the Manner wherein these Corruptions were introduced, he says, the *Jews* in the second Century greatly corrupted and altered both the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint*, especially in the Prophecies cited by the Apostles, to make their Reasoning appear inconclusive: That in the third Century they put into *Origen's* Hand one of these corrupted Copies of the *Septuagint*; which *Origen* mistaking for genuine, inserted in his *Hexapla*, and thus brought into the Church a corrupted Copy of the *Septuagint*; and that in the End of the fourth Century the *Jews* put into the Hands of the Christians, who till then had been almost universally ignorant of the *Hebrew*, a corrupted Copy of the Old Testament.

The Disagreement then between the Old and New Testament, in respect to the said Quotations, he contends, has no Place between the genuine Text of the Old Testament (now no where existing) but only between the present corrupted Text of the Old and New Testament: And therefore to justify the Reasonings of the Apostles, he proposes to restore the Text of the Old Testament, as it stood before the Days of *Origen*, and as it stood in the Days of the Apostles: From which Text thus restored he doubts not it will appear, that the Apostles cited exactly, and argued justly and logically, from the Old Testament.

But this Scheme of accomplishing Prophecies labours under Difficulties at least as great as the allegorical Scheme. Its Foundation is incredible, and its Superstructure from first to last precarious. In effect, it is inconceivable the Old Testament should be so corrupted; and it may even be made appear, that the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint* disagreed in the Times of the Apostles: Add to this, that the Means whereby he proposes to restore the true Text, will never answer that End; nor has he himself from all the Means he is yet possessed of, been able to restore one prophetic Citation, so as to make

that seem literally, which before only seemed allegorically applied.

The *revealed Religion*, thus founded on Revelation and Prophecies, supposes an immediate Mission from God himself, attested by Miracles for the Propagation thereof.

In the Old Testament, *Moses*, *Elias*, *Elisha*, and other Prophets, had that immediate Mission from God, viz. *Moses*, in those Words, *Come, and I'll send thee*, *Exod. iii. 10.* and their Mission was attested by Miracles; for *Moses* proved his by changing his Rod into a Serpent, and Water into Blood, &c.

In the New Testament the Apostles had their Mission immediately from Christ himself, in these Words, *Go ye, and preach the Gospel*, &c. And that Mission was attested by Miracles, according to *St. Mark*, c. xvi. v. 20. *And they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with Signs following.*

It is still a Dispute in the World how far it may be in the Power of the Devil to work Miracles, i. e. to produce some extraordinary and wonderful Effects above the Power of Nature; or wherein the Difference lies between the Miracles of *Moses*, and those of *Pharaoh's* Magicians; those of *Jesus Christ* and the Apostles; and those of *Simon Magus* and *Apollonius Tyaneus*; whether the latter were any more than Delusions of the Senses; or whether any supernatural or diabolical Power? My own Sentiment is, that those Impostors acted by a diabolical Power, since we learn from the New Testament itself, that the Devil, who, in all Things he can, is the Ape of the Divinity, did several Things then which had the Appearance of Miracles; and no doubt but that he could, and would do the same, to prevent the Empire of Christ being established on the Ruins of his.

The *Roman* Catholics reproach those who have took upon them to reform the Christian Religion, that they have not confirmed their Mission by Miracles, as Christ did, when he came to fulfil the Law of *Moses*, and reform the Sanctuary; and pretend to be surprized, that a Christian indifferently instructed in the Principles of his Religion, could be persuaded to hasten to those Reformers, unless they had confirmed their Mission (which for a Reformation, must have been immediate from God, and extraordinary) with Miracles? But the Reformers, to wave that Objection (which in fact they had been much puzzled to answer otherwise) said, that Miracles were ceased ever since the Time of the Apostles; and to convince the Christians thereof, take a Method to reform the Religion, quite different from that Christ and his Apostles had took to establish it, substituting natural Means to the supernatural ones, used in the Infancy of Christianity; the Humours, Inclinations, and Genius of the Christians of those Times, being very different from those of the primitive Christians; for the primitive Christians preferred Poverty, Humiliation, Abstinence, Penitence, and Sufferings, to Riches, Grandeur, Luxury, Pleasures, &c. Whereas the Christians of the Reformation's Infancy, thirsted more after the Kingdom of the Prince of this World, than after that of Christ, and after a temporal Felicity, than an eternal one.

Religion, is more particularly used at present for that special System of Faith and Worship, which obtains in this, or that Country, in this or that Sect; this or that Age, &c.

In this Sense we say the *Roman* Religion, the reformed Religion, the Religion of the *Greeks*, the *Jewish* Religion, the *Mahometan* Religion, &c.

We have already treated of the two last, viz. of the *Jewish*, in my Treatise of *Judaism*, under the Letter J; and of the *Mahometan*, in my Treatise of *Mahometanism*, under the Letter M.—I have also treated of the *Roman* Church, in my Treatise of the Church under the Letter C; and in that on the Clergy, under the same Letter: And of the *Reformation*, in my Treatises of *Calvinism*, *Lutheranism*, &c.

M. de St. Evremont says, that in the Diversity of Beliefs which divide Christianity, true Catholicity engages him as much by his own Choice, if he had had then to chuse, as by Habitude, and the Impressions he had received

ceived from it: But that that Inclination he had for his own Belief, did not animate him against that of others, neither does it me; and I had never that indiscreet Zeal so common in *England*, which makes us hate Persons, because they are either born in another Country, or do not agree in Sentiment with us. Self-Love forms that false Zeal; and a secret Seduction makes us see a Charity for our Neighbours, where there is nothing but an Excess of Complaisance for our own Opinion: For we do not relieve a Man that agrees with us in Matter of Worship, because he is miserable or unfortunate, but because he is of the same Religion.

What we call at present Religions, is in fact but a Difference in the Religion, and not different Religions. I am pleased to think, that my Sentiments in religious Affairs are better than those of another Sect; but notwithstanding, instead of hating a Member of that Sect, for the Difference of Opinion, he is dear to me, because his Principles are the same with mine. The best Means to agree in all Things at last, is to have always some Communication with one another. You'll never inspire the Love of Reunion, if you do not take off first the Hatred of the Division. Deceit and Hypocrisy are the only Things which must be odious in Religion; for he that believes sincerely, and without Disguise, if even his Belief was wrong, deserves to be pitied, instead of being persecuted. A corporal Blindness excites our Compassion, and what can have that of the Soul capable to excite our Hatred? During the greatest Tyranny of the Ancients, they left the Understanding the full Liberty of its Lights; and there have been Nations among Christians, where a Man was forced to be persuaded of what he cannot believe! In my Opinion, every one must be free in his Belief, provided it does not extend towards exciting Seditions, to disturb the publick Tranquility; for then those guilty of such Disorders ought to be severely punished, not as believing such and such Dogma's, but as publick Disturbers, or rebellious Subjects. The Temples are of the Right of Sovereigns, who have Power to open and shut them at their Pleasure; but our Heart is a private Temple, where we may, uncontrolled, adore their Master.

Besides the Difference of Doctrine on certain Points affected to each Religion, I find that they have all a particular Spirit which distinguishes them. That of the Catholick Religion relates particularly towards loving God, and Good Works. The Catholicks consider that first and supreme Being as an Object, infinitely amiable, and tender Souls are moved by the sweet and agreeable Impressions he makes on them. Good Works follow necessarily that Principle; for if Love be formed within, it manifests itself without, and obliges us to put all in Use to please whom we love. What's only to be feared, is, lest the Source of that Love, which is in the Heart, should be altered by a Mixture of some human Passion. It is to be feared likewise, that instead of obliging God in what he commands, we should invent Manners to serve him, which please us. But if that Love be really a pure one, nothing in the World makes us take a truer Sweetness. The inward Joy of devout Souls proceeds from a certain Certainty they think they have, of being agreeable to God; and true Mortifications, and holy Austerities, are of themselves loving Sacrifices.

The reformed Religion divest Men of all Confidence in Merit. The Opinion of Predestination, for which she has took a Dislike, and which she is left to desert, lest she should contradict herself, leaves a Soul in an indolent and languishing State, without Affection and Motion; under Pretence of waiting with Submission and Patience, the Will of Heaven. She does not search to please, but contents herself with obeying, and in an exact and common Worship, makes God the Object of her Regularity, rather than of her Love. To maintain the Religion in its Purity, the Calvinists want to reform all that appears human; but they often retrench too much of what is addressed to God, by a too great Desire of retrenching what comes from Man. The Dislike they have taken for the Ceremonies of the Catholick Church, makes them work towards rendering themselves purer than the Catholicks. It is true, that being arrived at that Purity too dry, and too naked, they find themselves at last not devout enough; and pious Persons

among them form to themselves a particular Spirit which seems to them supernatural, actuated thereto by a Dislike they have taken for a Regularity which appears too common.

There are two Sorts of Spirits in Matters of Religion; the one go towards increasing the Things established; and the others are always retrenching something from them. If we follow the former, there is some Danger of giving too great an Outside to Religion, and cover it with certain Appearances which hide the true Bottom thereof. If we side with the latter, the Danger is, that having retrenched all that is superfluous, we may chance to retrench the Religion itself. The Catholick Religion might have a lesser Outside, but nothing hinders the most sensible Part of Mankind to know it, such as it is, under that Outside, let it be ever so great. The Reformed has not Outside enough (the English Church excepted) and its too common Worship, does not distinguish it enough from the common Occupations of Life. In the Places where the Exercise thereof is scarce allowed, the Difficulty hinders the Dislike; Controversy forms a Heat which gives it Life: But where it is dominant, it produces only an Exactness of Duties, as the political Government, or some other Obligation would do.

As for moral Goodness, it is only among the Calvinists, an Effect of their Faith, and a Sequel of their Belief. The Catholicks agree, that all Christians are obliged to believe the Truth, and live righteously; but the Manner of expressing ourselves on that Point is different; and when the Calvinists say, that *Good Works, without Faith, are dead*, the Catholicks say, *that a Faith without Good-Works, is a dead Faith*.

The Minister Morus, used to say among his Friends, that *his Opinion had something too harsh, and that he advised never to read the Epistles of St. Paul, without ending by that of St. James; for Fear*, says he, *that the Heat of St. Paul against the Merit of the Works, should render Men indolent in the Practice thereof*.

But however, I am of Opinion, that it could be said that St. Peter and St. James had Reason to preach to People so corrupted as the Jews were, the Necessity of Good-Works; for it was prescribing them what they wanted, and whereof they were conscious themselves. But those Apostles had made very little Progress in their Ministry by a Discourse on Grace, among People who thought they had more Faith than all the rest of the World; among People who had seen the Miracles operated in their Favour, and had experienced a thousand Times the visible Assistance of God.

St. Paul acted with as much Prudence and Wisdom with the Gentiles: Being conscious that he had converted few of them to Christ by Discourses on Good Works. The Gentiles were just and sober, they had Probity and Innocence, and Resolution and Constancy, so far as to die for their Country; to preach Good-Works to them; had been acting in the same Manner as the Philosophers did, who wanted to teach them the Practice of Virtue. I confess that Christ's Moral was purer, but it had nothing that could make a sufficient Impression on their Mind. It was necessary to preach them the Necessity of Grace; and to annihilate, as it were, the great Confidence they had in their own Virtue.

It seems to me, that ever since the Reformation (whereof the Disorders of the Catholick Clergy was either the Pretence or the Subject) Christianity has run on the Doctrine of Beliefs. Those who have established the Reformation, have accused the Scandals and Vices of the Catholicks; and at present the Catholicks set up Good-Works against them. The same who reproached the Catholicks with leading a licentious Life, are not willing to draw any Advantages at present, but from the Imagination they have that their Belief is sound. We confess the Necessity of the Belief; but Christ commanded Charity; and the Doctrine of the Mysteries was not established but long after his Death. Himself has not so well explained what he was, as what he wanted: Whence one may conclude, that he preferred his being obeyed to his being known. Faith is dark, but the Law is clearly expressed. What we are obliged to believe is above our Understanding; but what we are obliged to do, is within the Reach of every Body. In a Word,

Word, God gives us Light enough to act well; and we want some to penetrate too far; and instead of being contented with what he is pleased to let us know, we want to discover what he hides from us.

I know that the Contemplation of Things divine, produces often a happy Dislike for those of this World; but it is often but a mere Speculation, and the Effect of a very natural and human Vice. An unruly Mind has a Desire of acquiring some extraordinary Knowledge, far above its Sphere, and search what is the most hidden in its Author, less to adore him, than by a vain Curiosity of knowing every Thing. That Vice is soon followed by another: Curiosity breeds Presumption; and as bold in defining, as indiscreet in searching, we establish a Science of Things which it is even impossible for us to conceive. Such is the bad Use we make of our Understanding, and Will. We have the Ambition of conceiving every Thing, and we cannot; we can religiously observe every Thing, and we will not. Let us be just, charitable, patient, by a Principle of *Religion*; and we shall know and obey all at once.

But however, to consider Things rightly, I dare say, that the Spirit of the two *Religions*, viz. the Catholick and the Reformed, is in a different Manner founded on good Principles, according as the one considers the Practice of Good more extended; and the other prescribes a more precise Rule to itself to avoid Evil. The Catholick has for God an active Will, and a loving Industry, which searches continually the Secret to please him: The Reformed confined within the Limits of Circumspection and Respect, does not dare to go beyond the Precept known to her, lest the imagined Novelties should give too much Credit to the Imagination.

The Means of re-uniting the two *Religions*, are not in disputing always on the Doctrine, as the Reasonings are infinite; the Controversies will last as long as the human Race who makes them. But waving all Disputes, which serve only to breed Animosities (and which the Clergy themselves foment continually in their Pulpits) if we were to go back, without Passion, to that particular Spirit which distinguishes us, it would not be impossible to form a general one, which would procure our Reunion.

Let the Catholicks fix that unquiet Zeal, which makes them act a little too much of themselves: And the Reformed come out of that indolent Regularity, and quicken their languishing State, without losing any of their Submission to Providence: Let the Catholicks do something less in their Favour, and the Reformed do something more, in favour of the Catholicks; then, without minding either *Free-Will* or *Predestination*, there will be formed insensibly a true Rule for their Actions, which will be followed at last by that of their Sentiments.

When they have gained that Point of their Reconciliation of the Will, for the good Use of Life, it will produce soon that of the Understanding on the Intelligence of the Doctrine. Let them endeavour to act well together, and they'll be not long divided in their Belief.

From this I conclude, that it is not very easy to procure Man's Conversion, in attacking them by the Jealousy of the Mind. A Man defends his Lights, either as true, or as his own; and in what Manner soever he does it, says *Montagne*, he forms a hundred Oppositions against the Person that wants to conceive him. Nature giving to every Man his own Sense, seems to have accompanied that Sense with a secret Complaisance. A Man, though free, can submit himself to the Will of another; he can confess himself inferior to him in Courage and Virtue; but he is ashamed of confessing himself subject to the Sense of another; his most natural Repugnance being to acknowledge in any Body whatever, a Superiority of Reason.

Our first Advantage is of being born reasonable: Our first Jealousy is, to see that others want to be more reasonable than we are. If we read the ancient Conversions, we shall find that the Souls have been moved, but the Understanding very little convinced. It is in the Heart the first Disposition is formed towards receiving the Christian Truths. In Things purely natural, the Mind conceives first, and its Knowledge precedes its Affection for the Object: But in the supernatural the Soul fastens and unites itself to them before we are aware of it.

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of his Grace, than our Understandings to that of his Light. His Immensity commands our narrow Intelligence; his Goodness has a greater Rapport to our Love. There is I don't know what in the Bottom of our Soul, which moves secretly for a God we cannot know; whence it happens, that to work to Men's Conversion, we must establish with them some agreeable Commerce, wherein we may inspire them with our Motions; for in a Dispute of Religion, the Mind endeavours in vain to shew what he does not see; but in a pious and gentle Society, it is easy for the Soul to make another feel what she feels herself.

To consider well the Christian Religion, one would think that God would steal it from the Lights of our Understanding, to turn it towards the Motions of our Heart. *To love God and our Neighbours*, contains all the *Christian Religion*, according to *St. Paul*; which is nothing else but asking us the Disposition of our Heart, as well with regard to God as to Men: It is properly obliging us to do by Motives of Love, what the Politics requires of us by the Rigour of the Laws; and what Morality prescribes us by an Order of Reason.

The Charity engages us to assist, while Justice forbids doing any Injury to our Neighbours. With the true Sentiments inspired by our *Religion*, there is no Perfidy in Love, nor Ingratitude. With those good Sentiments, a Heart loves, with Innocence, the Objects which God has rendered Amiables; and what is innocent in our Amours, is what is sweeter and more tender.

Let sensual and voluptuous Persons complain of our *Religion* for the Fear it inspires them with; those of a nicer Taste must be pleased, that it preserves from Dislike and Repentance. Better skilled in the Science of Pleasure; wiser than the most severe Philosophy in the Science of Manners; it depurates our Taste for Delicacy, and our Sentiments for Innocence. Consider Man in the Civil Society, if he wants Justice, you'll see that it is rigorous to him. In the pure State of Nature his Liberty will have something wild, and if he be governed by Morality, his own Reason will have some Austerity. All other *Religions* stir in his Soul, Sentiments attended with Inquietude, and Passions which disturb him. They excite against Nature superstitious Fears, and furious Zeals; sometimes to sacrifice his own Children as *Agamemnon*; and sometimes to devote ourselves as *Decia*. The Christian Religion alone appeases all Sorts of Inquietudes, softens all Sorts of Ferocity; employs what Tenderness we have in our Motions, not only for our Friends and Relations, but even our Enemies.

That's the End of the Christian Religion, and what was anciently the Use thereof. If it has at present other Effects, it is because we have made it lose the Rights it had on our Heart, to make our Imaginations usurp some over it. Hence has happened the Division of Minds in Points of Belief, instead of an Union of Wills on Good Works; so that what should have been a Tie of Charity between Men, is no more but a Subject of Contentions, Jealousies, and Animosities.

From the Diversity of Opinions arose the Diversity of Parties, and Parties have produced Persecutions and Wars. Millions of Men have perished for contending only on the Manner they took in the Sacrament, what they all agreed was taken in it. It is an Evil which lasts still, and will always last till *Religion* repasses from the Curiosity of our Minds to the Tenderness of our Hearts; and that surfeited with the Presumption of our Lights, it goes and seeks after the sweet Motions of our Love.

But there is no great Appearance yet of those happy Changes, which would re-unite us once again in the same Belief, and revive among us that Christian Charity, without which our Religion is but a Body without a Soul, or rather a Shadow or Skeleton of *Religion*; and the most surprizing is, that those whose indispensable Duty it is to contribute all in their Power to procure that Reunion, put, on the contrary, all in Use to widen the Breach; either renewing daily the old Controversy, and loading them with new problematical Questions, more capable to revive the ancient Animosities than to appease them, and to precipitate us into Hell, than to lead us to Heaven; or by mocking it, the *Religion* appearing almost every Day under a new Mask, which a Multitude of weak Women, or of ignorant Men, who never were acquainted

acquainted with the real and true Face of Christianity, mistake for it. Most of us have been so much infatuated with the scandalous and antichristian Notion, that to rave, or inveigh bitterly against another *Religion*, is an evident Proof of an Excess of Zeal for that we profess, that they really believe that *Religion* consists scarce in any Thing else. A Sermon which is not seasoned with some Invectives, let it be ever so well calculated for Instruction, to inspire us with the Sentiments of Virtue, or to reform our Manners, is seldom approved: A Touch at Popery in a *French* Conventicle, or at the Church of *England* among Dissenters, will awake those wrapped in a most profound Sleep; and that Part of the Sermon is always better remembered than any other; the Auditors are not so much to be blamed as the Preacher, who has accustomed them to those Invectives, instead of inspiring them with the Sentiments of a Christian Charity; for tho' he may not have them himself, we learn from Christ, that the Scribes and Pharisees preached better than they acted.

Notwithstanding the great Obstacles which are represented as insuperable to a Reunion between the different Sects which lacerate Christ's seamless Gown, that Reunion is not impracticable, if the Shepherds committed to the Guard of Christ's Flock would renounce all Prejudices, and prefer the Salvation of the Souls, to their private Interest and other worldly Views.

The *Roman Religion*, to contribute all in her Power towards that Reconciliation, should give up some Points which are only of ecclesiastical Institution, particularly that of the Celibacy of the Clergy, which, in my Opinion, is the greatest Obstacle; not that I would have Marriage introduced among the *Roman* Clergy; but only Things relating to that Point left on the same Footing as they are at present, *i. e.* that the Celibacy of the Priests should continue in the *Roman* Church, and approved by the Protestants, as their Marriage in the Reformed, and allowed licit and valid by the *Romans*; since that Marriage is no where condemned in the Scripture; and the Church has commanded it only as more becoming the ecclesiastical State; supposing that the Priests being called to the Government of the Church of Christ, and the Conduct of the Souls, that Occupation is so serious, that it requires the whole Attention of a Man, which notwithstanding must be divided, if he is engaged in the matrimonial State; for it is not reasonable to suppose that he will neglect the Care of his Family, to apply himself entirely to the Conduct of his Flock; Nature pleading continually in favour of the former, to the Exclusion of the latter: It cannot be said that he can very well divide his Time between both; for a pastoral Sollicitude admits of no such Division; it not only requires the whole Time of Man, but even much more than he has: A Pastor who will acquit himself of his Duties find no vacant Hours; all his Occupations succeed one another, without any Interval between, for it is either a Person, who is dying, and wants his Assistance in that critical Passage from Time to Eternity, whom perhaps, few Moments of a salutary Exhortation will save from the Precipice, which otherwise he had fell into, and for which a negligent Pastor had been accountable at that dreadful Tribunal of an impartial Judge, where a Difference of *Religion* will have no Excuse for having neglected so essential a Duty; for as no Body is forced to take upon him the Conduct of Souls, he that takes it is inexcusable before God and Men. For those deceive themselves, who falsely imagine, that their whole Office consists in Preaching, reading Prayers, and administering the Sacraments, at the Times appointed; which some of them do, because they are obliged to it, to be entitled to the Revenues, and other Emoluments of the Church; those are the least of their Occupation; exhorting, arguing, reproving in private, to comfort the Afflicted, relieve the Distressed, seek after a Sheep which is run astray, are some of his most essential Duties, though perhaps the least minded, and on which he is to undergo a very severe Examen: If this be not true, the whole Christian Religion is a Romance; and we must believe it, or else deny a future State. For if God has been pleased to establish a certain Order of Men for the Conduct of others in the Road to Salvation, he thought then that

every one was not capable to operate his own Salvation alone, and without the Assistance of those Men; and if he be frustrated in his Intention, by the Negligence of those Men, must he not call them to an Account for that Negligence, which deprive the celestial *Jerusalem* of so many Inhabitants; and must not those who have been accessory to the Perdition of those unfortunate Creatures, be severely punished for it?

These were some of the most weighty Considerations which engaged the Church to oblige the Clergy to Celibacy; and as those who made those Regulations were Clergymen themselves, we have all the Reason imaginable to think that they thought it practicable, since they were obliged to submit to it themselves. If this had been done by the Authority of Princes, who imposed a Yoke on others, which they had not been obliged to bow their Necks to themselves, it might have been considered as insupportable, and exclaimed against as an Oppression; but that Yoke was formed by the Clergy themselves, for themselves, without the Concurrence of the Laity, or being actuated to it by any other Motive, but that of rendering their State more perfect, and more agreeable to their Vocation; but since the Protestant Clergy think otherwise, and have shook off that Yoke, which for so many Ages had appeared so light and so agreeable, and submitted to with so much Alacrity, that should be suffered by the Catholics for the Sake of a Reconciliation.

The Marriage of the Protestant Clergy once tolerated by the Catholics, it is my Sentiment, that all the other Obstacles which obstruct a Re-union, could soon be conquered in Conferences, managed between both Parties and carried on with that Spirit of Charity, which should inspire all Christian Assemblies, without Jealousy and Animosity. They could soon understand one another on that great Mystery of the Eucharist; especially if they would be pleased to read with Attention, and with the same Impartiality I have wrote it, my Treatise on that Subject. They would think a Hierarchy indispensably necessary for the Government of the Church; and that to suffer every body to follow blindly the Vanity of his Imaginations, is to introduce a monstrous Anarchy in the Sanctuary, and pave that wide Road, mentioned in the Scripture, which leads to Perdition. The *English* Church experiences daily the Inconveniencies of such Toleration.

In those Conferences the Number of Sacraments would be settled, and approved by an unanimous Consent; the Prayer for the Dead, thought perhaps necessary, being neither injurious to God, nor prejudicial to Men; it is not injurious to God; since those Prayers are Part of the Worship due to him, wherein his Omnipotency, Justice, Mercy, and the greatest Part of his other Attributes are acknowledged: They are not prejudicial to Men, since if there be no third State, the Prayers are always good of themselves, and prove beneficial to him that pray.

The Catholics would perhaps be persuaded, for the Sake of Peace, to reform several Abuses, which either Ignorance, or Avarice, or perhaps both, have introduced into their *Religion*, which though not essential, may be notwithstanding a Subject of Scandal. Thus the Christian Religion should recover its antient Lustre, Animosities and Jealousies cease among us; and there would be then henceforward but one Christ, one Faith, and one Baptism.

It would be improper to conclude this Treatise, without taking some Notice of *Paganism*, or Idolatry, which was the Worship and Adoration of false Gods, or the giving those Honours to Creatures, or the Works of Man's Hand, which are only due to God.

It is generally allowed, that Idolatry had not its Beginning till after the Deluge; and many are of Opinion, that *Belus*, who is supposed to be the same with *Nimrod*, was the first that was deified; though mine is, that Idolatry had a much more antient Origin; and that it began soon after *Cain's* Fratricide; that the Difference God made between his Sacrifice, and that of *Abel* his Brother, which was the Occasion of that Murder, and seeing himself cursed by his Creator, he invented a new Deity and a new Worship, which was established among his Posterity; whence came the Denomination of Sons of Men for those who followed it, in Contradistinction of the Sons of Gods, who worshiped their divine Creator.

Word, God gives us Light enough to act well; and we want some to penetrate too far; and instead of being contented with what he is pleased to let us know, we want to discover what he hides from us.

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Our first Advantage is of being born reasonable: Our first Jealousy is, to see that others want to be more reasonable than we are. If we read the ancient Conversions, we shall find that the Souls have been moved, but the Understanding very little convinced. It is in the Heart the first Disposition is formed towards receiving the Christian Truths. In Things purely natural, the Mind conceives first, and its Knowledge precedes its Affection for the Object: But in the supernatural the Soul fastens and unites itself to them before we are aware of it.

God has better prepared our Hearts to the Impression

of his Grace, than our Understandings to that of his Light. His Immensity commands our narrow Intelligence; his Goodness has a greater Rapport to our Love. There is I don't know what in the Bottom of our Soul, which moves secretly for a God we cannot know; whence it happens, that to work to Men's Conversion, we must establish with them some agreeable Commerce, wherein we may inspire them with our Motions; for in a Dispute of Religion, the Mind endeavours in vain to shew what he does not see; but in a pious and gentle Society, it is easy for the Soul to make another feel what she feels herself.

To consider well the Christian Religion, one would think that God would steal it from the Lights of our Understanding, to turn it towards the Motions of our Heart. *To love God and our Neighbours*, contains all the Christian Religion, according to *St. Paul*; which is nothing else but asking us the Disposition of our Heart, as well with regard to God as to Men: It is properly obliging us to do by Motives of Love, what the Politics requires of us by the Rigour of the Laws; and what Morality prescribes us by an Order of Reason.

The Charity engages us to assist, while Justice forbids doing any Injury to our Neighbours. With the true Sentiments inspired by our Religion, there is no Perfidy in Love, nor Ingratitude. With those good Sentiments, a Heart loves, with Innocence, the Objects which God has rendered Amiables; and what is innocent in our Amours, is what is sweeter and more tender.

Let sensual and voluptuous Persons complain of our Religion for the Fear it inspires them with; those of a nicer Taste must be pleased, that it preserves from Dislike and Repentance. Better skilled in the Science of Pleasure; wiser than the most severe Philosophy in the Science of Manners; it depurates our Taste for Delicacy, and our Sentiments for Innocence. Consider Man in the Civil Society, if he wants Justice, you'll see that it is rigorous to him. In the pure State of Nature his Liberty will have something wild, and if he be governed by Morality, his own Reason will have some Austerity. All other Religions stir in his Soul, Sentiments attended with Inquietude, and Passions which disturb him. They excite against Nature superstitious Fears, and furious Zeals; sometimes to sacrifice his own Children as *Agamemnon*; and sometimes to devote ourselves as *Decia*. The Christian Religion alone appeases all Sorts of Inquietudes, softens all Sorts of Ferocity; employs what Tenderness we have in our Motions, not only for our Friends and Relations, but even our Enemies.

That's the End of the Christian Religion, and what was anciently the Use thereof. If it has at present other Effects, it is because we have made it lose the Rights it had on our Heart, to make our Imaginations usurp some over it. Hence has happened the Division of Minds in Points of Belief, instead of an Union of Wills on Good Works; so that what should have been a Tie of Charity between Men, is no more but a Subject of Contentions, Jealousies, and Animosities.

From the Diversity of Opinions arose the Diversity of Parties, and Parties have produced Persecutions and Wars. Millions of Men have perished for contending only on the Manner they took in the Sacrament, what they all agreed was taken in it. It is an Evil which lasts still, and will always last till Religion repasses from the Curiosity of our Minds to the Tenderness of our Hearts; and that surfeited with the Presumption of our Lights, it goes and seeks after the sweet Motions of our Love.

But there is no great Appearance yet of those happy Changes, which would re-unite us once again in the same Belief, and revive among us that Christian Charity, without which our Religion is but a Body without a Soul, or rather a Shadow or Skeleton of Religion; and the most surprizing is, that those whose indispensable Duty it is to contribute all in their Power to procure that Reunion, put, on the contrary, all in Use to widen the Breach; either renewing daily the old Controversy, and loading them with new problematical Questions, more capable to revive the ancient Animosities than to appease them, and to precipitate us into Hell, than to lead us to Heaven; or by mocking it, the Religion appearing almost every Day under a new Mask, which a Multitude of weak Women, or of ignorant Men, who never were acquainted

acquainted with the real and true Face of Christianity, mistake for it. Most of us have been so much infatuated with the scandalous and antichristian Notion, that to rave, or inveigh bitterly against another *Religion*, is an evident Proof of an Excess of Zeal for that we profess, that they really believe that *Religion* consists scarce in any Thing else. A Sermon which is not seasoned with some Invectives, let it be ever so well calculated for Instruction, to inspire us with the Sentiments of Virtue, or to reform our Manners, is seldom approved: A Touch at Popery in a *French* Conventicle, or at the Church of *England* among Dissenters, will awake those wrapped in a most profound Sleep; and that Part of the Sermon is always better remembered than any other; the Auditors are not so much to be blamed as the Preacher, who has accustomed them to those Invectives, instead of inspiring them with the Sentiments of a Christian Charity; for tho' he may not have them himself, we learn from Christ, that the Scribes and Pharisees preached better than they acted.

Notwithstanding the great Obstacles which are represented as insuperable to a Reunion between the different Sects which lacerate Christ's seamless Gown, that Reunion is not impracticable, if the Shepherds committed to the Guard of Christ's Flock would renounce all Prejudices, and prefer the Salvation of the Souls, to their private Interest and other worldly Views.

The *Roman Religion*, to contribute all in her Power towards that Reconciliation, should give up some Points which are only of ecclesiastical Institution, particularly that of the Celibacy of the Clergy, which, in my Opinion, is the greatest Obstacle; not that I would have Marriage introduced among the *Roman* Clergy; but only Things relating to that Point left on the same Footing as they are at present, *i. e.* that the Celibacy of the Priests should continue in the *Roman* Church, and approved by the Protestants, as their Marriage in the Reformed, and allowed licit and valid by the *Romans*; since that Marriage is no where condemned in the Scripture; and the Church has commanded it only as more becoming the ecclesiastical State; supposing that the Priests being called to the Government of the Church of Christ, and the Conduct of the Souls, that Occupation is so serious, that it requires the whole Attention of a Man, which notwithstanding must be divided, if he is engaged in the matrimonial State; for it is not reasonable to suppose that he will neglect the Care of his Family, to apply himself entirely to the Conduct of his Flock; Nature pleading continually in favour of the former, to the Exclusion of the latter: It cannot be said that he can very well divide his Time between both; for a pastoral Sollicitude admits of no such Division; it not only requires the whole Time of Man, but even much more than he has: A Pastor who will acquit himself of his Duties find no vacant Hours; all his Occupations succeed one another, without any Interval between, for it is either a Person, who is dying, and wants his Assistance in that critical Passage from Time to Eternity, whom perhaps, few Moments of a salutary Exhortation will save from the Precipice, which otherwise he had fell into, and for which a negligent Pastor had been accountable at that dreadful Tribunal of an impartial Judge, where a Difference of *Religion* will have no Excuse for having neglected so essential a Duty; for as no Body is forced to take upon him the Conduct of Souls, he that takes it is inexcusable before God and Men. For those deceive themselves, who falsely imagine, that their whole Office consists in Preaching, reading Prayers, and administering the Sacraments, at the Times appointed; which some of them do, because they are obliged to it, to be entitled to the Revenues, and other Emoluments of the Church; those are the least of their Occupation; exhorting, arguing, reproving in private, to comfort the Afflicted, relieve the Distressed, seek after a Sheep which is run astray, are some of his most essential Duties, though perhaps the least minded, and on which he is to undergo a very severe Examen: If this be not true, the whole Christian Religion is a Romance; and we must believe it, or else deny a future State. For if God has been pleased to establish a certain Order of Men for the Conduct of others in the Road to Salvation, he thought then that

every one was not capable to operate his own Salvation alone, and without the Assistance of those Men; and if he be frustrated in his Intention, by the Negligence of those Men, must he not call them to an Account for that Negligence, which deprive the celestial *Jerusalem* of so many Inhabitants; and must not those who have been accessory to the Perdition of those unfortunate Creatures, be severely punished for it?

These were some of the most weighty Considerations which engaged the Church to oblige the Clergy to Celibacy; and as those who made those Regulations were Clergymen themselves, we have all the Reason imaginable to think that they thought it practicable, since they were obliged to submit to it themselves. If this had been done by the Authority of Princes, who imposed a Yoke on others, which they had not been obliged to bow their Necks to themselves, it might have been considered as insupportable, and exclaimed against as an Oppression; but that Yoke was formed by the Clergy themselves, for themselves, without the Concurrence of the Laity, or being actuated to it by any other Motive, but that of rendering their State more perfect, and more agreeable to their Vocation; but since the Protestant Clergy think otherwise, and have shook off that Yoke, which for so many Ages had appeared so light and so agreeable, and submitted to with so much Alacrity, that should be suffered by the Catholics for the Sake of a Reconciliation.

The Marriage of the Protestant Clergy once tolerated by the Catholics, it is my Sentiment, that all the other Obstacles which obstruct a Re-union, could soon be conquered in Conferences, managed between both Parties and carried on with that Spirit of Charity, which should inspire all Christian Assemblies, without Jealousy and Animosity. They could soon understand one another on that great Mystery of the Eucharist; especially if they would be pleased to read with Attention, and with the same Impartiality I have wrote it, my Treatise on that Subject. They would think a Hierarchy indispensably necessary for the Government of the Church; and that to suffer every body to follow blindly the Vanity of his Imaginations, is to introduce a monstrous Anarchy in the Sanctuary, and pave that wide Road, mentioned in the Scripture, which leads to Perdition. The *English* Church experiences daily the Inconveniencies of such Toleration.

In those Conferences the Number of Sacraments would be settled, and approved by an unanimous Consent; the Prayer for the Dead, thought perhaps necessary, being neither injurious to God, nor prejudicial to Men; it is not injurious to God; since those Prayers are Part of the Worship due to him, wherein his Omnipotency, Justice, Mercy, and the greatest Part of his other Attributes are acknowledged: They are not prejudicial to Men, since if there be no third State, the Prayers are always good of themselves, and prove beneficial to him that pray.

The Catholics would perhaps be persuaded, for the Sake of Peace, to reform several Abuses, which either Ignorance, or Avarice, or perhaps both, have introduced into their *Religion*, which though not essential, may be notwithstanding a Subject of Scandal. Thus the Christian Religion should recover its antient Lustre, Animosities and Jealousies cease among us; and there would be then henceforward but one Christ, one Faith, and one Baptism.

It would be improper to conclude this Treatise, without taking some Notice of *Paganism*, or Idolatry, which was the Worship and Adoration of false Gods, or the giving those Honours to Creatures, or the Works of Man's Hand, which are only due to God.

It is generally allowed, that Idolatry had not its Beginning till after the Deluge; and many are of Opinion, that *Belus*, who is supposed to be the same with *Nimrod*, was the first that was deified; though mine is, that Idolatry had a much more ancient Origin; and that it began soon after *Cain's* Fratricide; that the Difference God made between his Sacrifice, and that of *Abel* his Brother, which was the Occasion of that Murder, and seeing himself cursed by his Creator, he invented a new Deity and a new Worship, which was established among his Posterity; whence came the Denomination of Sons of Men for those who followed it, in Contra-distinction of the Sons of Gods, who worshiped their divine Creator.

Some pretend, that all we have the most certain on this Subject, is, that 426 Years after the Deluge, when God led *Terah* and his Family out of *Chaldæa*, and *Abraham* passed over *Mesopotamia*, *Canaan*, the Kingdom of the *Philistines*, and *Egypt*, it does not appear that *Idolatry* had then got any Footing in any of these Countries; though others pretend, and I am of that Opinion, that *Abraham* himself was an Idolater.

The first Mention we find made of it is in *Genes.* xxxi. 19. where *Rachel* is said to have taken the Idols of her Father; whence I conclude, that the Family of *Terah* were Idolaters; in which some of them continued, even long after *Abraham's* Conversion, since *Laban* and all his Children were so; for though the Meaning of the Hebrew Word *Teraphim* be disputed, yet it is pretty evident they were Idols. *Laban* calls them his Gods, and *Jacob* calls them strange Gods, and looks on them as Abominations.

To be better convinced of this Truth; we must examine what the Criticks say of that Word *Teraphim*, which we meet with thirteen or fourteen Times in the Scripture, where it is commonly interpreted *Idols*: But the Rabbins are not contented to have it simply signify *Idols*, but will have it denote a particular Sort of *Idols*, or Images for the Knowledge of Futurity, *i. e.* Oracles.

R. David de Pomis observes, that they were called *Teraphim* from רפח, *raphah*, to leave, because People quitted every thing to consult them.—He adds, that the *Teraphim* were in human Shape; and that when raised upright, they spoke at certain Hours, and under certain Constellations, by the Influence of the celestial Bodies. This is a rabbinical Fable, which he has learned from *Abenezra*.

Others hold, that the *Theraphim* were brazen Instruments, which pointed out the Hours and Minutes of future Events, as directed by the Stars.—*De Pomis* corrects *Abenezra*, saying, that the *Theraphim* being under a certain Constellation, the Devil made them speak under the same.

R. Eliezer tells us, that the Reason why the Rabbins will have the *Theraphim* to speak, and render Oracles; 'tis, says he, because it is written in the Prophet *Zachary* x. 2. the *Theraphim* have spoken vain Things.

The same Rabbini adds, that to make the *Theraphim*, they killed a first-born Child, clove his Head, and seasoned it with Salt and Oil; that they wrote on a Plate of Gold the Name of some impure Spirit, laid it under the Tongue of the Dead, placed the Head against the Wall, lighted Lamps before it, prayed to it, and it talked with them.

Be that as it will, *Vorstius* observes, that besides the Passage of *Zachary* just quoted, it appears likewise from *Ezekiel*, xxi. 22. that the *Theraphim* were consulted as Oracles.

De Pomis endeavours to shew, that the *Theraphim*, which *Michal* put in *David's* Bed, were not of this Kind, because they were not in the Figure of Men; but *R. Eliezer* is of another Sentiment.

As to the Manner of making the *Teraphim*, *Vorstius* takes it to be a vain Tradition of the Rabbins, though Rabbini *Tanichuma*, and *Jonathan*, in his *Targum*, *Genes.* xxxi. 19. relates it after *R. Eliezer*.—The chief Reason of his Disbelief is, that *Laban* who had not quite lost all Notion of the true God, as appears from *Gen.* xxxi. 53. could not be guilty of so great a Cruelty: But *Vorstius* does not consider, that the Custom might not be less real, for its not having been established so early as *Laban*; and that the *Hebrews*, sometimes, burnt their Children to *Moloch*.

F. Kircher directs us to search the Origin of the *Teraphim* in *Egypt*; adding, that the Word is *Egyptian*.—*Spencer*, in his Dissertation on the *Urim* and *Thummim*, maintains the Word to be *Chaldee*, and to signify the same with *Teraphim*, the *Chaldeans* being frequently known to change the *w* into *n*, that is, *S* into *T*. He adds, that those Images were borrowed from the *Amorites*, *Chaldeans*, and *Syrians*; and that the *Scrapis* of the *Egyptians*, is the same Thing with the *Theraphim* of the *Chaldeans*.

But to return to the Origin of *Idolatry*, *Cluverius* is of my Opinion, that *Cain* was the first Idolater; and maintains the false Gods he worshipped to have been

the Stars, to whom he supposed God had left the Government of the lower World.

In fact several Authors are of Opinion, that the first *Idolatry* that ever entered into the World, was the Worship and Adoration of the Stars; called by the Scriptures *Tseba Schamaim*, or *Seba Schamaim*, *i. e.* Host, or Militia of Heaven; whence some Moderns formed the Word *Sabaism*, to denote the Worship of the heavenly Bodies, and that of *Sabeans* for the Worshippers. But as the Hebrew Word, whence these are formed is wrote with a *z* *Tzade*, which some express in the modern Tongues by an *s*, some by a *z*, others by *ts*, and others by *tz*; hence arises a great many different Manners of Writing among many different Authors.—Some, *e. gr.* writing *Sabeans*, others *Zabians*, or *Zabeans*, or *Zabeists*, as *Buxtorf*; others *Tsabians*, others *Tsabæans*, &c.

Maimonides makes frequent Mention of this *Idolatry* in his *More Nevochim*: It was very general, he observes, in the Time of *Moses*. The Retainers hereto thought, that God was the Spirit of the Sphere, that is the Soul of the World. *Abraham*, he adds, was brought up in the Doctrine of the *Sabeans*, who admitted no other God but the Stars, and who, in their Books, many of which have been translated into *Arabick*, maintains expressly, that the fixed Stars and Planets are inferior Gods, and the Sun and Moon the superior ones. *Abraham* at length, he tells us, opposing these Errors, first asserted the Existence of a Creator, distinct from the Sun. The King of the *Cuthæans* clapp'd him up in Prison; but he still persisting, that Prince, from an Apprehension of his disturbing the State by teaching a new Religion, confiscated his Goods, and banished him to the Extremities of the East.—This Relation, he tells us, is found in a Book, intitled *the Religion of the Nabathæans*.

He adds, that the *Sabeans*, to the Adoration of the Stars, joined a great Respect for Agriculture; set a high Value on Cattle and Sheep; and taught that it was unlawful to kill them. He even adds, that they worshipped Dæmons, under the Form of Goats, and eat the Blood of Animals (tho' they judged it unclean) merely because they imagined it was the Food of Dæmons.

This is a Summary of what that Rabbini gives us concerning *Sabaism*; from whence it is easy to judge, that *Sabaism* is a Mixture of Judaism, Christianity, Mahometanism, and Paganism. The Truth is, the Worship of the Stars was established long before, not only Christianity, but even before the Law of *Moses*. Not but some of the later *Sabeans* have given into divers Articles of almost all Religions.

The *Sabeans* were very numerous throughout the East: In latter Times they have, as already observed, mixed something of Christianity with their Superstition. They set a great Value on the Baptism of *St. John*; whence they have been also denominated Christians of *St. John*.

Abu Joseph Aschæus, and *Kessicus*, place the *Sabeans* about *Charan*, or *Charres*, and *Ghezira* in *Mesopotamia*; which Opinion is confirmed by this, that their Books are in the *Chaldee* Tongue, though in a Character very different from the *Chaldee*.

Hottinger sets aside the common Derivation of *Sabeans*, from מבי, *Militia*, *Host*; and will not have it the Name of a Sect of Religion, but of a People in *Arabia felix*, the Descendants of *Saba*, Grandson of *Cham*.—But the Criticks, to a Man, conspire against this Opinion.

The principal Causes that have been assigned for *Idolatry*, are, the indelible Idea which every Man has of God; and the Evidence which he gives of it to himself: An inviolable Attachment to the Senses, and an Habit of judging, and deciding by them, and them only: The Pride and Vanity of the human Mind, which is not satisfied with simple Truth, but mingles and adulterates it with Fables: The Ignorance of Antiquity, or of the first Times, and the first Men, whereof we have but a very dark, and confused Knowledge by Tradition, they having left no written Monument or Books: The Ignorance and Change of Languages; the Style of the oriental Writings, which is figurative and poetical, and personifies every Thing: The Superstition, Scruples, and Fears, inspired by Religion; the Flattery of Writers; the false Relations of Travellers; the Fictions of Poets; the Imaginations of Painters, and Sculptors: A smattering of Physicks, that is, a slight Acquaintance with natural

tural Bodies, and Appearances, and their Causes; the Establishment of Colonies; and the Invention of Arts, mistaken by barbarous People; the Artifices, Cheats, and Jugglings of Priests; the Pride of certain Men, who have affected to pass for Gods; the Love and Gratitude bore by the People to certain of their great Men, and Benefactors; and the Scriptures themselves ill understood.

The *Paganism*, consisted chiefly in a great Number of different Sacrifices, and Ceremonies, some of them very magnificent and solemn, and others as extravagant and

ridiculous; and what's the most surprising is, that the Ceremonies of this last Order were accompanied with sensual Pleasures and Debaucheries, condemned even by the very Morality they pretended to profess. Temperance, Virtue, Modesty, and even a natural Shame and Pudor, were sacrificed on those Occasions, under the specious Pretence, that such and such Divinities delighted in Sacrifices of those Kinds; which was likely enough, since they had stocked Heaven with profligate Fellows, and common Prostitutes.

R H E T O R I C K.

RHETORICK, is the Art of Cloathing our Thoughts with Words, so as they may be either instructive, persuasive, or entertaining, whether we speak, or write.

I say, 1. That *Rhetorick* is the Art of Cloathing our Thoughts with Words; because let our Thoughts be ever so rich and beautiful, they will never appear so to others, unless we have the Art of digesting them well, when we design to communicate them to the Publick; for a Man may think well, and, without this Art, speak or write very ill: In fact we often see Persons of a very fertile Imagination, put to a Kind of Torture when they are obliged to express themselves; it is easy to perceive that their Thoughts crowd on their Tongue, but that that perfidiously deserts them when they want it most; in others the Tongue is too officious, and acts with too much Precipitation, either by exploding a too great Number of Thoughts at once, which reduce the Hearer to the Impossibility of distinguishing them from one another; or by a too great Volubility, making them follow so soon each other, without due Intervals between, so that to understand half thereof, one is obliged to lose the other half.

I say, 2. So that they may be instructive, persuasive, &c. whether we speak or write: For it but too often happens, that the finest Thoughts are either in part, or entirely disfigured, by our *Speech or Writings*; for we see daily Men of an excellent Understanding, who are but very poor Orators; as we see very good Orators, who have but an indifferent Understanding; tho' the latter will please, while the former grows tedious, and sometimes insupportable: There are likewise some that speak well, and write ill; and others who write well, and have a bad Delivery.

But notwithstanding these Differences among *Orators*, or *Rhetoricians*, Thoughts are the Foundation of the Art of *Rhetorick*, or *Oratory*; and that to produce a good Effect either in Speaking and Writing, they must be good ones, and the Words they are cloathed with appropriated to them, according to their different Degrees of Sublimity: For a sublime one should not be expressed, or digested in common Terms; nor a common one appear under pompous Expressions; for pompous Expressions appropriated to a common Thought, like an old Coat patched with a Piece of new Cloth, or a wrinkled Face plaster'd with white and red, serve only to make it appear worse still, than it is in Reality: Likewise sublime Thoughts appearing under common Terms, and trivial Expressions, lose the greatest Part of their Beauty.

Therefore since our Thoughts are the Foundation of *Rhetorick*, and that Art is only invented for the Manifestation thereof; I'll begin this Treatise, by enquiring first into the different Sorts of *Thoughts*.

Though our Thoughts be of our own Growth, and cannot be suggested to us but occasionally, by the different Objects, which strike our external Senses; it is not in our Power, notwithstanding, to make them such as we would: For it is impossible, for Instance, that a narrow Genius should form any sublime Thoughts; though a sublime Genius be sometimes capable of very common, or indifferent Productions, either by his Spirits being exhausted, or his Imagination vitiated by some external Objects, or through the Imbecility of some of

the Faculties of his Soul, occasioned by some extraordinary Disorder of the Microcosm.

The Difference of Thoughts proceeds also sometimes from the Difference of Birth and Education; for it is not possible that a Man who all his Life had but low and servile Sentiments and Inclinations, should be capable of any Thing worthy the Posterity. None but those who have had a noble and liberal Education, provided they have besides a natural Genius, are probably capable, of noble and sublime Thoughts, and of expressing those Thoughts in noble and sublime Terms. We have a particular Instance of this in *Alexander's* Answer, when *Darius* offered him half *Asia*, with his Daughter in Marriage; *For my Part*, said *Parmenio*, *if I was Alexander, I should accept those Offers*; And *I too*, replied *Alexander*, *if I was Parmenio*.

But it is not enough to have fine, noble, and sublime Thoughts, we should be Masters likewise of an Art to communicate them as such to others, without disguising or enervating them; and that Art is the *Rhetorick*.

Rhetorick, is commonly divided into four Parts, viz. *Invention, Disposition, Elocution, and Pronunciation*.

INVENTION, is to find out Arguments which the Orator is to use for the proving his Point, or moving his Hearers Passions.

Those *Arguments*, according to *Cicero*, are some probable Matter alledged to gain Belief; and are divided, according to their Source, into those fetched from Reason, and those from Authority: For an Orator must have Recourse to both, when he wants to persuade his Hearers. The Arguments fetched from Reason, when entirely agreeable to the Dictates of a solid one, gain the Attention of the Hearer, flatter his Curiosity, and make him wait, with a kind of Impatience, for something which he expects will convince him, i. e. for Arguments fetched from Authority, which when well appropriated to the Subject, answers his Expectation.

Arguments, are also divided, with respect to the Place they are drawn from into *intrinsic* or artificial; and *extrinsic* or inartificial; or remote.

Artificial or *intrinsic* ARGUMENTS, by *Cicero* called *insita*, are the proper Invention of him who speaks; or those which are taken from the Subject treated of: Of which there are several Kinds, viz. *Genus* and *Species, Form, Cause, and Effect*, &c.

To these some add two other Places of *Argument*, viz. the *Manners*, and the *Passions*.

Inartificial or *extrinsic* ARGUMENTS, by *Cicero* called *assumpta*, are those which are borrowed from abroad, and only applied by the Orator to the Point in hand; such are Laws, common Report, Books, Oaths, Torture, and Witnesses.

A late Author divides the Places or general Heads of *Arguments*, with regard to their End, into 1. Those intended to persuade or dissuade, which are chiefly drawn from the Consideration of Profit, Honour, and Equity: 2. Those intended to praise or dispraise. And, 3. Those intended to accuse and defend.

The **DISPOSITION** is defined by *Cicero*, the Art of distributing the Things or Arguments invented, or found out into a proper Order; or a due placing, or ranging the several Parts of a Speech or Discourse.

The *Disposition* is of the same Necessity in *Oratory*, as the marshalling an Army, in order to a Battle; or a beautiful

tiful Composition in Architecture, Painting, &c.—*Horace* enjoins it expressly in Poetry: *Singula quæque locum teneant sortita decenter.*

The *Disposition* then is the Order or Arrangements of the Parts of an Oration; which Parts are usually reckoned four, viz. the *Exordium* or Beginning; the *Narration*, the *Confirmation*, and the *Peroration* or *Conclusion*, tho' some make them six; viz. the *Exordium*, *Divisjon*, *Narration*, *Confirmation*, *Confutation*, and *Peroration*, as indicated in that popular Verse.

Exorsus, Narro, seco, firmo, refuto, peroro.

But the *Divisjon* is more naturally referred to the *Exordium*; and the *Confutation* to the *Confirmation*.

The *Disposition* is either *natural* or *artificial*.—*Natural* is the Order the Parts are above rehearsed in.—*Artificial* is when, for some particular Reason, we recede from the Order of Nature.

As to the Parts thus disputed—The *EXORDIUM* is the Preamble or Beginning of a Discourse or Speech; serving to prepare the Audience, and introduce the Matter in Hand.—The *Exordium* on other Occasions is called the *Prologue*, *Prælude* and *Proem*.

Cicero defines *Exordium*, as a Part of an Oration, whereby the Minds of an Audience are duly prepared for what remains to be said.—The *Exordium* is a Part of principal Importance; and to be laboured with extraordinary Care; whence *Tully* calls it *difficillima Pars Oratoris*.

Exordiums are of two Kinds; either just and formal; or vehement and abrupt. In the first, the Audience is prepared and conducted by due and easy Steps; in the second, the Orator, as if seiz'd with some sudden Passion, breaks out upon his Audience at once. Such is that *Exordium* of *Isaiah*, *Hear, O Heavens, and give Ear, O Earth*: Or that of *Cicero* against *Catiline*, *Quousque tandem abutere Patientia nostra Catilina? How long, Catilina, wilt thou abuse of our Patience?*

Abrupt *Exordiums* are the most suitable on Occasions of extraordinary Joy, Indignation, or the like; though we have Instances of Panegyrics of the greatest Orators begun abruptly without any such Occasions: Such is that of *Gorgius*, who began his Elogé of the City and People of *Elis*, with *Elis, beata Civitas; Elis, happy City*; or that of *Gregory Nazianzene*, in Praise of *Athanasius*, *Athanasium laudam, Virtutem laudabo*, in praising *Athanasius*, I'll praise Virtue.—Abrupt hasty *Exordiums* were more of the Taste of the *Greeks* than the *Latins*.

The Requisites in an *Exordium* are, 1. *Propriety*, whereby the *Exordium* becomes of a Piece with the whole Discourse, and matches it as a Part does a whole; so that it could not be accommodated to any other, or perhaps a contrary Occasion. The ancient Orators were very defective in this Point: Their *Exordiums* had frequently nothing in common with the Subject.

2. *Care*, Accuracy and Magnificence, as being the Part most minded, and most exposed to Shew. Thus *Tully*, *Vestibula aditusque ad Causas facies illustres*, you'll make the Opening of your Pleadings magnificent.

3. *Modesty*, or an ingenious Bashfulness, which recommends the Orator exceedingly to the Favour of his Audience. This is what *Cicero* extolls so much in *L. Crassus*, *suit enim in L. Crasso Pudor quidam, qui non Modum obesset ejus Orationi, sed etiam Probitatis Commendatione prodesset*. The same *Tully* owns of himself, that at the Beginning of his Orations he trembled every Limb, and his whole Mind was in a Flutter.

And 4. *Brevity*, not exemplified or swelled, with a deal of Circumstances, or a long Circuit of Words. Such as that must be of the Lawyer, who being to speak of a Difference between two Neighbours, decreed his *Exordium* from *Adam*.

The *Exordium* appears an essential Part of an Oration; though antiently in the *Areopagus*, *Julius Pollux* tells us they spoke without any *Exordium*, any Passions, and any *Peroration* or *Epilogue*. The like is said to have been done by *Xenophon*, who began thus, *Darius & Parisatis duos habuere Filios, Darius and Parisatis had two Sons*. Which, in my Opinion, is the best Manner in Pleadings and Harangues, whence *Exordiums* should be retrenched, as taking up too much Time, and keeping the Mind of the Judges, and of the Audience too long

in Suspence; but in Sermons and Panegyrics, and the like, *Exordiums* are indispensably necessary; because, in them is made the Division of the Discourse, and a general Idea thereof given; which eases the Memory of the Hearer, and helps him to follow the Orator throughout; and, then the *Exordium* should not be too long; otherwise the Audience might chance to be fatigued before the Orator begins to treat his Subject.

The *Divisjon* seldom finds Place in any other Discourses, but in *Sermons* and *Panegyrics*, and is invented only to ease the Memory of the Orator. The *Divisjon* should be always, as much as possible, contained in the Text: For Example, if I was to preach a Sermon on the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, and take for Text of my Discourse this Passage of *St. Paul*, *It is by the Grace of God that I am what I am, and the Grace of God has not been void in me*; I would divide my Discourse into two Parts, proving in the first the Power of Grace, alluding to the first Part of my Text, *It is by the Grace of God that I am what I am*; and in the second, the Necessity of our co-operating with Grace, and *the Grace of God has not been void in me*.

The *NARRATION* is a Recital or Rehearsal of a Fact as it happened, or as it is supposed to have happened.

This is of two Kinds, either *simple* and *historical*, as where the Auditor or Reader is supposed to hear or read of a Transaction at Second-hand—or *artificial* and *fabulous*, as where their Imaginations are raised, and the Action, as it were, re-acted before them.

The *Narration*, as already observ'd, makes the second Part of a just Speech or Harangue, viz. that immediately following the *Exordium*; it makes the whole of a History; abating for the occasional Reflexions, Episodes and Digressions.

Cicero requires four Virtues in a *Narration*, viz. *Perspicuity*, *Probability*, *Brevity* and *Secretness*.

The *Narration* is render'd *perspicuous*, by observing the Order of Time, by using none but proper and known Terms, and by reciting the Action uninterruptedly.

It is rendered *probable*, by the Credibility of the Narrator, by the Simplicity and Openness of the *Narration*, by avoiding every Thing far remote from the common Sense and Opinion of Mankind, and by a precise Detail of Circumstances.

It is rendered brief, by taking it up no higher than is just necessary; nor fetching it back, as that impertinent Author in *Horace*, *qui genuino Bellum Trojanum orditur ab oro*; and by avoiding trivial Circumstances.

Lastly, It is render'd sweet, by using smooth, numerous and well sounding Words; by arranging them, so as to avoid any Hiatus or Clashing; by the Greatness, Novelty, and Unexpectedness of the Things related; and by enriching it with Tropes and Figures, as frequent Admirations, Exclamations, Interrogations, Expectations, Suspences, surprising Events; by Grief, Joy, Fear, &c.

CONFIRMATION is that Part of an Oration, wherein the Orator undertakes to prove, by Laws, Reason, Authorities, and other Arguments, the Truth of the Propositions advanced in his *Narration*.

Confirmation is either *direct* or *indirect*; to the first conforms what the Orator has to urge for strengthening his own Cause; the second properly called *Confutation*, refels the opposite arguing of the Adversaries, the two Parts together being sometimes placed under the Head or Title of *Contention*.

The *Confirmation* is, as it were, the Life and Soul of the Oration; in this the main Stress of the Argumentation lies, whence *Aristotle* properly enough calls it *Fides*.

The *Peroration* is the *Epilogue* or last Part of an Oration; wherein, what the Orator insisted on through his whole Discourse is urged afresh, with greater Vehemency and Passion.

The *Peroration* consists of two Parts, 1. *Recapitulations*, wherein the Substance of what was disputed throughout the whole Speech, is collected briefly and cursorily, and summed up with new Force and Weight.

2. The moving the Passions, which is so peculiar to the *Peroration*, that the Masters of the Art call this Part *Sedes affectuum*.

The Passions to be rais'd in the *Peroration* are various, according

according to the various Kinds of Orations: In a Panegyrick, Love, Admiration, Emulation, Joy, &c. in an Invektive, Hatred, Contempt, &c. in a Deliberation, Hope, Confidence, or Fear.

The Qualities required in the *Peroration* are, that it be vehement and passionate, and that it be short; because, as *Cicero* observes, Tears soon dry up.

The *Peroration* was *Cicero's* Master-piece. Here that great Orator, not only set his Judges and Auditors on Fire, but even seemed to burn himself; especially when he was to raise Pity and Commiseration towards the Accused; where, as he himself tells us, he frequently filled the Forum with Weeping and Lamentation. He adds, that where there were several Orators to speak for the same Person, the *Peroration* was always refused to *Cicero*; and subjoins, that if he excelled herein, it was not owing to Genius, but the Grief himself shewed. This is abundantly evident in his *Milonian Peroration*; where he says, *Sed finis sit; neque enim præ lachrymis loqui possum; & hic se lachrymis defendi vetat.*—And in that for *Rabirius Posthumus*: *Sed, jam, quoniam, ut spero, fidem quam potui, tibi præstiti, Posthume, reddam etiam lachrymas quas debeo.*—*Jam indicat tot hominum fletus quam sis carus tuis, & me dolor debilitat, includitque vocem.*

The *Elocution*, is defined by *Tully* the chasing and adapting of Words and Sentences to the Things, or Sentiments to be expressed.—To the *Elocution* then properly belongs the *Delectus Verborum*, or Choice of Words. In fact there is nothing more proper to fix the Attention, and excite the Passions, than the Choice of proper Terms; it is by them that Greatness, Elegance, Neatness, Weight, and Strength, shine in a Discourse as in a rich Picture, and give to the Things a kind of Soul and Life: Lastly, fine beautiful Expressions are in fact the proper and natural Light of our Thoughts. But we must not affect notwithstanding, to make every where a Parade of pompous Words; for to express a mean or low Thing, in great and magnificent Words, is, says *Longinus*, as if one would put a large Mask on the Face of a young Child, unless it be in Poetry. That may be seen in a Passage of *Theopompus*, which *Cecilius* blames without Cause, since it seems on the contrary, very much to be commended for its Justness, and because it says a great deal. *Philip*, says that Historian, *drinks, without Difficulty, the Affronts which the Necessity of his Affairs obliges him to suffer.*

In fact, a simple Discourse shall sometimes express a Thing better than all the Pomp and Ornament that could be invented, as we see every Day in the Affairs of Life. Add, that a Thing enounced in a common Manner makes itself easier believed. Therefore, in speaking of a Man who to aggrandize himself, suffers Indignities, not only without Pain, but even with Pleasure, *to drink the Affront*, seems to say a great deal. The same may be said of this Expression of *Herodotus*. *Cleomenes being grown furious, took a Knife, wherewith he backed his own Flesh in small Pieces; and being thus backed, he died.* And again *Pithes continuing still on board the Ship, fought till he was cut in Pieces.* For those Expressions shew a Man he relates plainly the Things as they are, without refining or finessing, including notwithstanding in them, a Sense which is neither coarse nor trivial.

The Beauty of *Elocution* consists chiefly in the Use of Figures, and figurative Dictions or Expressions, in the Periods and the Style.

A Period, according to *Aristotle*, is a Discourse which has a Beginning, a Middle, and an End, all visible at one View.

The Periods allowed in Oratory are three; a Period of three Members, called by the Greeks *dicolos*, and the Latins *binmembris*: A Period of three Members, *tricolos*, *trimembris*: And a Period of four Members, *quadrimebris*, *tetracolos*.

A strict oratorical Period, does not allow of either more or fewer than these; it is possible indeed to introduce a Period of one Member, called by *Aristotle*, *monocolos*, or *simple Period*, but it will be reputed a Flaw, and is a Thing never practised by the Masters.

The Period may be likewise prolonged to five or six Members, but then it changes its Name, and instead of Period commences a periodical Discourse.

A Period of two Members *Cicero* supplies us with:

Ergo & mihi meæ pristinae vitæ consuetudinem, C. Cæsar, interclusam aperuisti; & his omnibus ad bene de republica sperandum quasi signum aliquod sustulisti.

A Period of three Members the same *Cicero* gives us in the Exordium of his *Manilian Oration*: *Nam cum antea per ætatem hujus auctoritatem loci contingere non auderem; statueremque nihil hic nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria afferri oportere; omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi.*

A Period of four Members he gives us in that admirable Description of the Punishment of *Parricides*. *Ita vivum ut ducere animum de Cælo non queant: Ita moriantur ut eorum ossa terra non tangat: Ita jactantur fluctibus, ut nunquam abluantur: Ita postremo ejiciuntur, ut ne ad sanos quidem mortui conquelescant.*

The Laws and Measures of Periods are pretty strictly regarded by Orators, at least by the antient ones: In ordinary Discourse, and in the modern Tongues, Authors are much less severe.

In Oratory, the Members of Periods are to be equal, or nearly equal; that the Pauses, or Rests of the Voice, at the Close of each Member may be nearly equal: But in Writings no Ways intended for Rehearsal, this is disregarded.

Common Discourse allows of Periods longer and shorter than Oratory; which admits of none less than two Members, nor greater than four. Short mutilated Periods break the Stream, and check the Course of the Sublime; and long ones embarrass and keep the Mind too long in suspense; and even strain the Voice, which is never to stop but at the Ends of Periods. *Phalareus*, *Hermogenes*, *Terence*, &c. confine the just Period (called by the Latins *ambitus* and *circuitus*) to four Members; agreeable to the Distich,

*Quatuor e membris plexum formare videbis
Rhetora circuitum, sive ambitus ille vocetur.*

Of which Sentiment is *Cicero*, who in his Orator says, that that *Ambitus* and full Comprehension consists of almost four Parts, which are called Members, that it may but fill the Ear, and be neither longer nor shorter than it ought to be.—An Instance of the periodical Discourse the same Author gives us in the opening of his Oration for *Archias* the Poet: *Si quid in me sit ingenii, Judices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum; aut si quæ exercitatio dicendi, in qua me non inficior mediocriter esse versatum; aut si hujusce rei ratio aliqua ab optimarum artium studiis & disciplina profecta, a qua ego confiteor nullum ætatis meæ tempus abhorruisse; earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere prope suo jure debet.*

Periods are said to be either *rotundi*, round, or *quadrati*, square, according to their different Economy and Cadences, or Numbers, which Numbers are a sort of simple unaffected Harmony, less glaring than that of Verse, yet such as is perceived, and affects the Mind with Pleasure.

The Numbers are that by which the Style is said to be easy, free, round, flowing, &c.

A fine Instance of Numbers we have in that Passage of *Tully* for *Marcellus*: *Nulla est tanta vis, tantaque copia quæ non ferro, ac viribus debilitari, frangique possit*, all the Beauty of which would be entirely lost to any tolerable Ear, if the Numbers were a little inverted, thus: *Nulla est vis tanta & copia tanta, quæ non possit debilitari frangique viribus & ferro.*

Numbers are a Thing absolutely necessary in all Writings, and even all Speeches. Hence *Aristotle*, *Tully*, *Quintilian*, &c. lay down Abundance of Rules as to the best Manner of intermixing Dactyls, Spondees, Anapests, Iambus's, Choraicks, and Dichoraicks Molossus's, &c. in order to have the Numbers perfect.

The Substance of what they have said are reducible to what follows, 1. The Style becomes numerous, by the alternate Disposition and Temperature of long and short Syllables; so as that the Multitude of short ones neither render it too hasty, nor that of long ones too slow and languid.—Thus *Tully* to *Cæsar*; *Domuisti gentes immanitate barbaras, multitudine innumerabiles, locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abundantes, &c.*

Sometimes indeed, long or short Syllables are designedly thrown together, without any such Mixture; to

paint the Celerity or Slowness of a Thing by that of the Numbers; as,

Quadrupedante patrem sonitu quasi ungula campum.
Æneid. lib. 8.

Luēantes ventos, tempestatesque sonoras. Id. lib. 1.

2. The Style becomes numerous, by the intermixing Words of one, two, and more Syllables, *e. gr. vivis & vivis non ad deponendam sed ad confirmandam audaciam.* Whereas the too frequent Repetition of Monosyllables renders the Style pitiful and grating; *e. gr. hac in re nos hic non feret.*

3. It contributes greatly to the Numerousness of a Period to have it closed by magnificent and well sounding Words; as *Qui locus quietis ac tranquillitatis plenissimus fore videbatur, in eo maximæ molestiarum, & turbulentissimæ tempestates extiterunt.*

4. The Numbers depend not only on the Nobleness of the Words in the Close, but of those in the whole Tenor of the Period: As in that fine Oration of Cicero for Fonteius, Brother of one of the vestal Maids. *Nolite pati, Iudices, aras Deorum immortalium, Vestæque matris, quotidianis virginum lamentationibus de vestro Iudicio commoveris; Do not suffer, O Judges, the Altars of the immortal Gods, and of the Mother Vesta, to be shaken by the continual Lamentations of Virgins, occasioned by your Sentence.*

5. To have the Period flow easily and equally, the harsh Concurrence of Letters and Words is to be studiously avoided, particularly the frequent meeting of rough Consonants; as, *ars studiorum rex Xerxes*: The beginning the first Syllable of a Word, with the last of the preceding; as, *res mihi invisæ sunt*: The frequent Repetition of the same Letter or Syllable; as in that Verse of Ennius, *Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu*: And the frequent Use of like ending Words; as *amatius, adjutius, præstigiarius fuerunt.*

Lastly, the utmost Care is to be taken, lest in aiming at oratorical Numbers, you fall into poetical ones; and instead of Prose write Verse, which even Cicero himself is sometimes guilty of: Witness, *cum loquitur tanti fletus gemitusque fiebant.*

But to return to our Division of Periods into round and square.—The square Period, is that consisting of three or four equal Numbers, formerly distinguished from each other—as, that of Cicero on the Punishment of Parricides.

The round Period, is that whose Members or Parts are so connected, and fitted into each other, as that the Junctures or Commissures are scarce seen; but the whole slides equally round, without any notable Stops or Inequalities.—Such are the Dicolos and Tricolos of Cicero above-mentioned.

Now for the Style which is another Part of the Enunciation.

Style, in Matter of Language, is a peculiar Manner of delivering a Man's Thought in Writing agreeably to the Rules of Syntax; or, as Father Buffier more accurately defines it, the Manner wherein the Words contracted according to the Laws of Syntax, are arranged among themselves, suitably to the Genius of the Language.

This Definition fixes the Notion of Style to something determinate, which before was very vague and arbitrary; whence many Authors, even of Note, confounded it with Syntax itself.

From the Definition, it appears, that Style supposes, or includes the Syntax; and that Syntax does not extend so far as Style: For the Syntax may be very just, where the Style is wretched, were it only in this Example: 'God always rewards with great Fidelity, and greater Liberality, the Just: Or this, 'there is no body who more than I honour you.'

The Regimens and Terminations of each Word, are perfectly just in each of these Phrases: There is no Fault then in the Syntax; but there is something wanting in the Arrangement of the Words, to suit them to the Genius of the Language; there is a Fault then in the Style.

Indeed, against what particular Rule of Grammar the Fault is committed, it is scarce possible to determine precisely; the Taste and Use of a Language being so exceedingly delicate and precarious. It is true, that a

Fault in Style, is not less a Fault against Grammar, than is a Fault in Syntax; only the former is less palpable and precise than the latter.

A very common Error in Grammarians, Father Buffier adds, is to confound two Kinds of Styles in one: The grammatical Style, or that directed by the Rules of Grammar; and the personal Style, which depends less on the Grammar, than on the Person that writes; whether with regard to his particular Taste and Genius, or with regard to his Matter, or the Kind or Character of his Work.

There are a great many Differences between the two; the most essential is, that the one may be diversified an infinite Number of Ways, and the other cannot. In effect, the personal Style is naturally variable, according to the different Genius's, Humours, and Complexions.

It is the Imagination that acts, that conceives, that proposes, and that expresses Things, according to its Character, which is different in all Men, and which is to be varied, according to the particular Kind of the Work.

Hence arises the gay, the grave, the florid, the jejune, the copious, the concise, the poetical, the epistolary, the burlesque Styles.

These personal Styles are all independant on the grammatical; and we have Authors who excel in the one, yet are miserably defective in the other. The personal Style is not under the Direction of Grammar; but of Imagination, or rather of Rhetorick, that Art having to do directly with our Thoughts, as Grammar with our Words.

This, however, may be said, that Grammar is free from being able to vary the same Words of a Phrase, with equal Perfection; and that generally there is but one Way of delivering them in the Taste and Genius of the Language. Thus the grammatical Style is invariable in the following Phrase. 'Death is a Law, which all Men are to undergo.' For you cannot well range the Words otherwise than they are here, without going out of the Bounds of Grammar. But in the personal Style, where the Imagination comes to be concerned, this Sentence might be varied infinite Ways, according to the Kind of Writing, whether oratorical, poetical, &c. as, 'Death neither spares the Prince, nor the Peasant.'—'Death knocks equally at the Monarch's Palace, and the Beggar's Hut, &c.'

Therefore Style, in Rhetorick, is restrained wholly to this personal Style of Father Buffier.

Language refers principally to the Matter of Discourse viz. the Words; Elocution to the particular Members or Parts thereof, and Style to the whole Composition.

Rhetoricians reduce the Kinds of Styles to three; the sublime, the low, and the intermediate, or equable Style.

Sublime Style, is that consisting in magnificent Words and Sentences; which by its noble Boldness ravishes the Hearers, and extorts Admiration even from the Unwilling.

Low or simple Style, is that ordinarily used in smaller and humbler Works; as Epistles, Dialogues, and common Discourse. The chief Virtues hereof are Perspicuity, Smoothness, Easiness, and Cleanliness; it must be very sparing in the Use of Tropes and Figures, especially the more violent ones, as the Prosopopæia, Apostrophe, &c.

Intermediate or equable Style, partakes of the Magnificence of the Sublime, and the Simplicity of the Low. It neither rises to the Majesty of the one in Words and Sentences; nor yet is smartly pointed like the other; but as Tully excellently expresses it, *est stylus quidam interjectus, intermedius, & quasi temperatus; nec acumine inferioris, nec fulmine utens superioris, vicinus amborum, in neutro excellens, utriusque particeps.*

The same Author calls it the florid and polished Style; it being in this that all the Graces and Beauties of Language are principally to be used.

For the Choice of Style, in the general, the Matter is to determine it. Such Style, says Cicero, is to be chosen, as expresses great Things magnificently, middle Things moderately, and low Things subtilly: But more particularly, as there are three Branches of the Duty of an Orator, to teach, to delight, and to move; the simple Style is used to teach; the Middle to delight; and the sublime to move.

Again the *simple* or low *Style* is fit for *Comedy*; the *sublime* for *Tragedy*; and the Middle for *History*.—*Cæsar*, it is true, rather used the simple than the intermediate *Style*; but then he wrote *Commentaries*, not an *History*, as is observed by *Cicero*.

Again, the simple *Style* is fit for *Bucolicks* and *Eclogues*; the intermediate *Style* for *Georgicks*; and the sublime for *Epicks*, which tripple Difference we easily descry in *Virgil*, though he sometimes mixes them all in the *Æneid* itself, using the simple *Style* in the fifth Book, where he describes Games; and the intermediate in the Beginning of the Poem. Care is still to be taken, that the *Style* be not flat and dull, on Pretence of being simple.

M. Boileau observes, that in all Languages a mean Thought expressed in noble Terms, is better liked than the noblest Thought expressed in mean Terms: The Reason he gives is, that every body cannot judge of the Force and Justness of a Thought; but scarce any body but perceives the meanest of Words. The latter we find by our Senses, the former by our Reason.

He adds, that the Words in different Languages do not always answer justly to one another; and that a noble *Greek* Term cannot frequently be expressed in another Language, but by a very mean one.

This we see in the Word *asinus* in *Latin*, *asne* in *French*, and *Ass* in *English*, which are the meanest imaginable in those three Languages; yet the Word expressing that Animal, has nothing mean in it, either in *Greek* or *Hebrew*, but it is used in the finest and noblest Passages.

Add to this that Languages are exceedingly capricious on this Head: A Bull, a Heifer, a Goat, a Boar, &c. may be used in the sublimest Passages, without debasing the *Style*; but a Cow, a Sheep, a Hog, a Sow, &c. would be intolerable. Shepherd and Herdsman, are fine Words; Hog-keeper, and Cow-ward, which carry the same Idea, vicious to the last Degree. The chief Faults in *Style* are, in being *tumid* and *swollen*; or *cold* and *pueril*, or *stiff*, or *loose*, or *dry* and *jejune*.

A *tumid Style* is that immediately stuffed with big Words and Sentences; such as those Verses of the Emperor *Nero*, ridiculed by *Perfius*.

*Torva mamilloneis implerunt cornua bombis
Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo
Bassaris, & lyncem mœnas flexura corymbis, &c.*

Frigid, or *pueril Style*, is that which affects certain trifling Ornaments, insipid Jests, remote, and strained Allusions, redundant Expressions, &c.—Such, *e. gr.* as *Centaur's* ridding himself: More golden than Gold, &c. Of this Vice, that Passage of *Virgil* seems guilty,

*Num capti potuere capi? num incensa cremavit
Troja viros?*

And that in *Plutarch*, and *Dion Cassius*; ‘It was no Wonder *Diana's* Temple should be burnt the Night *Alexander* was born; as that Goddess attending so noble a Birth, could not be in the Way to extinguish the Flames.’—And that in *Plautus*, where a Person is represented so exceedingly covetous, that he would invoke Heaven and Earth, if he saw but a Grain of Smoak escape out of his Cottage.

Loose Style, is that which wanting Articles, Numbers, &c. fluctuates here and there, not connected and joined together. This is a Fault so frequent, especially in young Writers, that we shall spare giving Instances of it.

Dry, jejune Style, is that which is destitute of Ornament, Spirit, &c.

The Ancients made a notable Distinction of *Styles* into *laconick*, and *asiatick*.

Asiatick Style, is that which is very diffusive and prolix; or where Abundance of Words are used, to express a little Matter: Thus called by the *Greeks*, from the People of *Asia*, who affected such Redundances, in Opposition to the

Laconick Style, which is distinguished by its exceeding Conciseness; and by comprehending a deal of Matter under a few Words.

Such, *e. gr.* is that Answer returned by the *Lacedæmonians* to a long Epistle of an Enemy, threatening to de-

stroy them with Fire and Sword; ‘*si, si, if*; that is, do if you can; or that returned by the same People to King *Philip*, demanding some extravagant Thing of them, ‘*non, no*. Or that of *Cleomenes*, the *Spartan* General, to the Ambassador of *Samos*; ‘As to what you have said, the first Part I do not remember; the Middle I do not understand; the last I do not approve.’ Or that Epistle of *Archidamus* to the *Elei*, who were preparing War against him; *Archidamus* to the *Elcans*: ‘*It is good to be quiet*. Or that of *Cæsar* to the Roman Senate, after his conquering *Pharnaces*, King of *Pontus*, ‘*Veni, Vidi, Vici*; or that of *Charles IX.* King of *France*, after the *St. Bartholomew*, to the Prince of *Conde*, to persuade him to turn Catholick, ‘*mort, messe, ou Bastille*, i. e. *Death, Mass, or Bastille*; or that of an Officer of the Army to *Henry IV.* King of *France*, ‘*argent, ou congé*, Money, or my Discharge; and that Prince’s Answer, ‘*ny l’un ny l’autre*, neither one nor the other.

We must observe before we leave this Article, that there is a Difference between *sublime Style*, and what we call simply the *sublime*, which according to *M. Boileau*, is something extraordinary and surprizing in the Discourse, which strikes the Soul, and makes a Sentiment or Composition ravish and transport.

The *sublime Style* necessarily requires big and magnificent Words; but the sublime may be found in a single Thought, a single Figure, a single Turn of Words. A Thing may be in the *sublime Style*, and yet not be *sublime*, i. e. have nothing extraordinary or surprizing.

For Instance, ‘the Almighty Author of the Universe with a single Word created Light.’ This now is in the sublime *Style*, yet it is not sublime, there being nothing extraordinary in it, which another Person might not easily hit on. But God said, ‘*let there be Light, and there was Light*; so extraordinary a Turn of Expression, which shews the Obedience of the Creature to the Orders of his Creator, is only *sublime*, and has something more in it than human.

Longinus makes five Sources of the *sublime*. The first a certain Elevation of Mind, which makes us think happily. The second, is the pathetick, or that natural Vehemence and Enthusiasm, which strikes and moves us: These two are owing almost wholly to Nature, and must be born with us; whereas the rest depend partly on Art. The third is, the turning of Figures in a certain Manner both those of Thoughts and of Speech. The fourth, Nobleness of Expression, which consists of two Parts, the Choice of Words, and the elegant figurative Diction. The fifth, which includes all the rest, is the Composition and Arrangement of the Words in all their Magnificence and Dignity. For, says *Longinus*, as we see that the Sound of the Flutes moves the Soul of those who hear it, and fill them with Transports, as if they would go out of themselves; that striking their Ears with the Motion of its Cadence, it forces them to follow it, and to conform to it in some Manner, the Motion of their Body. And not only the Sound of Flutes, but almost all other Sounds in the World, for Example of the Lyre, produce that Effect. For though they signify nothing of themselves; notwithstanding by those Changes of Tones, and the Mixture of their Accords, we see that they cause often in the Soul an admirable Transport and Ravishment. And if these which are but Images and simple Imitations of the Voice, are capable to produce such marvellous Effects; what must we say of the Composition which is as the Harmony of the Discourse, the Use whereof is natural to Man; and which not only strikes the Ears, but the Mind likewise; which moves at once so many different Sorts of Names, Thoughts, Things, Beauties, and Elegancies, where-with our Soul has a kind of Union and Affinity; which by the Mixture and Diversity of the Sounds insinuate into the Minds, and inspire the Hearers with the very Passions of the Orator; and build on that sublime Heap of Words, that great, that marvellous we search.

The Beauty of the Periods and *Style* consists chiefly in the *Figures* which enter the Composition.

Figure, in *Rhetorick*, is a Phrase or Turn of Speech or Discourse, finer and nobler, than what is used in common or ordinary speaking.

Figures, by the *Greeks* called *Schemata*, are the Enrichments

richments of Discourse, which we only use when raised, and moved with the Consideration of something extraordinary.

There are two Kinds of *Figures*; the one of *Sentences*, and contained in the Sense itself, without any immediate Dependence on any particular Words; the others are only in the *Words* themselves.

Of the *FIGURES* of *Sentences* some are designed to move, others to teach, and others only to delight.

Of the *first* Kind the most considerable are, *Exclamation*, *Imprecation*, *Obsecration*, *Interrogation*, *Doubting*, *Præterition*, *Exposition*, and *Epiphonema*.

Those of the *Second* are the *Antithesis*, *Correction*, *Communication*, and *Suspension*.

Those of the *Third*, the *Apostrophe*, *Hypophysis*, *Prosopœia*, *Ethopœia*, and *Prosopographia*.

The *Exclamation* is a Figure wherein, by raising the Voice, and using an Interjection, either expressly or understood, we testify an uncommon Warmth and Passion of Mind; and express the Magnitude of the Thing, or the Importance of the Occasion.

Such is O Heavens! O Earth! Such also is that of Cicero against Catilina, O Times! O Manners! This the Senate knows, the Consul sees, and yet he lives. Lives, said I? Nay, and comes into the Senate! Or that for Cælius, Proh Dii immortales! Cur interdum in Hominum Sceleribus maximis aut connivetis, aut presentis Fraudis Pœnas in Diem reservatis!—Ob præclarum custodem ovium, ut aiunt, Lupum!

In *English* the Interjections O! or oh! Alas! or good God! Are generally adjoined in an Exclamation; and very often in *French*.—In *Latin* they use O! Heu! Eheu! Ah! Vah! pro superi! pro superum atque Hominum Fidem! Sometimes, however, the Interjection is understood, as woe is me! Miseram me! Hoccine sæculum!

The *Imprecation* is a Kind of Curse, express'd in Discourses, by may or let; for Instance, may the Enemies of God be confounded! Let the wicked be punished, &c.

The *Interrogation* is a Figure wherein the Passion of the Speaker introduces a Thing by Way of Question, to make its Truth more conspicuous.

The *Interrogation* is a Kind of *Apostrophe*, which the Speaker makes to himself; and it must be owned that this Figure adds an uncommon Briskness, Action, and Force to Discourse.

Doubting, is a Figure wherein the Orator appears sometimes fluctuating, and undetermined what to do, or say, What shall I do? Shall I apply to those I once neglected! or implore those who now forsake me!

Tacitus furnishes us with an Instance of *doubting*, almost to a Degree of Distraction, in those Words of *Tiberius*, written to the Senate: Quid scribam, P. S. aut quomodo scribam, or quid omnino non scribam hoc Tempore, Dei me Deaque pejus perdant, quam perire quotidie e sentio, si scio.

The *Obsecration* is a Figure whereby the Orator implores the Assistance of God or Man.

This Figure Cicero makes admirable Use of, for King Dejotarus to Cæsar.—Per Dexteram te istam oro, quam Regi Dejotaro Hospes, Hospiti porrexisti: Istam inquam Dexteram non tam in Bellis, & præliis, quam in promissis, & Fide firmiorem, i. e. I entreat you by that Hand, which you was pleased to give to King Dejotarus, when he received you as his Guest in so hospitable a Manner; by that Hand, says I, which is not more firm or steady in Wars and Battles than in Promises and Faith given.—Thus *Virgil*.

Quod te per Cæli Jucundum Lumen & Auras,
Per Genitorem oro, per Spem Surgentis Juli,
Lripe me his invicte malis.

The *Præterition* is a Figure, whereby in pretending to pass over a Thing untouched, we make a summary Mention thereof, for Instance—I will not say he is valiant, he is learned, he is just, &c.—The most artful Praises are those given by Way of *Præterition*, when the Imagination is warmed, and Reasons and Arguments present themselves in Abundance; the Orator would willingly lay them all down in Form; but for Fear of wearying his Audience, only produces some of them *en passant*, and without dwelling on them.—This Figure is also called *Paralepsis* and *Apocopepsis*.

Exposition, is a Figure whereby we explain the same Thing in different Phrases and Expressions, in order to shew it more fully.

Exposition was the favourite Figure of *Balzac*, a *French* Author.—A Man, but moderately versed in the Style of the Scripture, will perceive that this is no more than an *Exposition*; that is, a Figure, whereby the sacred Author explains the same Thing in different Terms. The Scriptures are full of such Figures; and *Souciot* scarce thinks there is any one more ordinary.

Epiphonema is a sententious Sort of Exclamation, frequently added after a Narrative, or Rehearsal of any Thing remarkable; containing, usually, a lively close Reflection on the Subject there spoken of.

Such is that of St. Paul, when, after discoursing of the Rejection of the Jews, and the Vocation of the Gentiles he cries out,

Ob the Depth of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God!

Such also is that of *Lucretius*, after relating the Story of *Agamemnon's* sacrificing his Daughter *Iphigenia*.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere Malorum!

Such, lastly, is that of *Virgil* upon Occasion of *Juno's* persecuting *Aeneas*.

Tantene Animis Cœlestibus Ira!

which M. Boileau has imitated in,

Tant de Fiel entre t'il dans l'ame des Devots!

and Mr. Pope in

And dwells such Rage in softest Bosoms then?
And lodge such daring Souls in little Men?

The *Antithesis*, is a setting two Things by Way of Exposition to each other, that the different Qualities of each may appear the more strongly.

Such is that of Cicero in the second *Catilinarian*: On the one Side stands Modesty, on the other Impudence; on the one Fidelity, on the other Deceit: Here Piety, there Sacrilege; here Continency, there Lust, &c.—Such also is that of *Augustus* to some seditious young Men, Audite Juvenes, Senem, quem Juvenem Senes audivere. Young Men listen to an old Man, to whom old Men have listen'd while he was young.—Such again is that of *Seneca*, Curæ leves loquuntur, Ingentes stupent. Light Cares speak, but the great ones render stupid, and that of *Virgil*,

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

i. e. If I cannot appease the Heavens, I'll endeavour to excite Hell to Compassion.

St. *Augustin*, *Seneca*, *Salvian*, and many other ancient Writers seem greatly to affect *Antithesis*: But among the Moderns they are generally decried.—*Desmarets* represent them as the Favourites of young Writers.—*Derisus* long ago declaimed against the impertinent Use of *Antitheses*.

—Crimina Rassis

Librat in Antithesis, doctus posuisse Figuras.

Correction is a Figure whereby a Person in a Passion, fearing he has not expressed a Thing fully or strongly enough, calls it back again, as it were, by a stronger Phrase, and corrects the Error. This is also called *Epanorthosis*.

Such, e. gr. is that of Cicero for Cælius: O Stultitia! Stultitiam ne dicam, an Impudentiam singularem! Oh Folly! Folly did I call it, or rather intolerable Impudence?—And in the first *Catilinarian*: Quanquam quid loquor! te ut ulla Res frangat? tu ut unquam te Corrigas? tu ut ullam Fugam Meditare? Tu ut ullum exilium Cogites? Utinam tibi istam Mentem Dii immortales donarent. Thus also *Terence*, in the *Heautontimorumenos*, introduces his old Man *Menedemus* saying.

Filium unicum adolescentulum

Habeo. Ah! Quid dixi habere me? Imo habui Coram,
Nunc habeam necne, incertum est.

Suspension, is a keeping the Hearer in Suspence, and attentive, in Expectation of what the Speaker will conclude in, as, O God! Darkness is not more opposite to Light, Tempests to Calm, Pain to Pleasure, or Death to Life, than Sin to thee.

The *Apostrophe*, is a Figure, whereby the Orator, in an extraordinary Commotion, turns his Discourse from the Audience, and directs it to some other Person or Thing.

Thus *Cicero* in his Oration for *Milo*, addresses himself to the great Patriots, who had shed their Blood for the Publick, and calls them to the Defence of his Client. So the same Orator, in his first *Catilinarian*, directs himself to *Jupiter* the Protector of the City and Empire, and beseeches him to repel the Parricide, &c.

The *Apostrophe* is also frequently addressed to Inanimates, as Tombs, Monuments, Defuncts, &c.—*Cicero's* *Apostrophe* to *Tubero*, in his Oration for *Ligarius*, is judged one of the finest Passages in his Works.

That *Apostrophe* of *Demosthenes*, wherein he addresses himself to the *Greeks* slain at the Battle of *Marathon*, is famous. Cardinal *du Perron* says, it has procured the Orator as much Glory, as if he had raised them from the Dead.

The *Hypothyposis*, is a Figure whereby a Thing is so lively described or painted, that it does not seem to be read or heard, but actually seen, or presented before the Eyes.

Such is that elegant one of *Cicero*, wherein he paints the Barbarity of *Verres*: *Ipse inflammatus scelere, & furore, in forum venit. Ardebant oculi; toto ex ore crudelitas emanabat. Expectabant omnes quo tandem progressurus, aut quidnam acturus esset; cum repente hominem corripit, atque in fori medio nudari ac deligari, & virgas expedire jubet; Clamabat ille miser se civem esse Romanum, &c.*

The *Hypothyposis* is frequently used by the Poets, and particularly *Virgil*, who abounds in Paintings.

The *Ethopæia*, or *Ethopæa*, called also *Ethology*, is a Draught or Description, expressing the Manners, Passions, Genius, Tempers, Aims, &c. of another Person.

Such is that beautiful Passage in *Salust*, in his *Bellum Catilinarium*, wherein he gives a Picture of *Catiline*: *Fuit magna vi & anima & corporis sed ingenio malo pravoque huic, &c. He had an uncommon Strength both of Body and Mind; but an ill-turned and wicked Disposition. When a mere Boy, his great Pleasure was in intestine Broils, Rapine, Slaughter, and Civil Discord. His Body was formed to undergo Fasting, Cold, and Watching, beyond all Belief. His Mind was daring, deceitful and various; and could imitate, or accommodate itself to every body: He was extremely covetous of other People's Goods, and profuse of his own withal: His Lusts and Desires were very high; his Stock of Eloquence considerable; but his Discretion, scarce any.*

The *Ethopæia* is divided into *Prosopographia*, and *Ethopæia* properly so called; the former of which is a Picture of the Body, Countenance, Make, Dress, Gait, &c. and the latter of the Mind.

The *Prosopopæia*, is a Figure whereby we make Persons that are absent or dead, or even Things which are inanimate, as Cities, &c. to speak.

The Poets in their Fictions, make frequent Use of the *Prosopopæia*; as also do the Orators, in their painting of violent Passions, which seems to transport, and make them forget themselves.

There are two Kinds of *Prosopopæia's*; the one direct the other indirect. For an Instance of the latter; *Just Gods, Protectors of the Innocent, permit the Order of Nature to be interrupted for one Moment, and let this Carcase resume the Use of Speech, &c.*

Instances of the former are found every where among the Orators and Poets: That which follows is a very beautiful one, found by way of Epitaph on a Tombstone: The dead Wife addresses her surviving Husband thus:

*Immatura peri: Sed tu feliciter, annos
Vive tuos, conjux optime, vive meos.*

I have been snatched away, before I was arrived yet to the Years of my Maturity; but thou, much happier, O the best of Husbands, may the Years I should have lived be added to thine.

Of *Figures of Words*, some are *Tropes*, i. e. Translations of Words from their proper Signification, to some more remote and extraordinary one.

The principal of these are, the *Metaphor*, *Allegory*, *Metonymy*, *Synecdoche*, *Irony* and *Sarcasm*, *Metalepsis*, &c.

Antonomasia and *Sylepsis*.

Others are *Figures of Words*, properly so called, and not *Tropes*, being so inherent in the Words, that upon changing of those the Figure is destroyed; as in *amantes sunt amantes*, where the Figure would be lost, if instead of *amantes* you should put *stulti*.

Of these the principal are *Repetition*, *Conversion*, *Complexion*, *Gradation*, *Synonymy*, *Polyyndeton* and *Polyptoton*, *Reticency*, *Distinction*, *Similitude*, *Paronomasy*, and *Transition*.

Before we proceed to the Explication of every one of these *Figures*, we must know what is understood by *Trope*.

Trope, is a Word or Expression, used in a different Sense from what it properly signifies. Or a Word changed from its proper and natural Signification to another with some Advantage.

As when we say an *Ass*, for a *stupid Person*; *Thunder-bolt of War*, for a *great Captain*; *to wash the Black-moor white*, for a *fruitless Undertaking*.

This Change of Sense is never to be used, but where it gives a Force and Dignity, or renders the Discourse more significant, weighty and graceful.

It is called *Trope* τροπή, from the Greek τροπή, *verto*, *I turn*, *change*, in regard the Words are here transferred from the Things they properly import, to others which they only import indirectly; and that *Tropes* only signify the Things they are applied to, by reason of the Relation and Connection those Things have with those others, whose proper Names they are.

This Change or Inversion is performed various Ways, but chiefly four; whence arise four principal *Tropes*, viz. the *Metaphora*, *Metonymia*, *Synecdoche*, and *Ironia*.

Some Authors confound *Trope* with Figure, but they are very different Things.—Most Authors, as *F. de Colonia*, &c. make Figure the Genus, and *Trope*, a Species; defining Figure to be any Ornament in Discourse, whereby it is raised above the common Language; and *Trope* to be that peculiar kind of Ornament which consists in a Change of the Sense, &c.

But *Vossius* makes *Trope* and Figure, to be two collateral and independent Things; defining *Trope* to be the Change of the Sense, &c. and Figure, to be any Ornament, except what becomes so by such Change, &c.

'Tis in the *Tropes* principally that the Richness and Variety of Language consists; and those should never be used but to express what could only be represented imperfectly, in common and proper Terms. *Tropes* should always be clear; they are vicious, if they be obscure or too far fetched. The Idea of the *Trope* should be so connected with that of the proper Name, that they should follow each other; so that in exciting the one, the other should be awakened of Course.

Besides the four capital *Tropes* above-mentioned, there are several inferior ones. When the *Trope* is too bold, it is called an *Hyperbola*; when continued it is an *Allegory*; when too obscure an *Ænigma*; when it shocks or is too remote, a *Catachresis*.

Some also refer the six Kinds of Scoffing or Derision to the *Tropes*, viz. the *Sarcasm*, *Diaform*, *Charientism*, *Asteism*, *Myserism*, and *Mymesis*, but without sufficient Reason.

Now for the Explication of each of the different *Figures* of Words, beginning by the *Metaphor*.

The *Metaphor* is a Figure of Speech, whereby a Word is transferred from its proper Signification to another; or whereby the proper Denomination of one Thing is applied to another; which other Thing is more elegantly explained by this translatitious, or foreign Name, than by that which naturally belongs to it. As when we say the Light of the Understanding; to burn with Zeal; to float between Hope and Despair, &c.

The *Metaphor* is the most common of all the Figures of Speech; and is that usually meant when we say a Thing is spoken figuratively.

The *Metaphor* is a short Simile; an Image being thereby called from its proper Subject to give the Resemblance of another. An *Allegory* is no more than a continued *Metaphor*.

The Sources or Places whence *Metaphors* are drawn, are innumerable; they may be fetched from divine

Matters:

Matters: Thus *Cicero* calls *Plato* our God, *Deus ille noster Plato*. From the Elements, as a *Torrent* of Eloquence. From Plants, as when *Virtue* has taken *Root*; from artificial Things, as where *Appian* is called the *Cymbal* of the World; and *Charles Maire du Palais* in *France*, is called *Martel*, from his having hammered, or defeated the *Saracens*, who had invaded the Kingdom; *Longinus* a *living Library*; *Pertinax* *Fortune's Foot-ball*.

Quintilian distinguishes *Metaphors* into four Kinds: The *first* when a Word is transferred from one Animal to another; as when *Livy* says, that *Cato* used to bark at *Scipio*; or, when our Saviour calls *Herod* Fox. The *second*, when the Word is transferred from one inanimate to another; as *Bridle* for *Laws*. The *third* when Inanimates are applied to Animates; as the Flower of Youth. And the *last*, when Animates are applied to Inanimates; as the River *disdained* its Bounds.

As the *Metaphor* is intended to set Things before the Eyes; it becomes so much the more perfect, as it shews them the more vividly, by representing them in the Motion and Action. A *Metaphor* should have nothing in it either coarse or shocking, or that may raise it above the Simplicity of Nature: Nor should it appear a *Metaphor* to any but those who view it very closely.

Metaphor should never be carried too far; for in that Case it degenerates into Puerility.—*Metaphors* should always be followed in the same Kind; they become unnatural when different Images are introduced.—In all metaphorical Dictions there should be a kind of Unity, so that the different Words used may have a kind of Suitableness to each other: Different Ideas are always absurd; as in this Instance, *the Church was besieged with a Deluge of Troubles*: Where the two Images *Siege* and *Deluge* have no Relation: But in this *the Church was overflowed with a Deluge of Troubles*, the *Metaphor* is good, there being a Relation between *Overflowing* and *Deluge*.

There is nothing young Writers are more faulty in, than the indiscreet Use of *Metaphors*: Those who affect the Merveilleux, are eternally on the metaphorical Strain, nor know any Bounds or Restraint. They who understand them best, use them with the greatest Reserve. Mr. *Addison* proposes it as a Rule for Writers, to imagine their *Metaphors* actually painted before them, and to view and examine the Justness of their Application and Assemblage under those Circumstances; throwing every Thing out of the Writing but what might be retained in the Picture.

Cardinal *du Perron* prescribes this general Rule for *Metaphors*; that they must always descend from the Genus to the Species; and never go backward from the Species to the Genus: Thus we say figuratively the *Bonds of Society*; and the *human Cords* which tie us together; *Bond* being a Genus, and *Cord* a Species.

The *Allegory*, is a Figure whereby we make use of Terms which in their proper Signification mean something else than what they are brought to denote; or it is a Figure whereby we say one Thing, expecting it shall be understood of another, to which it alludes.

An *Allegory* is properly a Series of *Metaphors*.—Such is that beautiful *Allegory* in *Horace*, lib. I. Od. 14.

*O navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus, &c.*

Where the Ship is usually held to stand for the Republic; *Waves* for *Civil War*; *Port* for *Peace* and *Concord*; *Oars* for *Soldiers*; *Mariners* for *Magistrates*, &c.

The Old Testament is supposed by many to be a perpetual *Allegory*, or typical Representation of the Myseries of the New.

In Effect, *Allegory* has a good deal in most Religions.—The *Jews*, we know abound with them: *Philo Judæus* has three Books of the *Allegories*, in the History of the Six Days.

Nor are the Heathens without *Allegories* in their Religion: It may even be said, that the Use hereof is of a much earlier Standing in the *Gentile* than in the *Jewish* World.—Some of their Philosophers undertaking to give a Rationale of their Faith, and to shew the Reason and Scope of their Fables, and the ancient Histories of their Gods; found it necessary to put another Construction on them, and maintain, that they signified something very different from what they seemed to ex-

press.—And hence came the Word *Allegory*: For a Discourse that in its natural Sense, signifies something other than what is intended by it, makes what we properly call an *Allegory*.

This Shift they had Recourse to, in order to prevent People from being shook with those Absurdities which the Poets had introduced into their Religion; and to convince the World, that the Gods of *Greece* had not been those vile Persons which their Histories represented them to be. By this Means the History, as well as the Religion of *Greece*, was at once converted into *Allegory*; and the World left to seek for them both in a Heap of Fables, few of which have been solved to any Purpose to this Day.

The *Jews* finding the Advantages of this Way of explaining Religion, made Use of it to interpret the sacred Writings, so as to render them more palatable to the Pagans.—The same Method was adopted by the Primitive Writers of Christianity.

The *Metonymy*, is a Rhetorical Trope, consisting in a Transmutation, or Change of Names; or a putting of the Effect for the Cause, or the Subject for the Adjunct; and *vice versa*.

The *Metonymy* is the most extensive of all the Tropes. It is also called *Transnominatio*, and differs not much from *Hypallage*, which *Hypallage* is a grammatical Figure, whereby of different Expressions, which give the same Idea, we make Choice of that which is least natural and obvious; or, when there is a mutual Permutation, or Change of Cases, Moods, Regimens, &c. as in this Instance, *Dare Classibus austros*, instead of *Dare Classibus austris*.

There are four Kinds of *Metonymies* in principal Use: The *first*, when we put the Inventor for the Thing invented; as *Bacchus* for *Wine*, *Ceres* for *Bread*. The *second*, when we put the containing for the Thing contained; as a *Glass* for the *Wine* within it. The *third*, when Effect is put for the Cause; as the *Captain* for his *Soldiers*, *Greece* for the *Greeks*, the *Author* for his *Works*. The *fourth*, when the Sign is put for the Thing signified; as the *Gown* for the *Priesthood*, &c.

Synecdoche, is a Kind of Figure, or rather Trope, frequent among Orators and Poets.

There are three Kinds of *Synecdoches*: By the *first*, a Part is taken for the whole; as the *Point* for the *Sword*, the *Roof* for the *House*, the *Sails* for the *Ship*, &c.—By the *second*, the whole is used for a Part.—By the *third*, the Matter whereof the Thing is made, is used for the Thing itself; as *Steel* for *Sword*, *Silver* for *Money*, &c. to which may be added another Kind, when the Species is used for the Genus, or the Genus for the Species.—As *he bore the Sin of many*, i. e. of all.

The *Irony*, is a Figure in Speech, wherein we plainly intend something very different from what our Words express: As when we seem to praise a Person at a Time, when we evidently rally and discommend him.

Hence *Quintilian* calls this Figure *Diversifloquium*, *Disimulation*, and *Illusion*.

Thus we say, *Toland's Christianity*, meaning his *Atheism*; *John* is an honest Fellow; meaning is a rank *Knave*, &c.—The *Irony* discovers itself rather in the Tone of the Speaker than in the Words.

Sarcasm, is a keen, bitter *Irony*, whereby the Orator scoffs and insults his Adversary.

Such was that of the *Jews* to our Saviour: *Thou who destroyest the Temple, and raiseth it in three Days, save thyself, &c.* And again, *He saved others, himself he cannot save.* Or that of *Turnus* to a Trojan slain by him, in *Virgil*.

*En agros, & quam bello, Trojane, Petisti
Hesperiam metire jacens! hæc premia qui me
Ferro ausi tentare ferunt: sic mentia conduit!*

Antonomasia, is a Figure whereby a Noun Appellative is used instead of a proper Name; or *vice versa*.

Thus we say the *Philosopher* instead of *Aristotle*; the *Orator*, for *Cicero*; the *Poet*, for *Virgil*; the *Apostle*, for *St. Paul*; the *Doctor of Grace*, for *St. Augustin*; the angelick *Doctor*, for *St. Thomas*; the *Master of Sentences*, for *Peter Lombard*, &c. and thus we say, *Henry the Great*, for *Henry IV. King of France*.

The *Syllepsis*, is a Figure whereby we conceive the

Sense

Sense of Words otherwise than the Words import; and thus make our Construction, not according to the Words, but the Intention of the Author.

The *Syllepsis*, says an ingenious Author, is a figurative Construction, which agrees rather with our Ideas, than with the Words; and expresses rather the Sense of our Mind, than the Sense of the Terms themselves.

Syllepsis is also used for the Agreement of a Verb or Adjective, not with that Word next it, but with the most worthy in the Sentence, as *Rex & Regina beati*.

Some Authors call the *Syllepsis*, *Synthesi*; others Substitution. It is a Figure of considerable Use for the well understanding of Authors.—*Scioppius* divides it into two Kinds, *simple* and *relative*.

Simple Syllepsis is when the Words of a Discourse either disagree in Gender or Number, or both.

Relative Syllepsis is when the relative is referred to an Antecedent, which is not expressed; but which we conceive by the Sense of the whole Period.

As to the *Figures of Words* properly so called, the first is *Repetition*, which is a Figure whereby the Orator repeats the same Word or Phrase over again.

Of this there are two Kinds.—In the *first* the Words are repeated precisely in the same Sense: As, *Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, who killeth the Prophets, &c. my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*

Such *Repetitions* have the same Effect in Discourse, with second Strokes of the Pencil in Painting; they render the Colours more strong and lively.

Sometimes the Orator begins again and again with the same Words; of which we have an Instance in the Beginning of *Cicero's* first Oration against *Catiline*; *Nihilne te Nocturnum praesidium Palatii, nihil Urbis Vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil consensus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi Senatus Locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt!* Where the Word *nihil* so often re-iterated gives an admirable Force and Vehemence to the Discourse.

—Again, the same Author: *Quem Senatus damnarit, quem Populus Romanus damnarit, quem omnium existimatio damnarit, eum vos Sententiis vestris absolvetis?* again *non feram, non patiar, non sinam.*

The second Kind of Repetition called *πλοκις*, *Ploce*, is a Repetition of the same Word, in the same Phrase; but in such a Manner as that some new Idea or Character is added to the Words in the second, which it had not in the first.

As *Corydon* is always *Corydon*: *ex illo Corydon, Corydon est Tempore nobis*; by which we signify that *Corydon* is no ordinary Person; and that nothing can distinguish him but the Repetition of his own Name: As if we should say, *he is Corydon, that is enough.*—By the same Figure our Saviour speaks, when he says, *let your Language be yea, yea, and nay, nay.*

Conversion, in *Rhetorick*, is understood of Arguments which are returned, retorted, and shewn on opposite Sides, by changing the Subject into the Attribute, and the Attribute into the Subject.

There are *Conversions* of Arguments from a Figure to another, and from general Propositions to particular ones.—Thus *Cicero* against *Anthony*; *Doletis tres exercitus P. R. interfectos? interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos Cives? eosque vobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas hujus Ordinis afflicta est? afflixit Antonius?*

Complexion is a Figure, including a Repetition, and a Conversion at the same Time; the Sentence both beginning and ending with the same Word.

Thus *Tully*, *Quis Legem tulit? Nullus, quis Comitibus praesuit, Nullus, &c.*

Gradation, is when a Series of Considerations or Proofs is brought, rising by Degrees, and improving each on the other.

Such is that in *Cicero* to *Herennius*: *Africano industria Virtutem, Virtus Gloriam, gloria aemulos comparavit; and of the same to Catiline, nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas; quod ego non audiam, quod etiam non videam, planeque sentiam: Thou dost nothing, movest nothing, thinkest nothing; but I hear it, may see it, and perfectly understand it: Thus, the same to *Atticus*, si dormis expergiscere; si stas, ingredi; si ingrederis, curre; si curris advola.—So *Tertullian* de Spect. *Who has ever found the Truth without God? Who ever found God without Christ? Who found Christ without**

the holy Spirit? and who the holy Spirit without Faith?— This Figure is also called *Climax*.

Synonymy is a Figure whereby Synonyms or Synonymous Words, that is, various Forms of the same Signification, are made use of, to amplify the Discourse.

Such is that Passage of *Cicero*, *abiit, evasit, effugit, erupit*, he went off, he escaped, he run away, &c.

Some severe Criticks condemn all Use of synonymous Terms in the same Period; but this is to condemn all Antiquity: So far is the Use thereof from being vicious, that it is frequently necessary; as *Synonymy* contribute both to the Strength and Clearness of the Expression. If the first Word sketch out the Resemblance of the Thing it represents, the *Synonym* that follows, is, as it were, a second Touch of the Pencil, and finishes the Image.

Indeed they must be used with a deal of Discretion and Economy: The Style must be raised and brightened, not stuffed or loaded with *Synonymous* Terms. They must be used as Ornaments, and to render the Expression the more forcible, without making a Shew of the Riches thereof, or heaping Synonyms on Synonyms.

But, though *Synonymous* Words be laudable, *Synonymous* Phrases are inexcusable: The Reason is, that two *Synonymous* Phrases keep the Mind at rest, and let it flag and languish.

The *Polyptoton* is the Figure, wherein the same Word is repeated in different Cases, Genders, or Numbers, *i. e.* with different Terminations.

Such is that of *Cicero*, *pro Arch. Sed pleni sunt omnes libri, plenae sunt sapientum voces, plena exemplorum vetustas.*—So *Virgil. Aeneid. lib. 4. v. 28.*

*Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
Imprecor, arma armis pugnant.*—

Reticency is a Figure whereby we make oblique Mention of a Thing, in pretending to pass it over unmentioned.

Thus: *To say nothing of the Nobility of his Ancestors: I forbear to speak of his Courage, and pass over the Severity of his Morals.*

The *Comparison* is a Figure, or rather Place in Speech, whereby two Things are considered, with Regard to some Third, which is common to them both.

Thus *Cicero Topic. Catoni licuit sequi bellum civile, igitur & Ciceroni licebit. It was allowed Cato to engage in the Civil War, therefore it may be allowed Cicero: Where to engage in the civil Wars is common to both.*

There are three Kinds of *Comparison*; the first *a majori*, *i. e.* from the Major to the Minor, as that of *Cicero* against *Antony*, *Quid feceris domi tuae, cum alienae tam sis insolens?* Or that of *Terence*, *Quem feret, si parentem non fert suum?* From the same Place *Ovid* endeavours to appease *Caesar*.

*Cur ego posse negem leniri Caesaris iram
Cum videam mites hostibus esse Deos?*

The second *a minori*, *i. e.* from the Minor to the Major: Thus *Cicero*, *Majores nostri saepe Mercatoribus, ac Navigatoribus imperiosius tractatis, bella gesserunt; vos tot civium Romanorum millibus uno nuntio, atque uno tempore necatis, quo tandem animo esse debetis?*

The Third *a pari*; as when we contend that what obtains in one Thing, ought to obtain in another of the same Kind: Thus, *it was a Law, that he who killed his Father should be sew'd up in a Sack and thrown into a River; therefore, he who killed his Mother deserves the same Punishment.*

*Capto tuam, pudet heu, sed capto heu, maxime, canam,
Tu capis alterius; Jam sumus ergo pares.
Mane salutatum venio, tu diceris ille,
Ante salutatum: Jam sumus ergo pares, &c.*

The *Paronomaty* is a Figure, whereby Words nearly alike in Sound, but of very different Senses, are affectedly or designedly used.

As, not Friends, but Fiends were here: So *Tully* to *Antony*, *Cum in Gremio mimarum, mentem & mentum, deponeres*; and to *Atticus*, *Consul ipse parvo animo & pravo, facie magis quam sautiis ridiculus.* And that of *St. Peter Chrysologus*, *Monachorum cellule jam non Eremeticæ, sed Aromaticæ*; and in another Place, *leve agant*

in cellis quod angeli in cælis.

Among the *Greeks* the *Paronomasy* was very familiar. Thus *Hærodotus*, παθημαία, μαθημαία, quæ nocent, docent.

And thus that Inscription of *Apollodorus* a celebrated Painter, on one of his Pieces.

Μαησέται τις μάλλον, η μιμεσέαι.

It will be easier to deride than to imitate.

The *Transition* is a kind of Connexion in Discourse, whereby the several Parts and Members thereof are joined, so as to constitute one regular Whole.

Some place Transition in the Number of Figures, as I have done here; others with *Quintilian* exclude it that Rank.

Father *de Colona* makes two Kinds of *Transitions*; the one perfect, the other imperfect.

Perfect Transition, is that wherein we briefly intimate what is said, and what remains to be said. As, *now that we have spoke of War, there remains something to be said of Peace.*—*Satis multa de turpitudine: Dicam deinceps, quod proposui, de periculo.*—*Unæ Epistolæ respondi: Venio ad alteram.*—*Sed hæc vetera; illud recens: Cæsarem meo consilio interfecitum.*

Imperfect Transition, is that wherein only one of these is expressed.—As, *Let us now consider the Consequences of, &c.*—*Sed finis sit; neque enim præ lachrymis loqui possum; & hic se lachrymis defendi negat.*

There are also Figures of Prosody, viz. the *Synalepha*, *Entblipsis*, *Crafsis*, *Diarefsis*, *Systole*, and *Diastole*; which belong rather to Grammar than to Rhetorick.

Nothing is more capable to move an Audience, according to *Longinus*, than the Mixture of several Figures; for two or three Figures thus mixed, entring thereby into a kind of Society, communicate to one another Strength, Graces, and Ornaments. As it appears in this Passage of the Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Midas*; for that Man, says that Orator, who maltreats another, does a great deal of Gesticulation of the Eyes and of the Voice, which the Person offended cannot relate: And lest his Discourse should grow weaker in the Sequel, being persuaded that Order belongs to a settled Mind, and Disorder, on the contrary, is the Mark of a Passion which in fact is itself nothing else but a Trouble, and Emotion of the Soul, he proceeds in the same Diversity of Figures. Sometimes he strikes him like an Enemy, sometimes to insult him, sometimes with his Fist, and sometimes in the Face. By this Violence of Words thus heaped on one another, the Orator does not touch and move his Judges less powerfully, than if they had seen the Person insulted in their Presence. He returns to the Charge and pursues like a Tempest. Those Affronts move, those Affronts transport a brave Man, not used to be insulted, with Rage. The Enormity of such an Action cannot be expressed with Words. By that continual Change he preserves every where the Character of those turbulent Figures; so that in his Order there is a Disorder; and on the contrary, there is in his Disorder a marvellous Order.

The same Author says likewise, that the Figures must be supported by the Sublime; because a Discourse wherein the Figures are employed alone, is of itself suspected of low Cunning, Artifice, and Deceit, particularly when the Orator speaks, before a Judge, a General, or a King; who conceives a sort of Indignation against the Orator, and cannot bear, that he should attempt to deceive him as a Child, by coarse Finesses. Therefore there is no better Figure than that which is quite hidden and which can scarce be discovered. Therefore the best Means to disguise it, is to have Recourse to the Sublime and Pathetick, because the Art being thus covered with something bright and great, has all it wanted, and is no longer suspected of Deceit.

Longinus recommends also the Images in the Discourse, which he defines to be in general any Thoughts proper to produce Expressions, and which present a kind of Picture to the Mind.

But, in the more limited Sense, he says, Images are such Discourses as come from us, when by a kind of Enthusiasm, or an extraordinary Emotion of the Soul, we seem to see the Things whereof we speak, and present them before the Eyes of those who hear.

Images, in Rhetorick, have a very different Use from

what they have among the Poets: The End principally proposed in Poetry is Astonishment and Surprise; where as the Thing chiefly aimed at in Prose is to paint Things naturally, and shew them clearly.—They have this however in common, that they both tend to move, each in its Kind.

These Images or Pictures are of vast Use to give Weight, Magnificence and Strength to a Discourse. They warm and animate it; and when managed with Art, according to *Longinus*, seem, as it were, to tame, and subdue the Hearer, and put him in the Power of the Speaker. If a Man, says an Orator, has heard a great Noise before the Palace, and another at the same Time comes to inform that the Prisons are open, and the Prisoners fled; there is no old Man, let him be ever so decrepid, nor young Man, however so indifferent for the publick Good, who will refuse his Assistance in that dangerous Case; and mean while, if any body shews them the Author of the Disorder, that unhappy Wretch is undone, he must perish on the Spot, without being allowed Time to speak. At the same Time the Orator proves the Thing by Reason, an Image is wanted, and by that Proposition he advances, he does more than persuade and prove. For as in all Things we value more, those which have the greatest Brilliant; likewise the Mind of the Auditor is easily gained by that Image offered to it in the Middle of a Reasoning, and which striking his Imagination, hinders him from examining so carefully the Proofs of the Orator, because of the grand Eclat his Discourse is covered with.

The same Author recommends the *Periphrase* as of great Use in a Discourse; which *Periphrase* is a Circuit or Tour of Words, much affected by Orators, to avoid common and trite Manners of Expression.

The *PERIPHRASE*, is certainly of good Use in many Occasions; and we are frequently forced to have Recourse to it, to make Things be conceived which is not proper to name.

It is a Piece of Politeness to suppress the Names, and only intimate, or design them. These Terms of Expression are particularly serviceable in Oratory; for the Sublime admitting of no direct Citations, there must be a Compass taken to insinuate the Authors, whose Authority is borrowed. A *Periphrase*, by turning round a proper Name, to make it understood, amplifies and raises the Discourse; but Care must be taken it be not too much swelled, nor extended *mal a propos*, in which Case it becomes flat and languid.

Thus *Cicero*, unable to deny that *Clodius* was slain by *Milo*, owns it, with this *Periphrase* or *Circumlocution*, ‘*Milo’s* Servants being prevented from assisting their Master, who was reported to be killed by *Clodius*, they, in his Absence, and without his Privy or Consent, did what every body would expect from their own Servants on such Occasions.’

The *AMPLIFICATION*, is also of a very great Use in Rhetorick, and is Part of a Discourse or Speech, wherein a Crime is aggravated; a Praise or Commendation heightened, or a Narration enlarged by an Enumeration of Circumstances; so as to excite the proper Emotions in the Souls of the Auditors.

Such is that Passage in *Virgil*, where, instead of saying merely that *Turnus* died, he amplifies his Death,

—*Ast illi solvuntur frigore membra,
Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.*

Amplification, according to *Cicero*, is a vehement Argumentation, a forcible Affirmation, that persuades by moving the Passions.

Some Authors define *Amplification* after *Isocrates*, to be a Discourse which makes great Things of little; or which raises and aggravates little Things, so as to make them appear great. But in this Sense *Amplification* should rather become a Sophist or Juggler than an Orator.

The Masters of Eloquence make *Amplification* the Soul of Discourse.—*Longinus* speaks of it as one of the principal Means which contributes to the Sublime; but censures those who define it a Discourse which magnifies Things; this equally agreeing with the Sublime, the Pathetick, &c. The same Author distinguishes *Amplification* from the Sublime by this, that the latter consists wholly in the Elevation of Words and Sentiments, whereas the former

former consists also in their Multitude; the Sublime is sometimes found in a single Thought; but *Amplification* cannot subsist, excepting in Abundance.

There is likewise a Difference between the *Amplification*, and the Proof; in that the one serves to clear the Point, and the other to heighten and exaggerate it.

There are two general Kinds of *Amplification*; the one of *Things* the other of *Words*. The first is produced in divers Manners; as, 1. By a Multitude of Definitions: Thus it is *Cicero* amplifies on History: *Historia est testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memorie, magistra vite, nuntia vetustatis*.—2. By a Multitude of Adjuncts; of which we have a fine Instance in *Virgil's* Lamentation for *Cæsar's* Death, by enumerating the many Prodigies and Monsters that either preceded or succeeded it.—*Vox quoque per lucos vulgo exaudita silentes, ingens, & simulæra modis pallentia miris visa sub obscurum noctis; pecudesque locutæ, infandum, sistunt amnes, terræque debescunt, & mæstum illachrymat templis ebur, æraque sudant*.—3. By a Detail of Causes and Effects.—4. By an Enumeration of Consequences.—5. By Comparisons, Similitudes, and Examples, &c.—6. By the Contrasts of Antithets, and rational Inference.

Amplification by Words, is effected six Ways.—1. By using Metaphors.—2. By Hyperboles.—3. By Synonyms.—4. By splendid and magnificent Terms; as that of *Horace*, *scandit æratas vitiosa navi cura nec turmas equitum relinquit, ocyor cervis, & agente nimbos ocyor Euro*.—By Periphrases, or Circumlocutions.—6. By Repetition.—To which may be added by Gradation.

The Periods, Numbers, Figures, &c. are what compose what we call *Discourses*, or *Orations*; since an Oration is a Speech or Harangue, framed according to the Rules of Oratory, and spoke in publick.

All the Kinds of *Orations* may be reduced to three Heads, *viz.* *demonstrative*, *deliberative*, and *judicial*.

To the *demonstrative* Kind belong, *Panegyrics*, *Genethliaca*, *Epithalamia*, *Epicedia*, *Eucharistia*, *Epinicia*, and Congratulations.

Panegyrick, is an Oration in praise of some extraordinary Person, or Virtue.

To make their *Panegyrics* the most solemn, the *Greeks* used to begin with the Praises of the Deity, in whose Honour the Games, &c. were celebrated, then they descended to the Praise of the People or Country where they were celebrated; then to the Princes or Magistrates who presided at them; and at length to the Champions, especially the Conquerors who had gained the Prize.

L. de Colonia lays down two Methods, or Series's observed in *Panegyrics*. The artificial, where, without any Regard to the Order of Time, every Thing is reduced to certain Heads. Thus *Tully* refers the whole Praise of *Pompey* to his Skill in War, his Virtue, Authority, and Felicity.

The other *natural*, wherein the Order and Time of History are observed. This Series he divides into three Periods; the Space before the Person's Birth, that wherein he lived, and if he be dead, that which followeth his Death. This natural Series requires much less Art, Genius, &c. than the other.

The Places or Sources of *Panegyrics* are chiefly the Family, Country, Auguries at his Birth, his Virtues, the Talents of his Body, Mind, Honours, Riches, Manner of his Death, and the Consequences thereof.

Genethliacum, is a Composition in Verse, on the Birth of some Prince, or other illustrious Person; wherein the Poet promises him great Honours, Advantages, Successes, Victories, &c. by a kind of Prophecy or Prediction.

Such is the Eclogue of *Virgil* to *Pollio*, beginning,

Sicelides musæ paulo majora canamus.

There are also *Genethliack* Speeches or *Orations*, made to celebrate a Person's Birth-Day.

The *Epiciedion*, is a poetical Composition on the Death of a Person.

At the Obsequies of any Man of Figure, among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, there were three Kinds of Discourses usually made; that rehearsed at his Bustum, or Funeral Pile, was called *Nenia*; that engraven on his Tomb, *Epitaph*; and that spoke at the Ceremony of his Funeral, *Epiciedion*.—We have two beautiful *Epiciedions* in *Virgil*;

that of *Euryalus*, and that of *Pallas*.

I have explained what is understood by *Epithalamium* in my Treatise of *Poetry* under the Letter P.

The *Epiciedion* was a Composition on Occasion of a Victory obtained.

To the deliberative Kind belongs *Persuasion*, *Diffuasion*, *Exhortation* and *Commendation*.

And to the *judicial* Kind belongs *Accusation*, *Confirmation*, *Confutation*, &c.

Confirmation, is the third Part of an Oration, wherein the Orator undertakes to prove by Laws, Reasons, Authorities, and other Arguments, the Truth of the Propositions advanced in his Narration.

Confirmation, is either *direct* or *indirect*; the first confirms what the Orator has to urge for strengthening his own Cause: The second, properly called *Confutation*, refels the opposite arguing of the Adversaries. The two Parts together are sometimes placed under the Head and Title of Contention.

The *Confirmation* is, as it were, the Life and Soul of the Oration: In this the main Strefs of Argumentation lies, as heretofore observed.

From this I'll proceed to the fourth and last Part of our Division of *Rhetorick*, *viz.* the *Pronunciation*.

PRONUNCIATION.

The *PRONUNCIATION*, as understood in this Place, consists in regulating and varying the Voice and Gesture agreeably to the Matter and Words, so as more effectually to touch the Hearers.

The *Pronunciation* is of such Importance, that *Demosthenes* called it the first, second, and the third Part of Eloquence.

Quintilian defines the *Pronunciation*, *vocis & vultus, & corporis moderatio cum venustate*; a decent, agreeable Manner of managing the Voice, Gesture and Action of the whole Body.

Cicero somewhere calls it *quædam corporis eloquentia*, a certain Eloquence of the Body; and in another Place, *sermo corporis*, the Language or Speech of the Body.

Pronunciation, is the same with what we otherwise call *Action*.—Some Writers, particularly Mr. *Henley*, confound it with *Elocution*, which, as we have seen, is a very different Thing. That Author, when he styles himself *Restorer of the antient Elocution*, means of the antient Pronunciation.

There are three Things which come under the *Pronunciation*; the *Memory*, *Voice*, and *Gesture*.

The *Memory*, is a natural Talent, which though essential to the Orator, is not, notwithstanding to be acquired by Art.

The *Voice*, is also a very essential Part of Eloquence, since it contributes much towards discovering all the Beauties of a Discourse or Oration, without which it appears inanimate, or languid. A fine and sonorous Voice strikes so agreeably the Ear of the Auditors, that it often penetrates the inmost Recesses of the Heart, where it excites different Sorts of Passions, according to the Subject of the Discourse. But the Voice of the Orator, let it be ever so agreeable, must be governed by Art, and not abandoned to its natural Impetuosity; or forced beyond it. The Orator must always begin his Discourse, with a gentle and moderate Voice, raising it with Discretion by Degrees, as Occasion requires; in such a Manner that he may be always Master thereof; expressing Joy in a quite different Manner than he would do Sorrow, avoiding above all Things a tedious Monotony; as well as those excessive Bawlings, more proper to stun the Auditor, than to make him hear.

The *Gesture*, is a Motion of the Body, intended to signify some Idea or Passion of the Mind.

Quintilian defines *Gesture*, *totius corporis motus & conformatio*.—*Gesture* consists principally in the Action of the Hand and Face.

Action, in Oratory, is an Accommodation of the Person of the Orator to his Subject; or a Management of the Voice and Gesture, suited to the Matter spoken or delivered.

Action, is a collateral or secondary Method of expressing our Ideas; and is susceptible of a kind of Eloquence as well as the primary.—It is an Address to our external Senses; which it endeavours to move, and bring into

its Party, by a well concerted Motion and Modulation ; at the same Time that the Reason and Understanding are attacked by Force of Argument. Accordingly *Tully* very pertinently calls it *sermo corporis*, the Discourse of the Body. The *Roman* Mimes and Pantomimes, we read, had such a Copia in this Kind, such a Compass even of mute *Action*, that Voice and Language seemed useless to them. They could make themselves understood to People of all Nations ; and *Roscius*, the Comedian, is particularly famed, as being able to express any Sentence by his Gestures, as significantly and variously as *Cicero* with all his Oratory.

Quintilian gives us a System of the Rules of *Action* ; taken not only from the Writers of antient Orators, but from the best Examples of the Forum.

The Force and Effects of *Action*, at least as practised among the Antients, appears to be very great ; scarce any Thing was able to withstand it. What we usually attribute to Eloquence was really the Effect of the *Action* only, as some of the greatest Masters in that Way have frankly acknowledged. *Demosthenes* expressly calls it, 'the Beginning, the Middle, and the End of the Orator's Office,' and *Cicero* professes, 'that it does not so much matter what the Orator says, as how he says it.' *Neque tantum refert qualia sunt quæ dicas, quam quomodo dicantur. De orat.*—Hence the great Greek Orator is represented as practising and adjusting his *Action* in the Glass : *Demosthenes grande quoddam intuens speculum componere actionem solebat. Quintil.*

Every Part of the Body is by them lifted into the Service, and marshalled in its proper Place : The Hand, the Eye, Head, Neck, Sides, Cheeks, Nostrils, Lips, Arms, Shoulders, &c.—*Precipuum in actione caput est. Cum gestu concordet, & lateribus obsequatur, oculi, lachrymæ, supercilium, genæ, rubor.—Non manus solum, sed & nutus.—Luminetur autem maxime vultus.—Quin & in vultu palor.—Nares, labia.—Dentes, cervix, humeri, brachia.—Manus vero, sine quibus trunca esset actio.—Quintil. xi. 3.*

The Hand is Master of a whole Language, a Set of Signs itself.—Even every Finger is laid down by the Antients, as having its distinct Office ; and hence the different Names they still bear, as *Pollex, Index, &c.*

By such a Multitude of Rules and Observances, it is no Wonder that some of the Orators of those, as of our Days, were perverted more than profited.—Rules only tend to perfect the *Action*, which must have its Origin from another Source, *viz.* Nature and good Sense ; where those are deficient, Rules will sooner make an Ape than an Actor. *Eloquentiæ, says Cicero, sicut & reliquarum rerum, fundamentum est sapientia.*—And hence we find the great Masters abovementioned continually softening, and even unsaying, and calling People off from the intemperate Use of their own Rules, *nullæ argutiæ digitorum, non ad numerum articulum cadens. Cicero* even assures us, he was a whole Year a learning to keep his Hand within his Gown.—The same Author recommending a Motion of the whole Body, says, the Orator should make more Use of his Trunk than of his Hand ; *trunco magis toto se ipse moderans, and virili laterum flexione.*

Walking, *Incessus*, is sometimes recommended as highly deserving to be cultivated ; but *Cicero* will scarce allow it to be used at all. It seems some of the active Orators of that Time had rendered it ridiculous ; one of whom was pleasantly asked by *Mævius Virginius*, how many Miles he had declaimed ? *Cassius Severus*, when he perceived an Orator given to Walking, used to cry out for a Line to be drawn round him to keep him within Bounds.—The Orator *Tityus* improved Walking into a Sort of Dancing ; and it is hence, as we are told by *Quintilian*, that the Dance *Tityus* took its Name.—*Junius* rallied his Father *Curio's* incessant Libration, or rolling from one Side to another, by asking, who that was Haranguing in a Ferry-boat ? And to the like Effect was that of *C. Sicinius*, when *Curio* having spoke with his usual Buffle near *Octavius*, who by reason of his Infirmities had divers Liniments and Plasters on his Limbs, you can never be enough thankful, *Octavius*, to your good Colleague, who has saved you this Day from being eaten up by the Flies.—*Demosthenes* being naturally apt to be too busy, and especially with his Shoul-

ders, is said to have reformed himself by speaking in a narrow Pulpit, and hanging a Spear pointed just over his Shoulders ; that if in the Heat of his Discourse he should forget himself, the Puncture might remind him.

After all, it is a Point will bear being controverted, whether *Action* ought to be practised and encouraged at all ? A Thing that has so much Command over Mankind, it is certain must be very dangerous ; since it is as capable of being turned to our Disadvantage, as our Advantage. It is putting a Weapon in the Hands of another, which, if he pleases, he may make use of to subdue and enslave us : And accordingly History is full of the pernicious Uses made thereof.—For this Reason Eloquence and *Action* are generally discouraged in the modern Policy ; and both the Bar and the Pulpit are brought to a more frigid Way of Delivery.

Some say that perhaps the Foundation of all *Action* may be vicious and immoral.—Voice and Gesture, we know, will affect Brutes ; not as they have Reason, but as they have Passions : So far as these are used in a Discourse, therefore, it does not regard an Assembly of Men, more than it would a Herd of Quadrupeds ; that is, their whole Effort is spent, not on the rational Faculties, which are out of the Question, but on the animal ones, which alone they endeavour to possess and actuate, independent of Reason.—Nay, they even go further, and pretend that our Reason and Judgment itself is intended to be biassed and inclined by them ; *Action* being only used as an indirect Way of coming at the Reason, where a direct and immediate one was wanting, *i. e.* where the Judgment cannot be taken by the proper Means, Argument ; it is to be taken by Circution and Stratagem.

The natural Order of Things then, conclude they, is here inverted ; our Reason, which should go before and direct our Passions, is dragged after them, instead of coolly considering, and taking Cognizance of Things ; and according to what we perceive therein, raising our selves to the Passions of Grief, Indignation, or the like ; we are attacked the other way ; the Impression is to be carried backwards, by virtue of the natural Connection there is between the Reason and the Passions : And thus the Helm, the Principle of our Actions, is taken out of our own Hands, and given to another.

The Case is much the same here, say they, as in Sensation, and Imagination : The natural and regular Way of arriving at the Knowledge of Objects, is by Sense ; an Impression began there is propagated forward to the Imagination, where an Image is produced similar to that which first struck on the Organ.—But the Process is sometimes inverted ; in hypochondriack, lunatick, and other delirious Cases, the Image is first excited in the Imagination ; and the Impression thereof communicated back to the Organs of Sense : By which Means Objects are seen, which have no Existence.

To say no more, continue they, *Action* does not tend to give the Mind any Information about the Case in hand ; is not pretended to give any Arguments or Ideas which the simple Use of Language would not convey. But is it not that we should form our Judgments upon ? and can any thing help us to make a just Judgment beside what some way enlarges our Understanding ? When *Cicero* made *Cæsar* tremble, turn pale, and let fall his Paper, he did not apprise him with any new Guilt which *Cæsar* did not know of : The Effect had no Dependence on *Cæsar's* Understanding ; nor was it any thing more than might have been produced by the unmeaning Sounds of a musical Instrument duly applied : Logs of Timber, and Stone, have often trembled on the like Occasion.

But let them say what they will to depreciate the Merit of the *Action* in an Orator, as for me I consider it as one of his principal Qualities ; and think that the best Discourse, pronounced without it, has no Agreement, and is capable of very little else than to lull us to Sleep. I hate to hear an Orator, with no other *Action* than a disagreeable Monotony, tearing the Ear in a miserable Manner, with now and then some Nodding of the Head, as if affected with a Kind of Palsy ; not that I approve those Maniacks, who while they speak seem to be in strong Convulsions of their whole Body ; but a moderate and easy *Action*, without Affectation of any Kind, but

which on the contrary seems to flow gently, as it were for a Source, and guided by our Voice, contributes much towards animating our Discourse, and rendering it more pathetick. It is false that it has no Effect on our Mind; since, on the contrary, by striking agreeably our external Senses, it is thereby convey'd to our Imagination, whereby our Attention is gained; it must even affect in the most sensible Manner the noblest Faculty of our Soul, *viz.* our Judgment, otherwise we could not make a just Difference between a good and bad, or an agreeable and disagreeable Action. — I approve of no other Gestures but of that of the Hands; seldom of the Head; sometimes of the Eyes, since it is thereby we discover if the Orator be affected himself with what he says; and never of the whole Body: Even the Gestures of the Hand, which is the most common, must be moderate, and as natural as possible; and always under the Direction of the Eye, *i. e.* that it must always follow the Hands; except in those Occasions, where it is necessary to express Scorn, or Reluctancy, or Abhorrence: The Pulpit admits of much more Gesture than the Bar. It is particularly to the Action, that the Title of *Eloquent* in Speaking is attributed; though there be also another Kind of *Eloquence* in Writing well.

Demosthenes and *Cicero* are the Princes of antient Eloquence; the one among the *Greeks*, the other among the *Romans*; because they both wrote, and spoke well. Their Manner however was exceedingly different; the first being close, strong, nervous, concise, and severe, so that a Word could not be spared: The latter copious, florid, and rich, so that a Word could not be added.

It was objected to *Cicero*, that his Eloquence was *Asiatick*, that is, redundant, or stuffed with superfluous Words and Thoughts.

Pericles was called a *Torrent of Eloquence*, a *Thunder-bolt of Eloquence*. Pedants do not distinguish *Eloquence*, from the Heaping up of Figures, the Use of big Words, and the Rotundity of Periods.

True *Eloquence* depends principally on the Vivacity of the Imagination. In Strictness, it is not that which gives Grace and Ornament, but Life and Motion, to Discourse. Its Mien is that of an Amazon, not that of a Coquette.

The Authors of the *Art of Thinking* remark, that the Rules of *Eloquence* are observed in the Conversations of

People naturally *eloquent*, though they never think of them while they practise them. They practise those Rules because they are *eloquent*, in order not to be *eloquent*.

The *Eloquence* of the Chair, and Pulpit, is much more difficult every where; but in *England*, than that of the Bar. The Obligation laid on the *English* Clergy to read their Sermons, has entirely banished Eloquence from the Pulpit; therefore much better *Orators* are found at *Westminster*, either in both Houses of Parliament, or in the Courts of Judicature, than in the Churches; whereas in other Countries, *France* for Example, the best Orators are found in the Chair or Pulpit. It is true that there are some Persons who read better than others, but still it is but Reading, for that can never be called Preaching, and Reading for Reading, I had rather chuse to read myself than to hear another read; since I cannot only read better Pieces of Eloquence than those which often are read to me, but likewise enter better into the Sense of the Author, and be thereby much more edified. If that Prohibition of reciting Sermons by heart was taken off, the *English* Pulpit would acquire a new Lustre, for no doubt but that there are as good Orators among the *English* Clergy, as among others; and we should not see a kind of epidemical Lethargy reigning in the Churches.

But without confining ourselves to a particular Country, we must say, that *Eloquence* has shared every where the Fate of all other Arts and Sciences, and has suffered a very great Eclipse ever since, like them, it has met with little or no Encouragement: In fact, true Eloquence is so little in Vogue at present, that the best Orator would scarce find an Audience worthy of being spoke to; ridiculous Discourses, digested without Art, Order, or Agreement, and stuffed with low Thoughts, trivial Expressions, and delivered in an Indolence which had been capable only to excite the Compassion, or perhaps the Laughter of an honest *Roman* Citizen, are almost the only ones we are entertained with at present, and can assemble a numerous Audience. Not that I pretend that all Discourses are to be composed with a scrupulous Regularity, according to all the Rules of *Rhetorick* heretofore explained; but they should not be all neglected, since no body can claim the Title of Orator, without he be a Rhetorician.

R O P E - M A K I N G .

ROPE-MAKING, is to spin Twists, or Strings of Hemp; and when spun, to twist them together, in a greater or less Number, according to the Thickness of the *Rope*.

This Spinning is done by the Rope-Maker, twisting round him a certain Quantity of coarse hempen Flax, fastening one End thereof to the Iron of a Spinning-Wheel made for the Purpose, spinning it with his Index, and Thumbs of both Hands, walking slowly backwards, *i. e.* his Face turned towards the Wheel, while another Person turns it round, to twist what he spins. — This Operation is done in a long Alley, commonly called Rope-Walk; and there are placed in the Walk, by Intervals, Racks to support the Ropes, and keep it tight, which otherwise, being arrived at a certain Length, would fall to the Ground, and thereby prevents the Operation going forwards.

If the Twist, or String, which is spun, is used alone, without being joined with others, it must be twisted harder than if it was to enter into the Composition of another Rope; though there is scarce any Rope which has not several Twists.

When the Rope is made very thick, it is called a *Cable*; and when very small, a *Cord*.

A *CABLE*, is a thick, long, three-string'd Rope, ordinarily of Hemp, serving to hold Ships firm at Anchor.

The Term *Cable* is sometimes also applied to the Cordage used to raise massy Loads, by means of Cranes, Wheels, and other like Engines: Though, in Strict-

ness, *Cable* is not applied to Ropes of less than three Inches Circumference.

Every *Cable*, of whatever Thickness it be, is composed of three Strands; each Strand of three Twists; each Twist of a certain Number of Caburns, or Threads of Rope-Yarn, more or less, as the *Cable* is to be thicker or smaller.

To make a *Cable*, after forming the Strands, they use Staves, which they first pass between the Strands, that they may turn the better, and be intertwisted the more regularly together: And to prevent any entangling, a Weight is hung at the End of each Strand. The *Cable* being twisted as much as needs, is untwisted again three or four Turns, that the rest may the better retain its State.

The Number of Threads each Kind of *Cable* is to be composed of, is ever proportion'd to its Length and Thickness; and it is by this Number of Threads, that its Weight and Value are ascertained. A Rope of three Inches Circumference, or one Inch Diameter, consists of 48 ordinary Threads, and weighs 192 Pounds; one of 10 Inches Circumference of 485 Threads, and weighs 1940 Pounds; a *Cable* of 20 Inches, of 1943 Threads, and weighs 7772 Pounds. The Seamen say, the *Cable* is well laid, when it is well wrought or made.

As to the *Strength, of Ropes, or Cordage*, M. *Reaumur* takes Occasion, in the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy*, to consider the Question, whether a Rope of several Twists or Strands interwoven, *v. gr.* ten, have more Strength to sustain a Weight, than the ten Twists would have separately,

parately, placed parallel over one another : Or, which is the same Thing, whether if each Twist be capable of sustaining the Weight of a Pound, the whole Cord be able to sustain more than ten ?

There indeed appears no great Difficulty in the Question ; the Evidence seems strong on the Side of the Affirmative : For, 1. By Virtue of the Twisting, the Diameter of the Rope is made larger than are those of the ten Twists together ; but it is apparently by its Thickness that a Rope sustains a Weight, or resists a Fracture.

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Hence it would follow, that the Surplus of the Strength of the Twists, might be employ'd in raising a larger Weight.

On the other Hand it is true, that in twisting the Strands some are stretched, and others left more loose, and the new Tension given the former, serves to weaken them ; and has of itself the Effect of a Weight : Thus they become less able to sustain one so large. Those more lax, on the contrary, wade in some Measure the Action of the Weight, for the Action is distributed equally on the ten supposedly equal Twists ; and if some, by Reason of their particular Disposition, receive less than their Quota, the Weight will act more forcibly on the rest, and will break them first, as being more tense ; after which it will easily dispatch the rest, as not being in sufficient Number to oppose it.

This is the Sum of what can be urged for, and against the Twisting, to decide between them M. *Reaumur* had Recourse to Experiment. The Result was, that contrary to all Expectation, he still found the twisting diminished the Strength of the Rope ; whence it is easily inferred, that it diminishes it the more, as the Rope is the

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The same Author has thought of Ways to prove in what Proportion these different Resistances increase ; that arising from the Stiffness or Rigidity occasioned by the Weight which draws the Rope, increases in Proportion to the Weight ; and that arising from its Thickness in Proportion to the Diameter. *Lastly*, That arising from the Smallness of the Gyres, or Pullies about which it is to be wound, is indeed greater for smaller Circumferences than large ones, but does not increase so much as in the Proportion of those Circumferences.

On this Footing the Loss a Machine sustains, by the *Cordage* being estimated in Pounds, becomes, as it were, a new Weight, to be added to that which the Machine is to raise. This Augmentation of Weight will render the *Cords* still the more stiff, which Excess is to be computed as before.

Thus we shall have several Sums still decreasing, which are to be added together, as in the Article of Friction ; and it will be surprising to see what a Sum they will amount to.

Where Ropes are used in a Machine, all the Resistance resulting from their Stiffness is to be put together, and all that occasioned by the Friction, which will make so considerable an Augmentation to the Difficulty of the Motion, that a Power, which to raise a Weight of 3000 Pounds, by means of a fixed and a moveable Pulley, needed only 1500 Pounds ; must, according to M. *Amontons*, have 3942 Pounds, on Account of the Frictions, and the Resistance of the *Cordage*.

SACRAMENTS.

SACRAMENT, in the general, denotes a Sign of a holy or sacred Thing. The Christian Church admits of two Sorts of Sacraments ; *viz.* those of the Law of *Moses*, and those of the Law of Christ.

The *Sacraments* of the Law of *Moses* were, 1. The Circumcision ; 2. The Paschal Lamb ; 3. The Purifications of external Impurities ; 4. The Expiations for Sins ; 5. The Consecration of Priests ; 6. And the eating the Shew-bread.

The *Sacraments* of the Law of Grace, are but two in the Protestant Church ; *viz.* *Baptism*, and the *Lord's Supper* ; and seven in the Catholic, *viz.* *Baptism*, *Confirmation*, *Penitence*, *Eucharist*, *Extreme-Unction*, *Order*, and *Matrimony* ; whereof the Catholics say, that those of the Old Testament were only Types or Shadows.—That, 1. The Circumcision was the Type of *Baptism* ; 2. The Paschal Lamb, and the eating the Shew bread, the Figure of the *Eucharist* or *Lord's Supper* ; 3. The Purifications and Expiations, the Types of the Penitence ; 4. The Consecration of Priests, the Figure of *Order*.

I'll treat only, in this Place, of the Sacraments of the Law of Grace ; 1. Of the *Name* of Sacraments ; 2. Of the *Definition* of Sacrament ; 3. Of the *Causes* ; 4. Of the *Effect* ; 5. Of the *Number* of Sacraments, which is a great Point of Controversy between the Catholics and Protestants.

The sacred Authors understand the Word *Sacrament* in a Manner quite different from that of the Prophane : For *Sacrament* in the Scripture signifies the same Thing as *Mystery* ; and is understood in two Manners ; 1. For a secret or hidden Thing ; 2. For the Sign of a secret or hidden Thing.

In the first Manner, the Incarnation of the Word, and the Vocation of the Gentiles, are called *Sacraments* or *Mysteries*, *i. e.* the Things hidden in the Secret Council of God, which no Body could know, 'till he was pleas'd

to reveal them by his Prophets and Apostles, *Ephes.* iii. 3. and *Coloss.* xxvi. 1. *Tim.* ii. 16.

In the last Manner, the Marriage of *Adam* and *Eve*, and *Nebuchadnezzar's* Dream are called *Sacraments* or *Mysteries*, *i. e.* Signs of secret and hidden Things, *Ephes.* v. 32. and *Dan.* ii. 19. For the Marriage of *Adam* and *Eve* signifies the Union of Christ with his Church ; and the Dream of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Succession of four Kingdoms. In this last Sense the Protestants say, that the *Baptism* and *Eucharist* are *Sacraments* or *Mysteries*, and the Catholics say the same of the five others they admit, *i. e.* Signs of secret or hidden Things ; not of every secret Thing, but of an inward Grace, or Holiness, as we'll explain it hereafter.

The Roman Catholics define a *Sacrament*, *the Sign and Cause of Grace*, or *a sensible Thing, which, by God's Institution, has the Power to signify and produce Grace*. Which Definition becomes only the Sacraments of the New Testament, and not those of the old ; for though the ancient *Sacraments* signified Grace, they could not produce it ; but they both signify and produce it, not as principal Causes, but as instrumental.

The same Catholics say, that the Protestants differ from them, and among themselves ; for some, *tho.* and *Luther*, in particular, define a *Sacrament* a *Promise of Grace annexed to an external Sign* ; Others, as *Calvin*, a *Seal wherein that Promise is sealed* ; and others in another Manner : All which different Definitions the Catholics refute in two Manners. 1. Because, say they, none of their Adversaries understand by the Word *Grace*, an internal one, or an inherent Justice ; but only a gratuitous Remission of Sins, which, they imagine, consists in that God does not impute our Sins to us ; but cloaks them, as it were, and dissembles them ; none of their Distinctions, besides, becoming the *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper* ; since that *Sacrament* was not instituted for the

Remission

Remission of Sins; but rather to strengthen, preserve, and increase the Grace, or inherent Justice in the just; for the Eucharist is nothing else but a spiritual Meat and Drink, whereby the Soul is strengthened, *John vi. 55. For my Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed.* Therefore as corporal Meat and Drink are of no Service to a dead Body, but only to a living one; likewise the Eucharist is of no Service to a Soul dead by Sin, but only to that living by Grace.

As to the *Causes of the Sacraments*, the Catholics reckon four of them, *viz.* the *Matter*, *Form*, the *efficient*, and *final Cause*.

The *Matter* of the Sacraments is the Thing sensible.—The *Form* is the Power which that Thing sensible has received, by God's Institution to signify, and produce Grace.—The *efficient Cause* or Principle of the Sacraments is God.—And the *final Cause*, for which they have been instituted, is our Sanctification: Therefore, conclude they, they were instituted to confer on us the sanctifying Grace, which they signify.

This last Point the Protestants deny; and say that the Sacraments were instituted to excite that Faith within us, whereby we are justified; which the Catholics deny in their Turn; for that Faith, say they, is required, before we receive the Sacrament, as a previous Disposition; according to these Passages of the Scripture, *Mark xvi. 16. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.* Faith here precedes, and Baptism follows, and *Matt. xxviii. 19. Go ye, therefore, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Whereby it appears that the Intention of Christ was, that Men should be instructed, first, in the Doctrine of the Faith, and believe in Christ their Redeemer, before they could be baptized.

This they confirm by Examples from the Scripture; for Philip would not baptize the Eunuch, before he believed in Christ, *Acts viii. 36. And the Eunuch said, see, here is Water; what does hinder me from being baptized? And Philip said, if thou believest with all thine Heart, thou may'st.*—And Peter in his Sermon to the Jews on the Day of Pentecost, excited them first to a Faith in Christ, and exhorted them afterwards to receive Baptism: For if Baptism, conclude they, had been instituted only to excite Faith in us, it could be of no Service to Infants; Hence, they wanting the Use of their Reason, it cannot excite Faith within them.

To this Protestants object, 1. That, according to the Scripture, a Man is justified by Faith, and therefore is not justified by the Sacraments, otherwise than by exciting that Faith within them.

To this the Catholics answer, that the Consequence is neither just nor conclusive, because a Man can be justified by divers Causes; for he is justified by Faith, as by a previous Disposition; by Grace or inherent Justice, as by a formal Cause; by God, as by the principal efficient Cause; by the Sacraments, as by the instrumental Causes; and by Christ, as by the Cause of Merits.

They object, 2. That the Apostle teaches that Abraham was not justified by the Circumcision, which is a Sacrament of the Law of Moses; but by Faith, *Rom. iv. 10.* Therefore, likewise, we are no otherwise justified by the Sacraments of the New Testament, than by their exciting Faith within us.

The Catholics answer to this, that it is supposed in the antecedent of this Argument, that the Circumcision had excited Faith in Abraham, which is false. For it did not excite Faith within him, but was only a Mark of the Faith he had before. For Abraham believed in God, first, and was circumcised afterwards, *Gen. xv. 6.* and *Gen. xvii. 24.* they say, besides, that the Consequence is not good; since there is a great Difference between the Sacraments of the Old Testament, and those of the New; for the old Sacraments did not confer Grace, and the new confer it; and therefore it does not follow hence, that because Abraham was not justified by Circumcision, we are not justified by Baptism.

As to the *Effects of the Sacraments*, from what we have said, it is easy to discover the different Sentiments of the Catholics and Protestants. The Protestants say, that the Sacraments have been instituted to excite Faith within

us; whence it follows that their Effect is Faith. The Catholics say, on the contrary, that they have been instituted to confer the justifying Grace; whence it follows that their Effect is Grace, according to the following Passages of the Scripture, *John iii. 5. Verily, verily I say unto thee, except a Man be born of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* From whence we infer, that we are regenerated by Baptism, which cannot be done without the justifying Grace. And also *Acts ii. 38. He baptized every one of you in the Name of Jesus Christ, for the Remission of Sin, and you shall receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost;* and *Chap. xxii. Ver. 16. Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy Sins,* which cannot be washed away but by the justifying Grace.

As to the *Number of Sacraments*.—The Catholics teach with the Council of Trent, and, say they, with the unanimous Consent of the universal Church; that there are seven Sacraments of the New Testament, *viz.* Baptism, Confirmation, Penitence, Eucharist, Extreme-Unction, Order, and Matrimony.

The Protestants reject five of those Sacraments received by the Catholics; but do not very well agree among themselves, or with Regard to the true Number thereof, for some of them, as Luther, *Lib. de captiv. Babilonic. circa Initium*, receives the Baptism alone. Others, as Philip Melancthon, *de locis commun.* receive the Baptism, Eucharist, and Penitence, in which he is followed by a vast Number of Lutherans. Others, with Ervingle, receive the Baptism, the Lord's Supper and Matrimony. Ervingle *de vera & falsa Religione.* And others with Calvin, *lib. 4. Institut. c. 19. § 30.* receive the Baptism, the Lord's Supper and Ordination.

Neither can they, in any Manner, say again the Catholics, prove their different Sentiments, either by Scripture or the Tradition; for the Tradition which they reject, continue always the same Catholics, is for us; and the Scripture, which they receive, has not furnished them yet with any Proofs, which they could alledge in their Defence. For the Scripture does not say, that there are only two or three Sacraments; nay, it does not even give the Name of Sacrament to the Baptism or Eucharist; and does not define which is properly a Sacrament of the Law of Grace. What Assistance then, ask the Roman Catholics, can the Protestants expect from the Scripture? None at all; while they borrow all theirs from the perpetual Tradition of the Church. For their Sentiment is, that the Church has always believed seven Sacraments; following in that the Advice of the Apostle, *2 Thess. ii. 15. Therefore Brethren, stand fast, and hold the Traditions which ye have been taught.*

The Catholics, to prove their Sentiment by the Tradition, consult the Fathers of the Church; particularly St. Augustin, as one of the most eminent among them, and even respected by the Protestants. They say, therefore, that St. Augustin receives Baptism and Eucharist, *lib. 3. de Doctrin. Christian. c. 9. The Lord himself, says he, and the Discipline of the Church, deliver to us Things which are to be kept carefully, and are easy to practise; such is the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Celebration of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* He acknowledges the Confirmation, *lib. 2. contr. Liter. Petilian. c. 104. In that Unguent he will have the Sacrament of the Chrisma understood, which among the visible Signs is as holy as Baptism itself.* He acknowledges the Penitence, *lib. 1. de Adulter. Conjug. c. 26, & 28. The Cause of Baptism, and of the Reconciliation, is the same; without which Sacraments, Men believe they are not to depart this World.* He acknowledges Order, *lib. 2. contr. Epist. Parmen. c. 13. They are both Sacraments, and both given to Men, by a certain Consecration; that when he is baptized, and this when he is ordained; and therefore neither of them is to be reiterated in the Catholick Church.* He acknowledges the Extreme Unction, *Serm. 215. de temp. Whenever any Malignity happens, he that is sick must receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and be anointed, afterwards, that what is written may be fulfilled in him, if any Body be sick among you, he must send for the Priests of the Church, that they may pray on him, anointing him with Oil.* He acknowledges Matrimony, *lib. 2. de Nupt. & Concupiscent. c. 10. The End of this Sacrament is, that a Man and Woman being joined by Marriage, remain inseparable while they live.*

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SACRAMENT, in the general, denotes a Sign of a holy or sacred Thing. The Christian Church admits of two Sorts of Sacraments; *viz.* those of the Law of *Moses*, and those of the Law of Christ.

The *Sacraments* of the Law of *Moses* were, 1. The Circumcision; 2. The Paschal Lamb; 3. The Purifications of external Impurities; 4. The Expiations for Sins; 5. The Consecration of Priests; 6. And the eating the Shew-bread.

The *Sacraments* of the Law of Grace, are but two in the Protestant Church; *viz.* *Baptism*, and the *Lord's Supper*; and seven in the Catholick, *viz.* *Baptism*, *Confirmation*, *Penitence*, *Eucharist*, *Extreme Unction*, *Order*, and *Matrimony*; whereof the Catholicks say, that those of the Old Testament were only Types or Shadows.—That, 1. The Circumcision was the Type of *Baptism*; 2. The Paschal Lamb, and the eating the Shew bread, the Figure of the *Eucharist* or *Lord's Supper*; 3. The Purifications and Expiations, the Types of the Penitence; 4. The Consecration of Priests, the Figure of *Order*.

I'll treat only, in this Place, of the Sacraments of the Law of Grace; 1. Of the *Name* of Sacraments; 2. Of the *Definition* of Sacrament; 3. Of the *Causes*; 4. Of the *Effect*; 5. Of the *Number* of Sacraments, which is a great Point of Controversy between the Catholicks and Protestants.

The sacred Authors understand the Word *Sacrament* in a Manner quite different from that of the Prophane: For *Sacrament* in the Scripture signifies the same Thing as *Mystery*; and is understood in two Manners; 1. For a secret or hidden Thing; 2. For the Sign of a secret or hidden Thing.

In the first Manner, the Incarnation of the Word, and the Vocation of the Gentiles, are called *Sacraments* or *Mysteries*, *i. e.* the Things hidden in the Secret Council of God, which no Body could know, 'till he was pleas'd

to reveal them by his Prophets and Apostles, *Ephes.* iii. 3. and *Coloss.* xxvi. 1. *Tim.* ii. 16.

In the last Manner, the Marriage of *Adam* and *Eve*, and *Nebuchadnezzar's* Dream are called *Sacraments* or *Mysteries*, *i. e.* Signs of secret and hidden Things, *Ephes.* v. 32. and *Dan.* ii. 19. For the Marriage of *Adam* and *Eve* signifies the Union of Christ with his Church; and the Dream of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Succession of four Kingdoms. In this last Sense the Protestants say, that the *Baptism* and *Eucharist* are *Sacraments* or *Mysteries*, and the Catholicks say the same of the five others they admit, *i. e.* Signs of secret or hidden Things; not of every secret Thing, but of an inward Grace, or Holiness, as we'll explain it hereafter.

The Roman Catholicks define a *Sacrament*, *the Sign and Cause of Grace*, or *a sensible Thing, which, by God's Institution, has the Power to signify and produce Grace*. Which Definition becomes only the Sacraments of the New Testament, and not those of the old; for though the ancient *Sacraments* signified Grace, they could not produce it; but they both signify and produce it, not as principal Causes, but as instrumental.

The same Catholicks say, that the Protestants dissent from them, and among themselves; for some of them, and *Luther*, in particular, define a *Sacrament* a *Power of Grace annexed to an external Sign*: Others, as *Camus*, a *Seal wherein that Promise is sealed*; and others in another Manner: All which different Definitions the Catholicks refuse in two Manners. 1. Because, say they, none of their Adversaries understand by the Word *Grace*, an internal one, or an inherent Justice; but only a gratuitous Remission of Sins, which, they imagine, consists in that God does not impute our Sins to us; but cloaks them, as it were, and dissembles them; none of their Dissensions, besides, becoming the *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper*; since that *Sacrament* was not instituted for the

Remission

Remission of Sins; but rather to strengthen, preserve, and increase the Grace, or inherent Justice in the just; for the Eucharist is nothing else but a spiritual Meat and Drink, whereby the Soul is strengthened, *John vi. 55. For my Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed.* Therefore as corporal Meat and Drink are of no Service to a dead Body, but only to a living one; likewise the Eucharist is of no Service to a Soul dead by Sin, but only to that living by Grace.

As to the *Causes of the Sacraments*, the Catholics reckon four of them, *viz.* the *Matter*, *Form*, the *efficient*, and *final Cause*.

The *Matter* of the *Sacraments* is the Thing sensible.—The *Form* is the Power which that *Thing sensible* has received, by God's Institution to signify, and produce Grace.—The *efficient Cause* or Principle of the *Sacraments* is God.—And the *final Cause*, for which they have been instituted, is our Sanctification: Therefore, conclude they, they were instituted to confer on us the sanctifying Grace, which they signify.

This last Point the Protestants deny; and say that the *Sacraments* were instituted to excite that Faith within us, whereby we are justified; which the Catholics deny in their Turn; for that Faith, say they, is required, before we receive the *Sacrament*, as a previous Disposition; according to these Passages of the Scripture, *Mark xvi. 16. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.* Faith here precedes, and Baptism follows, and *Matt. xxviii. 19. Go ye, therefore, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Whereby it appears that the Intention of Christ was, that Men should be instructed, first, in the Doctrine of the Faith, and believe in Christ their Redeemer, before they could be baptized.

This they confirm by Examples from the Scripture; for *Philip* would not baptize the Eunuch, before he believed in Christ, *Acts viii. 36. And the Eunuch said, see, here is Water; what does hinder me from being baptized? And Philip said, if thou believest with all thine Heart, thou may'st.*—And *Peter* in his Sermon to the Jews on the Day of Pentecost, excited them first to a Faith in Christ, and exhorted them afterwards to receive Baptism: For if Baptism, conclude they, had been instituted only to excite Faith in us, it could be of no Service to Infants; Hence, they wanting the Use of their Reason, it cannot excite Faith within them.

To this Protestants object, 1. That, according to the Scripture, a Man is justified by Faith, and therefore is not justified by the *Sacraments*, otherwise than by exciting that Faith within them.

To this the Catholics answer, that the Consequence is neither just nor conclusive, because a Man can be justified by divers Causes; for he is justified by Faith, as by a previous Disposition; by Grace or inherent Justice, as by a formal Cause; by God, as by the principal efficient Cause; by the *Sacraments*, as by the instrumental Causes; and by Christ, as by the Cause of Merits.

They object, 2. That the Apostle teaches that *Abraham* was not justified by the Circumcision, which is a *Sacrament* of the Law of *Moses*; but by Faith, *Rom. iv. 10.* Therefore, likewise, we are no otherwise justified by the *Sacraments* of the New Testament, than by their exciting Faith within us.

The Catholics answer to this, that it is supposed in the antecedent of this Argument, that the Circumcision had excited Faith in *Abraham*, which is false. For it did not excite Faith within him, but was only a Mark of the Faith he had before. For *Abraham* believed in God, first, and was circumcised afterwards, *Gen. xv. 6.* and *Gen. xvii. 24.* they say, besides, that the Consequence is not good; since there is a great Difference between the *Sacraments* of the Old Testament, and those of the New; for the old *Sacraments* did not confer Grace, and the new confer it; and therefore it does not follow hence, that because *Abraham* was not justified by Circumcision, we are not justified by Baptism.

As to the *Effects of the Sacraments*, from what we have said, it is easy to discover the different Sentiments of the Catholics and Protestants. The Protestants say, that the *Sacraments* have been instituted to excite Faith within

us; whence it follows that their Effect is Faith. The Catholics say, on the contrary, that they have been instituted to confer the justifying Grace; whence it follows that their Effect is Grace, according to the following Passages of the Scripture, *John iii. 5. Verily, verily I say unto thee, except a Man be born of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* From whence we infer, that we are regenerated by Baptism, which cannot be done without the justifying Grace. And also *Acts ii. 38. He baptized every one of you in the Name of Jesus Christ, for the Remission of Sin, and you shall receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost;* and *Chap. xxii. Ver. 16. Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy Sins,* which cannot be washed away but by the justifying Grace.

As to the *Number of Sacraments*.—The Catholics teach with the Council of *Trent*, and, say they, with the unanimous Consent of the universal Church; that there are seven *Sacraments* of the New Testament, *viz.* *Baptism*, *Confirmation*, *Penitence*, *Eucharist*, *Extreme Unction*, *Order*, and *Matrimony*.

The Protestants reject five of those *Sacraments* received by the Catholics; but do not very well agree among themselves, or with Regard to the true Number thereof, for some of them, as *Luther*, *Lib. de captivit. Babilonic. circa Initium*, receives the Baptism alone. Others, as *Philip Melancthon*, *de locis commun.* receive the Baptism, Eucharist, and Penitence, in which he is followed by a vast Number of Lutherans. Others, with *Ervingle*, receive the Baptism, the Lord's Supper and Matrimony. *Ervingle de vera & falsa Religione.* And others with *Calvin*, *lib. 4. Institut. c. 19. § 30.* receive the Baptism, the Lord's Supper and Ordination.

Neither can they, in any Manner, say again the Catholics, prove their different Sentiments, either by Scripture or the Tradition; for the Tradition which they reject, continue always the same Catholics, is for us; and the Scripture, which they receive, has not furnished them yet with any Proofs, which they could alledge in their Defence. For the Scripture does not say, that there are only two or three *Sacraments*; nay, it does not even give the Name of *Sacrament* to the Baptism or Eucharist; and does not define which is properly a *Sacrament* of the Law of Grace. What Assistance then, ask the Roman Catholics, can the Protestants expect from the Scripture? None at all; while they borrow all theirs from the perpetual Tradition of the Church. For their Sentiment is, that the Church has always believed seven *Sacraments*; following in that the Advice of the Apostle, *2 Thess. ii. 15. Therefore Brethren, stand fast, and hold the Traditions which ye have been taught.*

The Catholics, to prove their Sentiment by the Tradition, consult the Fathers of the Church; particularly *St. Augustin*, as one of the most eminent among them, and even respected by the Protestants. They say, therefore, that *St. Augustin* receives Baptism and Eucharist, *lib. 3. de Doctrin. Christian. c. 9. The Lord himself*, says he, *and the Discipline of the Church, deliver to us Things which are to be kept carefully, and are easy to practise; such is the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Celebration of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* He acknowledges the Confirmation, *lib. 2. contr. Liter. Petilian. c. 104. In that Unguent he will have the Sacrament of the Chrisma understood, which among the visible Signs is as holy as Baptism itself.* He acknowledges the Penitence, *lib. 1. de Adulter. Conjug. c. 26, & 28. The Cause of Baptism, and of the Reconciliation, is the same; without which Sacraments, Men believe they are not to depart this World.* He acknowledges Order, *lib. 2. contr. Epist. Parmen. c. 13. They are both Sacraments, and both given to Men, by a certain Consecration; that when he is baptized, and this when he is ordained; and therefore neither of them is to be reiterated in the Catholick Church.* He acknowledges the Extreme Unction, *Serm. 215. de temp. Whenever any Malady happens, he that is sick must receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and be anointed, afterwards, that what is written may be fulfilled in him, if any Body be sick among you, he must send for the Priests of the Church, that they may pray on him, anointing him with Oil.* He acknowledges Matrimony, *lib. 2. de Nupt. & Concupiscent. c. 10. The End of this Sacrament is, that a Man and Woman being joined by Marriage, remain inseparable while they live.*

Kennitius

Kemnitius objects to the *Roman* Catholics, that the Scripture does not say that there are seven *Sacraments*; and they answer, that it does not say neither that there are two or three.

He objects, 2. That the Scripture denies that there are seven *Sacraments*, for *Apocalyp.* 17. v. 7. the Angel calls *Sacrament* the Beast which has seven Heads; therefore the Septenary Number of *Sacraments* belongs to the Antichrist, signified by that Beast.

The Catholics answer, that this Objection of *Kemnitius* is an atrocious Calumny, because if their seven *Sacraments* be the seven Heads of the Antichrist, the Baptism and Eucharist must be two of them, which *Kemnitius* receives as true *Sacraments*: Besides, by the seven Heads are understood seven Kings, not seven *Sacraments*, as the Text witnesses.

Though the Church of *England* admits but two *Sacraments* of the Law of Grace, with the rest of the Protestants, it notwithstanding retains the Ceremonies of two others, of those admitted by the Catholics, viz. of the *Confirmation* and *Order*; the Bishops in their Visitation laying Hands on Children, and other Persons who are presented to them, and even forbidding the Reiteration of that Ceremony, as it is forbidden in the Catholic Church.

The Antients called *Confirmation* *Chrisma*, and *Unction*; among them it was conferred immediately after Baptism; and was esteemed in some measure a Part thereof: Whence the Fathers call it the Accomplishment of Baptism.

Among the *Greeks*, and throughout the East, it still accompanies Baptism; in the Catholic Church, it is never conferred but on Children who have the Use of their Reason.

It appears that *Confirmation* has all along been ordinarily conferred by the Bishops: *St. Cyprian*, and most of the Fathers, speak of it in such Terms, as imply it to have been confined to the Bishop alone; and the Abbot *Fleury*, and most of the Moderns, from them, lay it down as a distinguishing Character between the Offices of a Priest or Deacon, and that of a Bishop, that the former might baptize, but the latter alone might anoint and confirm; by virtue of their Succession to the Apostles, to whom it originally belonged. But from some Passages in *St. Gregory*, &c. others gather, that the Priests likewise on Occasion, had the Power of *confirming*. It is certain, among the *Greeks*, the Priest who baptizes confirms also: Which Practice *Lucas Holstenius* shews, is of so old a Standing among them, that it is now generally looked on as belonging properly and of Right to the Priest; though some will have it, to have been borrowed by them from the Bishops.

The Council of *Rouen*, held in 1072, decrees, that *Confirmation* be conferred sitting, both on the Side of the Giver and Receiver.

The Church of *England* retains likewise the Ceremonies of *Ordination*, but does not receive *Order* as a *Sacrament*; but the *Roman* Catholic Church receive it as such, and says that it was instituted by Christ (to whom alone the Institution belongs) as it appears from their Definition thereof, viz. that *Order or Ordination is a Sacrament of the new Law instituted by Christ, whereby Grace is conferred to the Clerk, together with the spiritual Power of consecrating the Eucharist, or of exercising some Office, which has any Report to the effecting that Sacrament.*

They call it a *Sacrament* of the new Law, because it is expressly defined such by the Council of *Trent*, *Sess.* 23. *can.* 3. and because it has all the Conditions required for a *Sacrament* of the New Testament; for it has, 1. A sensible Sign; 2. Christ's Institution; and 3. The Promise of Grace annexed to it.

In the Church of *England* there are but three Orders, viz. *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*. But in the *Roman* Catholic Church there are seven; distinguished into minor Orders, and major or sacred Orders.

The *minor Orders* are four, viz. those of *Door-Keeper*, *Exorcist*, *Reader*, and *Acolith*; besides the clerical *Tonsure*, which is a Preparation to those Orders, and which one is obliged to receive before he takes any of them.

The *Tonsure* is the first Ceremony used for devoting a Person to the ecclesiastical State, by presenting him to the Bishop, who gives him the first Degree of the Cleri-

cate by cutting off Part of his Hair, with these Prayers, *O Lord, thou art Part of my Inheritance, and of my Chalice, thou art he that shall restore mine Inheritance to me;* signifying thereby his solemn Renunciation to the World, and his taking henceforward *Jesus Christ* for his Inheritance: Then the Bishop puts on him the Surplice, with this Prayer, *May God cloath thee with the new Man, who is created in the Holiness and Justice of the Truth;* this white Garment signifying what must be the Purity of the Heart and Body of him that receives the *Tonsure*.

Some hold the *Tonsure* a particular Order; others, as *Loyseau*, only the Mark and Form of ecclesiastical Orders in general.

The *Tonsure* suffices to make a Clerk: The rest is only to qualify him for the holding Benefices. A Person is capable of the *Tonsure* at seven Years of Age; hence a Benefice of simple *Tonsure*, is such a one as may be enjoyed by a Child of seven Years old.

The Order of *Door-Keeper*, which is the first of the *minor Orders*, is defined by some Catholic Authors, a *minor Order*, which, by the Bishop giving the Keys of the Church, to him whom he ordains, he gives him at the same Time the Power of opening and shutting the Church, and of discharging some other Functions in it: Which Functions are detailed in these Words of the *Roman Pontifical*, addressed by the Bishops to those who he is to ordain *Door-Keepers*; and which are as follow: *You dearly beloved Children, who are to receive the Office of Door-Keeper, bear what are your Duties. A Door-Keeper must ring the Bell; open the Church and the Sanctuary, and the Book to him who is to preach. Be very careful therefore, lest by your Negligence the Things belonging to the Church should be lost or perish; and to open the Doors at the appointed Times to the Faithful, and shut them always against the Infidels: Take Care likewise, that, as with material Keys, you open and shut the visible Church, you may shut to the Devil, and open to God, by your Words and Examples, his invisible Church, i. e. the Hearts of the Faithful, &c.*

The Order of *Exorcist*, which is the second of the Minors, is defined an *Order of divine Institution*, where by delivering the Book of *Exorcism* to the Person ordained, and by certain Words pronounced by him that ordains, a certain Power is conferred on the Clerk.—The Words pronounced by him that ordains are these: *Receive, and remember it, and have the Power to impose the Hands on the Energumens, whether they be baptized, or only Catechumens.* The other Offices of the *Exorcist*, as collected from the *Roman Pontifical*, are to make Room for those who are to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist, that they may come without Obstruction to the Communion Table. 2. To prepare the holy Water, and carry the Vessel which contains it before the Priest, when he sprinkles the People; 3. To assist the Priest in Exorcisms, and hold the Book open before him, &c.

The Order of the *Reader*, is defined a *minor Order*, whereby the Bishop delivering the Book of the Prophecies and Lessons, with some Prayers, the Person ordained receives the Grace and Power of discharging certain Functions in the Church; which Functions are, 1. To read the Word of God, which is the most essential. 2. To sing the Anthems. 3. To read the Acts of the Martyrs, the Homilies of the Fathers, the circular Letters sent to the Churches, the Symbol of the Apostles, and the Lord's Prayer. 4. To teach the People the first Elements of Christianity. 5. To bless the new Fruits.

The Order of the *Acolith*, is defined a *minor Order*, whereby the Bishop delivering a Candlestick with a Taper lighted, &c. with Prayers, the Ordained receive the Power to exercise some certain Functions in the Church; which Functions are, 1. To light the Tapers at the Time of the divine Office. 2. To prepare Fire and Frankincense, at the Times appointed. 3. To carry the Candlestick, when the Gospel is read, at the Communion of the Sick, and in all other Occasions. 4. To prepare the Wine and Water for Mass. 5. To serve in the solemn Masses with the Surplice. 6. To assist the Priest in the Administration of all the Sacraments.

Those in *minor Orders* may marry without any Dispensation: In effect, the *minor Orders* are looked on as little other than Formalities, and as Degrees necessary to arrive at the higher Orders. Yet the Council of *Trent* is very serious about them; enjoins that none be admitted into them,

them, without understanding *Latin*, and recommends it to the Bishops, to observe the Intervals of conferring them, that the Persons may have sufficient Time to exercise the Functions of each Order; but it leaves the Bishops a Power of dispensing with those Rules; so that the four Orders are usually conferred the same Day, and only make the first Part of the Ceremony of Ordination.

The *Greeks* disavow those petty Orders, and pass immediately to the Subdiaconate; the Church of *England* to the Diaconate.

Their first Rise *Fleury* dates in the Time of the Emperor *Justinian*, there is no Call nor Benefice required for the four minor Orders; and a Bastard may even enjoy them without any Dispensation; nor does Bigamy disqualify.

Sacred or *major Orders*, we have already observed, are three, viz. those of *Sub-deacon*, *Deacon*, and *Priest*.

The Order of *Sub-deacon*, is defined by the Catholics a *sacred Order*, which by the Bishops delivering the Chalice empty, with the Book of the Epistles, and some Prayers, gives the Ordained Power to exercise some certain Functions of the Church; which Functions are, 1. To give the Water to the Priest, at a high Mass; 2. To serve the Deacon; 3. Wash the Pallæ and Corporalia; to give the Chalice at Mass. 4. Receive the Oblations of the Faithful; 5. Sing the Epistle at Mass; and, 6. To carry the Cross in Procession.

It is disputed in the *Roman* Catholick Church, whether the *Subdiaconat* be a Sacrament or not, in regard *Sub-deacons* are ordained without Imposition of Hands, and that there is no Mention made of them in the Scripture, yet *Bellarmin* holds the affirmative Side of the Question.

According to the Canons, a Person must be twenty-two Years of Age, to be promoted to the Order of *Sub-deacon*.

By the Papal Canons, a married Man may be ordained *Sub-deacon*; upon Condition his Wife consents to it, makes a Vow of Continence, and shuts herself up in a Monastery.

The Order of *Deacon*, is defined a *sacred Order*, where by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishop, and the Delivery of the Book of the Gospel, with certain Prayers said by the Bishop, the Ordained receives the Power to exercise some certain Functions in the Church: Which Functions are, 1. To serve to the Altar, where he calls the People to Mass, sings the Gospel, distributes the Eucharist, and dismisses the People, at the End of the Mass, &c. 2. To preach. 3. Baptize.

Deacons were instituted, seven in Number, by the Apostles, *Acts* vi. which Number was retained a long Time in several Churches. Their Office was to serve in the Agapæ, and to distribute the Eucharist to the Communicants, and dispense the Alms.

By the ancient Canons Marriage was not incompatible with the State and Ministry of a Deacon. But it is now a long Time that the Church has prohibited their marrying; and the Pope only grants them Dispensations for very important Causes; and after Dispensation they lose the Rank and Functions of their Order, and return to a lay State.

The *Deacons* were formerly prohibited sitting with the Priests: The Canons forbid *Deacons* to consecrate; that being a sacerdotal Office. They also prohibit a *Deacon* being ordained, unless he have a Title or Call, and be at least twenty-five Years of Age. The Emperor *Justinian*, in *Novel* 123. assigns the same Age of twenty-five Years for a *Deacon*; but this was the Custom when Priests were not ordained at less than thirty Years of Age. At present twenty-three Years of Age suffices for a *Deacon*.

At *Rome*, under Pope *Silvester*, they had only one Deacon; then seven were appointed; then fourteen, and at last eighteen, who were called *Cardinal Deacons*, to distinguish them from those of other Churches.

Their Office was to take Care of the Temporalities of the Church, look to the Rents and Charities, provide for the Necessities of the Ecclesiastics, and even of the Pope. The collecting of the Rents, Alms, &c. belonging to the *Sub-deacons*; the *Deacons* were the Depositories and the Distributors. Having thus the Management of the Revenues of the Church in their Hands; their Authority grew apace, as the Riches of the Church

increased. Those of *Rome*, as being Ministers of the first Church, preceded all others, and even at length took Place of the Priests themselves. Doubtless it was the Avarice of the Priests that made them give Place to the *Deacons*, who had the Disposal of the Money. St. *Jerom* exclaims against that Attempt, and proves that a *Deacon* is inferior to a Priest.

The Council in *Trullo*, which is the 3d of *Constantinople*, *Aristenus* in his Synopsis of the Canons of that Council, *Zonaras* on the same Council, *Simcon Logotheta*, and *Æcumenius*, distinguish *Deacons* destined for Service at the Altar, from those who had the Care of the Distribution of the Alms of the Faithful. Thus the Custom of constituting *Deacons*, without any other Office but to attend the Priest at the Altar, being once introduced, those simple *Deacons* durst no longer pretend to a Superiority over the Priests.

The Order of *Priests* is defined a *sacred Order* instituted by Christ, where by the Delivery of the Chalice with the Wine, and the Paten with the Bread, and the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishop with certain Words pronounced by him; the Person ordained receives the Power to consecrate and absolve.

The Ordination of Priests by the Imposition of the Hands of Bishops, is proved, 1. By the Scripture, 1 *Tim.* iv. and v.—And 2 *Tim.* ii. where that Imposition of Hands is mentioned; *I admonish thee to be strong in the Grace of God, which is in thee by the Imposition of our Hands.*

By the Councils, particularly that of *Carthage*, *can.* 4. where the Priest is said to be ordained by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishops.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Leo*, Epist. 87. to the Bishops of *Africa*, where he explains the Passage above quoted.

The Bishop is the proper and only Minister of the *sacred Orders*, particularly of the Diaconate of Priesthood; as being the legitimate Successor of the Apostles, who received their Mission immediately from Christ, when he sent them to preach and baptize; and the Power of binding and unbinding, when breathing on them, he told them, *receive ye the Holy Ghost*, &c.

Ever since the Divorce between the *Roman* and *English* Church, there has been a great Controversy between them, concerning the Validity of the latter; the former denying it absolutely, under Pretence that there have been several Interruptions in the Succession of the Bishops of the *English* Church; and the *English* Church pretending, on the contrary, there was none; for both Churches agree, that an interrupted Succession from the Apostles is necessary for the Validity of their Ministry. Father *Corroyer*, a regular Canon of St. *Augustin*, of the Abbey of St. *Genevieve* at *Paris*, pretends to have cleared that Point in a Book he has wrote to assert the Validity of the Ordination of the *English* Church; but the *Roman* rejects that Book as spurious; it was censured by the *Sorbon*, and suppressed by an Arret of the King's Council given in 1726, and the Author obliged to quit the Kingdom, *incog.* His Book was answered by a Jesuit, who pushes him with Vigour; and pretends to invalidate all his best Proofs; which of them is in the Right, is what I will not have the Temerity to determine; all I can say is, that the Civil Troubles, Revolutions, and different Changes happened in *England*, since the Reformation, might have affected the ecclesiastical Hierarchy; and render the Memoirs on which Father *Corroyer* has wrote a little suspicious: Though, in my Opinion, the different Manner of thinking of the two Churches on that Subject, should decide the Question and terminate the Dispute; for whereas the Church of *England* considers Ordination as a simple Ceremony only; which does not imprint the least Character on the Person ordained, who, when he pleases, can quit the ecclesiastical State, and follow any laick Employment, either in the Army, Commerce, &c. they have no need for it of an interrupted Succession from the Apostles, but may lawfully celebrate that Ceremony, without any body having the least Right to find Fault with it, or contradict it. The same could not be said of the *Roman* Church, who believe Order a Sacrament (instituted by Christ, and conferred on his Apostles when he sent them to preach the Gospel; and breathing on them, he gave them the Holy

Holy Ghost, and at the same Time the Power of binding and unbinding, &c.) which *Sacrament*, she thinks, confers Grace, and imprints on the Person ordained a sacred Character, which is indelible both in this World, and in the other; which Character cannot be given but by the immediate Successors of the Apostles who were made the Depositories thereof.

The Extreme Unction, which is not so much as taken the least Notice of among the Protestants, is also a *Sacrament* in the *Roman Church*; and administered to People dangerously sick, by anointing them with Oil, and performing several Prayers over them.

It is called Extreme Unction as being only given to Persons in Extremity. In the 13th Century it was called *The Unction of the Sick*, and not Extreme Unction: For in the earlier Ages it was given before the Viaticum; which Practice, according to Father *Mabillon*, was not changed till the 13th Century.

The Reasons he assigns for the Change are, that in that Age there arose several mistaken Opinions, several of which we find mentioned and condemned in the *English Councils*. Among the rest it was held, that such as had receiv'd this *Sacrament*, in Case they recover'd, might not make Use of their Wives, nor eat Meat, nor go bare-footed: Whence they chose to forbear using it till the last Extremity; which Practice prevailed. See the Councils of *Worcester* and *Exeter*, in the Year 1287, that of *Winchester* in 1308; and Father *Mabillon*, *Act. Sanct. Bened. Sacul. iii. p. 1.*

The Form of Extreme Unction is now deprecatory, as the Divines call it; formerly it was absolute and indicative.

This *Sacrament* is not only in Use in the *Latin*, but also in the *Greek Church*, and throughout the East, tho' under another Name, and with some Difference in the Circumstances; in that the Orientals do not wait till their Sick are come to Extremity, in order to anoint them; but the Sick generally go to Church themselves; and it is administer'd to them as often as they are indisposed: The *Greeks* taking that Direction of St. *James v. 14.* which is the Foundation of the Practice in a general Sense: *Is any sick among you? let him call for the Priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with Oil.*

Father *Dandini* distinguishes two Kinds of Unction among the *Maronites*: The one called *Unction with the Oil of the Lamp*; but this, he suggests, is not the *sacramental Unction*, ordinarily administer'd to such as are in extreme Sickness; for that the Oil is only consecrated by a Priest, and that it is given to all who are present, not to the Sick only, but also to the Healthy: Even the Priest who officiates partakes of it. The other Kind of Unction, according to that Father, is only for the Sick; it is performed with Oil consecrated by the Bishop alone, on *Holy Thursday*. And this it seems is their sacramental Unction.

But this Unction with Lamp-Oil is in Use, not only among the *Maronites*, but throughout all the Eastern Church, who use it very religiously. The Truth is, they do not seem to have any other *Sacrament* of Extreme Unction besides this. Yet Father *Gour* observes, tho' it be only a Ceremony with Regard to those in Health, it is a real *Sacrament* to those that are sick.

In their great Churches they have a Lamp, wherein this Oil for the Sick is preserved: This Lamp they call *The Lamp of Oil join'd with Prayer*: For what the *Latins* call *Extreme Unction*, the *Greeks* call *Oil with Prayer*, or *Holy Oil*.

I cannot conceive what Reason can be alledged for reforming this praying over the Sick, and anointing him with Oil; after St. *James* has recommended it in so formal and clear Terms in his Epistle, that it is impossible to give them another Sense; for if there was a Superstition in it, that Superstition was as antient as the Church, and has been not only encouraged, but even recommended by a holy Apostle, who had been instructed in the School of Christ, and gave up gloriously his Life at last for the Defence of the Gospel.

The Sentiment of the Roman Catholick Church, with Regard to Penance, which is also one of her *Sacraments*, and rejected as such by the *Calvinists*, and others, is, that there is no other *Sacrament* of the New Testament, that

has more convincing Proofs in the Scripture of its having been instituted by *Jesus Christ*. As is evident from *Matt. xvi. 19.* *And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: And whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* And from St. *John xx. 23.* *Whosoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever Sins ye retain, they are retained.*

The same Roman Catholicks define Penance a *Sacrament*, wherein a Person who has the requisite Dispositions, receives Absolution at the Hands of the Priest, of all Sins committed since Baptism.

To a legitimate Penance they require three Things, *Contrition*, *Absolution*, and *Satisfaction*.

Contrition is a real Sorrow, resulting from the Thoughts of having offended God; from the sole Consideration of his Goodness; without any Regard to the Punishment the Sin deserves.

Some Doctors of the *Roman Church* avow, notwithstanding the Practice of their Church, that Contrition is valid, and carries with it every Thing necessary to obtain Pardon, without the Ceremony of the *Sacrament* of Confession and Absolution.

And in this they make the Difference between Attrition and Contrition to consist. This Doctrine was maintained by F. *Segeunot*, upon St. *Augustin*; but was censured by the Faculty of *Paris*.

Absolution is a juridical Act, whereby the Priest, in Virtue of the Power given him by *Jesus Christ*, remits the Sins of such as, upon Confession, appears to have the Conditions requisite thereto.

The Formula of the Absolution in the *Roman Church* is absolute, in the *Greek Church* deprecatory; and among the *Calvinists* declarative. *Arcadius*, indeed, contends that the *Greek Formula* is absolute; and that it consists in these Words, *Mea Mediocritas habet te venia donare*. When I say, that the Formula of Absolution, in the *Roman Church*, is absolute, I would not be understood, that the Priest absolves of his own Authority, as most Protestants falsely imagine, for the Formula begins thus: *May our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the high Pontiff and Priest, absolve thee*, which is deprecatory; then he proceeds, *and I, by his Authority which I exercise, absolve thee*, &c. Which Formula seems very agreeable to the Passages of the Scripture, quoted at the Beginning of this Article; for Christ does not say to *Peter*, in St. *Matthew*, *Thou shalt declare that they are bound or loosed*, &c. but, *whosoever thou shalt bind shall be bound*, which implies an absolute Authority given him, as well as to all the Apostles in St. *John*: Which is surprizing to me, that we should search Matters of Controversies, in Passages which are as clear as one and one are two; which cannot proceed but from Motives of Animosity and Jealousy. The Church of *England* is so well convinced of this Truth, that she has the same Formula of Absolution, Word for Word, in the Visitation of the Sick; where she exhorts them to Confession.

Satisfaction, which in the *Roman Church* is the third Part of the *Sacrament of Penance*, is defined, *a voluntary Submission to the Penance enjoined by the Priest, as a Compensation for the Injury done to God by Sin, and to redeem the Pain incurred thereby*. Whence it is easily inferred, that the satisfactory Deeds, according to the *Roman Church*, must be penal and onerous; as is even insinuated by the Scripture, where Fasting, Humiliation, Affliction, Tears, Ashes, the Cilicium, and the like, are prescribed, *Joel. ii. Jonas. iii. Matt. xi.* where a Year of Expiation was appointed for the *Jews*, *Numb. 21.* which, if true, those will be unfortunately mistaken, who content themselves with asking Forgiveness for their Sins, thinking that it is a Popish Superstition to make the least Atonement for it; depending entirely on *Jesus Christ's* Satisfaction on the Cross; as if he had fuller'd only to indulge us in our Lukewarmness and Indolence; or that we may offend him with greater Impunity. And having satisfied for all our Sins, we may commit the most atrocious, which will be forgiven whenever we will take the Time to ask for Forgiveness; whence it would appear, that Christ was come on Earth, rather to encourage Vice, than to restrain it; which it would be a very great Impiety to believe.

But let those criminally indolent Sinners think what

they will, it is certain, that Penance has always been commanded by the Church; but the Manner of doing it, either publick or private, has varied according to the different State of the Church, and the Want of the Faithful. The Son of God, in the Gospel, does not impose Penance on the Sinners who came to him, because he gave them a perfect Contrition of their Sins, and at the same Time the Absolution by the Strength of his Grace, and by the Plenitude of his Authority. St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. excommunicates the incestuous *Corinthian*, and delivers him to Satan, and receives him some Time afterwards to his Communion, having left him, says St. Chrysostom, uncertain, if his Penitence was to last till Death. But he is engaged to forgive him by the Penitent repenting sincerely of his Sins; by a just Fear that the Continuation of the Pain should prove hurtful to him, by the unanimous Desire of the Church of *Corinth*, and by the Change which that Rigour had caused in the Manners of the Members of that Church. It is certain, that in the first Centuries, the Discipline of the Penance was not so regular as it has been since; and that the Imposition of the Pain depended absolutely on the Bishops; and did not last so long. St. Cyprian witnesses, that his Predecessors did not receive to Penance those who were guilty of Adultery, Murder, and Idolatry. The Council of *Elvire*, made Canons on Purpose, which even extend to false Witnesses. Notwithstanding which, under that holy Bishop, the Custom was introduced in *Africa*, to remit Penances at the Solicitation of the Martyrs; as we learn from his Epistles; where he complains of the Insolence of those who being fallen in the Idolatry, wanted to be received into the Communion without Penance, on Notes they had extorted from those who were a going to suffer Martyrdom.

Ever since the Heresy of the *Novatians* and *Montanists*, the Church began to be more severe in the Imposition of the canonical Penance, for the Sinners whom those Hereticks said were not to be admitted to it; whether for the Time which sometimes reached to the latter End of the Life, or for the penal Mortifications which were very hard. At last the Discipline being formed, the Degrees of Penance were divided into four. In the first, which was called of the *Cryings*, the Penitents remained out of the Church, sometimes in the open Air, and sometimes under a Porch; and when the Faithful enter'd the Church, they used to throw themselves at their Feet, and intreat them to intercede for them. And *Tertullian* called that to move *Jesus Christ* himself, they were clothed in Sack-cloth, or black Gowns. They laid on the Ground, fasted with Bread and Water, spent the Nights in Prayers, did not frequent the Baths, nor use Marriage. The second Degree was called of the *Hearers*, because those who were arrived at it, were admitted to hear the Preaching in the Church, and went out afterwards with the Catechumens. The third Degree was of the *Prostrated*, who did not partake of the Prayers of the Faithful, and threw themselves at the Feet of the Bishops before they went out of the Church, to receive the Imposition of Hands, which was deprecatory, and was done with particular Prayers, according to the Council of *Laodicea*, c. 19. they received one in Beginning their Penance, and the last was given at the End, when they were reconciled by the Absolution, and admitted to the Participation of the Eucharist. The fourth Degree was of those called *Consistants*, because they remained in the Church during the Celebration of divine Service, and the Administration of the Eucharist, though they were not allowed to partake of it. The Names of the Degrees above-mentioned, are not found in the *Latin* Authors of the first Centuries of the Church, who have not reckoned that of the *Plorantes* and *Auditores*, among the Stations of the Penance, but only the Prostration and Consistence: And by the first Term, they, and the *Greeks* in the fourth Century, understand the publick Penance, and range under it all the rigorous Satisfactions it contained, and which increased or diminished afterwards. All Sorts of Sins were not equally subject to it; and the Antients distinguished them under three Classes. The first contained Idolatry, Adultery, Murder, and the other Species. They called them capital and canonical, because they were to be expiated, whether publick or secret, by the Pains order'd by the

Canons, which were alike throughout all the Church. For those, as already observed, during two Centuries, in most Churches Penance was not even granted; not that they were thought irremissible, or that the Power of the Keys given to the Priests did not extend so far, since they were then of Opinion, that it has no Limits, and that all Sorts of Sins are subject to it; but only to inspire the Faithful with a greater Horror for them, to whom by the last Council of *Jerusalem* they are particularly forbidden. The second Class contained the Sins which we call mortal. We understand by this Word, all those which deprive us of the Grace of God. But the holy Fathers extended it to Sins specified in the Canons. In the first Centuries they were not chastised by a publick Penance, at least as to oblige Persons guilty of them to pass through the Degrees above-mentioned, though they were reprimanded publickly, and deprived of the Eucharist, which was practised, as to this last Pain for occult Sins, which were not expressed in the penitential Canons. The third Class contained the venial Sins, which were not subject to the Keys, by the Ordinances of the Church, but the Faithful were exhorted to purify themselves of them by Prayers and Alms. In the third and fourth Centuries the Church becoming more severe, began to submit the heinous and scandalous Sins of the second Class to a publick Penance, to oppose the Torrent of Corruption of the Manners of the Christians. For that Reason, the Bishops composed penitential Books, to inform the Priests what Penance they were to impose for every Sin, and that those Penances should be uniform. By Degrees, towards the latter End of the fifth Century, a Sort of Penance was introduced between the publick, and the secret, for occult Sins, which was accomplished in Monasteries, or in other Places appointed by the Priests, in the Presence of some pious Persons, according to the Direction of the Bishop. The Difference between them and publick Sinners, was, that the Bishops gave these a publick Absolution, in Presence of the Clergy, and the People, without the Rails which separated the Altar from the Nave of the Church; whereas to those it was given in Secret, as the Confession having been secret, and the Penance secret. The former could not be reconciled but by the Bishop, and the Priests could reconcile the latter. Those were obliged by the Censures to a publick Satisfaction; and these were at Liberty to submit to it, or not; the Priest contenting himself with refusing them the Absolution, if they were not willing to obey him on that Subject.

At last towards the seventh Century, the publick Penance for occult Sins was entirely laid aside. *Theodorus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was the first Author in the Western Church of the secret Penance for secret Sins. It was, likewise, about that Time that the Church began to grant it in private to those who had fallen again into the same Faults, after they had made a publick one. For till then, as it appears from all antient Authors, a canonical Penitence only was granted, which *Tertullian* calls for that Reason, the last Hope of the Christian. Not that the holy Fathers would make those who return to their Vomiting (to use the Expressions of the Scripture) and committed the same Sins over again, abandon themselves to Despair; but they judged that they were not to be administered for the second Time, the ecclesiastical Remedy, which they had so little minded, lest Christians should be encouraged to Sin, in Hope of receiving always the Absolution; which is, according to the Bishops of the third Council of *Toledo*, doing Penance in a very ugly Manner. They order'd them to do a Penance in Secret, as much or more rigorous as the former had been needless to them, and to continue that Penance all their Life; and persevering in it to hope that God would forgive them their Sin, and have Mercy on them. It is what we learn clearly from St. *Augustin*, in an Epistle he wrote to the Judge *Macedonius*, and which cannot be controverted, without giving the Lie to all the Fathers and Councils. That outward Severity was mitigated by Degrees; and towards the End of the eighth Century, a Redemption, or rather Commutation of the Pains imposed was introduced. He, for Instance, who by the Canons was to fast so many Days, redeemed that Abstinence, either by Alms, or vocal Prayers, or otherwise. At first, that Redemption was very rigorous, and

of some Days only; and then it was neither the first nor the second Year, or that happened very seldom. But at last, that Distinction of Time was no longer observed; and it was free for the Penitents, either to do the canonical Penance, or to redeem it entirely, according to the Rules prescribed by the Bishops in the penitential Books; as we see in *Barcard*, *Ives of Chartres*, *Beda*, and in the Collection of Canons made by the Abbot *Reginon*. Some attribute that Redemption for *England*, to *Theodorus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had suppressed the publick Penance for secret Sins, as already observ'd, and which in my Opinion was extremely well done, for the Reasons I'll give afterwards. But others deny it, and are founded on the Improbation of the Bishops of that Kingdom in a Synod held 50 Years after his Death; which shews, says *M. Godeau* Bishop of *Vence*, rather a Corruption of Discipline than Establishment, at least in the Manner the Thing was practised. In those later Times were employed likewise the Pilgrimages to the holy Lands, to *Rome*, to *St. James of Galicia*, to *St. Martin of Tours*, in lieu of a publick Penance for enormous Crimes, tho' they were secret. It is what made the *English* and *French* undertake those famous Wars to wrest the Sepulchre of Christ from the Hands of the Infidels; which Wars had as unfortunate Success, as the Subject thereof was just and holy. Pope *Urban II.* in the Council of *Clermont*, wanting to engage to it the Princes and Bishops there present, made use of that Reason to invite them to it, and granted them the Relaxation of all the *Penances* they were subject to, by the Canons. There was even a Canon made of it, which says expressly, that that Voyage would serve instead of *Penance* for those who would undertake it by a Motive of Devotion, and not by a Desire of Glory, or of Profit. In the Council of *Rheims*, celebrated several Years afterwards, under *Eugenius III.* the same Commutation was made in favour of Incendiaries, who would go to fight the *Moors* in *Spain*, for a whole Year. *Calistus* the Second, in the Council of *Lateran* held in 1122, confirmed the same Thing. His Successors followed likewise that Order in the Publication of the *Croisades*; and we have Proofs thereof in *St. Bernard*, who preached one under *Innocent* the Second, the Success thereof was not very fortunate. *Louis* the Younger, King of *France*, engaged into it, by his Advice, to expiate the Sins committed in the unjust War he had undertook, against *Urbain* Earl of *Champagne*. *Paul Emyle* writes, that *Godfrey de Bouillon* undertook for Penance the Voyage of *Jerusalem*, which succeeded him so gloriously, that in endeavouring to acquire the Kingdom of Heaven, he conquered one upon Earth; and that the Memory of his Fault being vanished, nothing remained but the immortal one of his heroical Virtues. *Touques*, Earl of *Anjou*, who had usurped the Estates of *St. Martin of Tours*, punished himself in the same Manner, by going to War against the *Saracens*. In that the Church changed her former Discipline, whereby the Exercise of Arms was forbidden to Penitents, as it appears from several Canons. The pious Cause against the Infidels or Hereticks, had tempered that Rigour. She became still much more remiss, after the Journeys above-mentioned were ceased; when in the twelfth Century the Custom was introduced of redeeming the Time of canonical Penance, either in Part, or entirely, with a pecuniary Alm applied to the building of a Church, and sometimes to Works for publick Use. This Practice was called at first by the Bishops and Doctors, a Relaxation of Discipline; but People accustomed themselves to it by Degrees, and it was called *Indulgence*; which is the Epocha of the Extinction of the ancient Penance, whereof we have but a Shadow left; and which in all Probability was invented either to cloak the Avarice of the Clergy, or to indulge Sinners in their Guilt, or both; not that I would pretend to condemn *Indulgences*, or like *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, put a sacrilegious Hand to the Censer, which would smell too much of a Reformer, but I cannot approve the bad Use thereof, which has rendered them quite despicable, and has served for Pretence to the Enemies of the *Roman* Church, to reject them entirely as superstitious; though, in my Opinion, it had better answered their Purpose to have retained them; since it had supplied the Want of their Satisfaction for Sins, which

they have rejected likewise; though thought by the primitive Church indispensably necessary, as it appears from what I have said of the ancient Discipline; for if those primitive Christians, who had been instructed in the Christian Religion by the Apostles themselves, thought that our Sins could not be remitted, without making an Attonement for them proportioned to the Heinousness of the Crime; how can those who are of a different Opinion pretend to follow the Discipline of the primitive Church, unless they pretend likewise that another Christ is dead, and another Gospel preached for them?

There remain nothing more to end this Matter of the ancient *Penance*, than to say a Word of the Persons who were subject to it. After the third Century the major Clerks were not subject to a publick one; and when they had committed some enormous Crimes for which the Laicks were subject to it, either publick or occult, they were deposed of their Degree, and often confined in Monasteries, to accomplish in secret the Satisfaction which others did in the Face of the whole Church. Sometimes the Church was contented with the single Deposition, when the Sins were common. But in the three first Centuries, the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, were subject to the common Penance, and to the Imposition of Hands, when they had committed Crimes which had deserved a greater Punishment than the Deposition, or were fallen again in those, for which they had been deposed, and then there was no Difference between them and the secular. The Canons of the Apostles make no Distinction between them; when they speak of the ecclesiastical Punishments, which Penitents must undergo. *St. Cyprian*, *Epist.* 67, 68. writes, that the Bishop *Basilides* who was fallen into Idolatry, quitted the Episcopacy, and considered as a signal Favour that he was allowed the Communion of the Laicks. It was at that Time the Church made the Decree, of not receiving the Ministers guilty of Apostasy to the Exercise of their Order, and of condemning them to do *Penance*. It is said in the first Council of *Orange*, and in the second of *Arles*, that *Penance* should not be refused to the Clerks who ask for it; which without doubt must be understood of the publick *Penance*, since the Secret was done without being asked for. The Fathers, in the fifth Council, speak sometimes as if this had never been observed in the Church, and the Exemption of the publick *Penance* in the Manner of the Laicks, came from apostolical Tradition; but they speak according to the Practice of their Time. They understand that the Clerks, who were only suspended of their Offices, were not to be condemned to the publick and humilant Penalties of the *Penance*, and not of those who being reduced for their Crimes to the Rank of the Laicks, were treated like them in the Satisfaction for their Crimes. In that Century the inferior Clerks began to be exempted from the Imposition of the Hands, and other Humiliations of Penance, as were those in sacred Orders, and confined in Monasteries to make Satisfaction to God. This we learn from the third Council of *Orleans*, from that of *Narbonne*, and from the fourth, sixth, and seventh of *Toledo*.

For the Monks and Virgins whom we call Nuns at present, there was no Difference, either in the three first Centuries, or in the following, between them and the other Faithful, as it appears by the ancient Canons, which distinguishing the Clerks, join the Monks and Laicks together in their Satisfaction. *St. Leo* in his Epistle to *Rusticus* Bishop of *Narbonne*, at the Time when the major Clerks did no longer the publick *Penance*, subjects the Monks to it, who had violated their Vows. *Gelasius* the First treats in the same Manner the Virgins who have embraced the matrimonial State. *St. Basil*, before them, had ordered to the one the *Penance* imposed on adulterous Women, and to the other the *Penance* enjoined to Fornicators. That must be understood of the Time when neither the Monks nor Nuns dwelt together, as they do at present in Monasteries, but in private Houses, or in those of their Parents. When they came to lodge in a common Habitation, the Church allowed them to do *Penance* in their Monasteries, where they were reconciled with the same Ceremonies used for the Laicks. We must not be surprized at that Conduct, since they were no otherwis-

considered then but as the purest Portion of the Laicks, that they came to the Sinaxis with the others, and had no Part in the Functions of the Clericature. Towards the seventh Century, Things took a new Face, and there was no Difference between the Penance of the Priest and that of the Monk, because the Monks were admitted to the Sacerdoce with a much greater Facility than before.

MATRIMONY, which is the seventh *Sacrament* of the Catholics, is defined as such by them, *a Sacrament of the new Law, whereby a Man and Woman, who have been baptized, give mutually to one another a Power over their Body.*

They are asked, with regard to the first Part of this Definition, why they believe that Christ has made *Matrimony* a Sacrament?

To which they answer, 1. That it is the Opinion of the antient Fathers, particularly of St. *Ambrose, lib. de Abraham, c. 7.* and of St. *Augustin, lib. de bono conjugii, c. 7, 8, 15, 17, 18, 24, and 25,* and likewise, *lib. de Nuptiis & Concupiscentia, c. 10, 17, and 21.* Which Opinion is confirmed by the Practice of the Church, which is sufficient; and by the Council of *Trent, Sess. 7. and 24. can. 1.* it being not necessary that the Institution of the Sacraments of the new Law be expressly marked in the Scripture.

2. That it is reasonable to believe that Christ would make it a *Sacrament*, because as the State of Matrimony is attended with very great Difficulties, *viz.* the Indissolubility of the Knot, the mutual Cohabitation, and mutual Servitude of the Body, and several other such which cannot be remedied by a Libel of Repudiation, as it was done in the old Law; it was necessary to raise that Contract to the Dignity of a *Sacrament*, which should have the Power of producing Grace *ex opere operato*, and of conferring a Right to actual Graces necessary to marry'd People, to conquer easier the Difficulties above-mentioned; and to render that Yoke lighter, which otherwise would sometimes become insupportable; since it is written, that *married People will be sometimes in Tribulation.*

When they are asked farther, why they admit *Baptism* in their Definition, as a Condition of the Validity of Matrimony? And if the Marriage of those who are not baptized, be not a legitimate Contract? They answer, 1. That though the Marriage of those who are not baptized, be not a Sacrament, according to St. *Augustin, lib. de Bon. Conjug. c. 24.* it is notwithstanding a civil Contract, which must be considered as valid, according to the Apostle, *1 Cor. vii.*—2. That the Marriage of a Person baptized with one that is not baptized, is not properly a *Sacrament*; because the formal Ratio of that *Sacrament* is either in none of the contracting Parties, or in both, since the formal Ratio of the *Sacrament* extends as far as the Ratio of the Contract, Christ having changed nothing in that Contract, but raised it only to the Being of a Sacrament: But the Contract of Marriage, as a Contract that requires two contracting Persons, *viz.* a Man and a Woman; therefore, as a *Sacrament*, it requires two Persons who have been baptized.

If they be asked besides, if the Marriage of two Persons baptized be always a Sacrament? They answer with a Distinction; in the Affirmative, if the Marriage be legally contracted, since the Reason of the Validity of a civil Contract, and that of the *Sacrament* in the Marriage of two Persons baptized, are two Formalities which have between them an inseparable Connexion, and which must last always according to Christ's Institution: And in the Negative, if it be not lawfully contracted.

But as the Catholics consider likewise *Matrimony*, as a civil Contract; they define it as such, *a legitimate marital Conjunction of a Man and a Woman, consisting in an inseparable Society of Life.*

Note, As this State of Matrimony, which even by those Sects which will not have it a Sacrament, is considered as a holy State; and that very few of those engaged in it know the Dignity thereof; and it meets with a great many Difficulties, either as to the Lawfulness, Validity, &c. of the Contract, or after it is concluded; it is very proper I should here, for the Instruction of my Readers, and the Good of the civil

Society, solve some of the most intricate of these Difficulties, and answer some Questions thereupon: Therefore,

It may be asked (to answer those Hereticks who rejected Matrimony as something bad) if Marriage be good in itself; and what can be the End thereof?

To which I answer; that *Matrimony*, whether it be considered as a civil Contract, or as a Sacrament, is good in itself and lawful; either because it was instituted by God himself, *Genes. i. and ii.* as *Jesus Christ* insinuates it, *Matt. xix.* where he confirms the Force and Indissolubility thereof in these Words, *What therefore God has joined together, let not Man put asunder*; or because God besides has approved it, not only before, but likewise after Man's Fall; as we learn from the first and ninth Chapters of *Genesis*, where he blesses that State in *Adam* and *Eve*, and likewise in *Noah* and his Children, when he says, *Increase and multiply, &c.* It was also approved by Christ when he honoured, with his Presence; the Wedding of *Cana* in *Galilee*, where he wrought his first Miracle, by changing Water into Wine, *John iii.* Or because God ordered it for two good and lawful Ends. 1. For the Procreation and Education of Children. 2. That a Man and Wife may mutually help one another. All which we learn from the first and second Chapters of *Genesis*.

As to the End of Matrimony, it was ordained before the Fall of our first Parents for two natural Ends, *viz.* 1. For the Procreation and Education of Children, as already observed. 2. For the mutual Help of the Husband and Wife. After the Fall, a third End was added to the two former, *viz.* as a Remedy against Concupiscence; as it appears from the First of *Corinthians, c. vii. v. 2.* *Nevertheless to avoid Fornication, let every Man have his own Wife, and let every Woman have her own Husband: and lower, It is better to marry than burn.*

The next Thing we'll ask is, if the mutual Consent of the contracting Parties, be necessary to the Validity of Marriage? To which I answer, that if we consult the Law of God, the mutual Consent of the Man and Woman is so necessary, that without it there is neither a true Marriage, nor a conjugal Knot; since, according to the common Law of God, for all particular Effect is required the Concourse of the nearest Cause, appointed by God for such Effect, which nearest Cause in Matrimony, is the mutual Consent of the Man and Woman, and that ordained by the common Law of God for such an Effect; therefore a mutual Consent is so necessary to a Contract of Marriage, that without it, according to the common Law of God, Matrimony cannot be reckoned valid. Add, that Love and Benevolency could be no otherwise maintained between married People.

It may be asked next, if that Consent must be free; and what we should think of one given through Fear and by Deceit? To which I answer, 1. That for the Validity of Matrimony, the Consent must be free; which I prove by the Scripture, by the Councils, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, which insinuates that the Consent must be free, *1 Cor. c. vii.* in these Words, *Let him marry whom he will.*

By the Councils, especially that of *Trent, Sess. 24. c. 9.* where those who force others to marry are excommunicated.

By Reason; because the Goods which are another's Property, cannot pass into the Power of another without the Consent of the Proprietor, or he be forced to it by some Law; but the Bodies of those who contract Matrimony are their own personal Goods, which they mutually deliver to one another; and therefore cannot be delivered by a Contract of Marriage without their free Consent; and so far from being any Law either ecclesiastical or civil, capable to extort that Consent, that on the contrary they all require it; as we learn from the Chapter *sufficiat, 27. Quest. 2.* and Chapter *cum apud de sponsal.* And likewise from *lib. Nupt.*

I answer to the second Part of the Question, That a Consent extorted through a great Fear, is not sufficient for the Validity of Matrimony; but on the contrary, that Fear renders a Marriage void and invalid, not so much by natural, as by the ecclesiastical Right, because it has been thus decreed by the Church.

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I have said through a great Fear, to insinuate thereby that a little Fear does not invalidate Marriage; and that must proceed from an external Cause; for if it proceeds from an internal one, it does not render the Contract void; for Instance, that Marriage is not void which is contracted, after it has been proposed as a Means to avoid Death, by a Person who has deserved it for some capital Crime he has committed; the Reason is, because that Fear is not given to procure the Marriage; but the Marriage is supposed accepted freely, to avoid Death. That Fear besides must be unjustly given; for let it be ever so great, and proceeding from an external Cause, even with no other End than to procure the Marriage, if it be justly given, it does not render the Marriage invalid. This may be illustrated by an Example. A Father finds a Man debauching his Daughter, and threatens to sue him according to the greatest Rigour of the Law if he does not marry his Daughter; in this Case the Marriage is valid, if the Man consents then to marry the Woman he has debauched; and he does it with the other Conditions essential to Matrimony; notwithstanding, what is said in the Chapter *veniens*, because it is question there of an unjust Coaction, whereby a Father having found a young Man debauching his Daughter wants to kill him if he does not marry her. The Reason why the Marriage in the former Example is valid, is, 1. That the Father can lawfully threaten the Fornicator to denounce his Crime to the Judge, and sue him for it. 2. Because that Fear does not proceed so much from an external Cause; as from an inward Consciousness the Fornicator has that his Crime deserves the Punishment he is threatened with, which makes him fear it, according to this of the *Proverbs* xviii. *The Impious shall fly, though pursued by no body*, and begins to search the Means how to prevent that Accusation: Whence if he accepts the Means proposed by another, he is to be supposed to accept that Means, not so much through the external Fear given him, as through the inward one he has conceived himself.

I have said likewise, *not so much by the natural, as by the ecclesiastical Right*; because a great Fear leaves us a free Act; whence it follows, that if we consult only the natural Right, that Matrimony remains valid, since by the natural Right nothing more is required to contract a Marriage lawfully, but the mutual free Consent of the contracting Parties. Therefore if a Marriage contracted through a great Fear unjustly given, be invalid, that proceeds rather from the Disposition of the positive ecclesiastical, than from the natural Right.

3. To the third Part of the Question I answer, that the civil Law, which cannot judge but by outward Appearances, without pretending to penetrate the Heart of Man, does not admit of a fictitious Consent; though before God such a Consent is not sufficient to render the Marriage lawful.

The next Question is, *If a conditional Consent be sufficient to the Validity of Marriage, or not, let the Condition be what it will?*

Note, 1. That the Condition can be considered either as of the future, or of the preterit, or of the present.

Note, 2. That the Condition *de futuro*, on which the greatest Difficulty lies, can be considered in different Manners: 1. As necessary, whether necessary from the Nature of the Thing, as if one was to say, *I marry you, if the Sun shines To-morrow*; or necessary from a certain Supposition, as if one was to say, *I contract with you, if the Antichrist comes*. 2. As impossible, whether it be impossible from the Nature of the Thing, as if one said, *I marry you, if you can touch the Sky with your finger*, or impossible of Right, supposed, notwithstanding, that it has decreed something contrary; as if one was to say, *I marry you, if you be related to me in the second Degree*; or impossible from the Condition of the contracting Party; as if one was to say to a poor Woman, *I marry you if you bring me a thousand Crowns*. 3. As contrary to the Substance, End, or Good of Marriage; as if one was to say, *I marry you, if I have Leave to do it, or when I please, or provided you make yourself my enemy, or if you will grant me the last Favour*. 4. As

not contrary to the Substance or End, &c. of Marriage, but notwithstanding as dishonest and shameful, as if one was to say, *I marry you, if you will turn Thief*. 5. As indifferent. 6. As honest.—These pre-observed,

I answer, *that a Consent given under Condition, of what may happen, or de futuro, which is necessary, is sufficient to render a Marriage lawful for the present, or de presenti, so that it is not at all necessary to wait the Accomplishment of the Condition*; because that Condition is not commonly esteemed as if it had been added, since it must necessarily happen, as certainly existing in its natural Causes; a Condition which is to happen infallibly or necessarily, being commonly reputed as present.

I have said under Condition *de futuro*, because there is no Difficulties of the Condition *de presenti*, and the *preterito*; since that Condition exists already, and must be considered as already accomplished.

2. I say the same Thing of a Consent given, under a Condition *de futuro*, which is impossible; because that Condition is not commonly considered as interjected.

3. I answer, that a Consent given under a Condition *de futuro*, which is contrary to the Essence or End of Marriage, far from being sufficient to render the Marriage lawful, renders it on the contrary void and unlawful, which I prove by the canonical Laws, where it is said, *that if Conditions against the Essence, End, &c. of Matrimony, be inserted in the Contract, viz. if one of the contracting Parties was to say to the other, I contract with you, provided you avoid having Children, or till I find a more deserving Wife, or if you will prostitute yourself for Gain; such Contract, let it be otherwise ever so favourable, is of no Effect*.

5. A Condition given under a shameful Condition, provided it be not repugnant to the Substance, End, &c. of Matrimony, is sufficient to render it valid and lawful; because such Consent ought to be consider'd as if there was no Condition at all.

5. A Consent given under an honest and possible Condition *de futuro*, is not sufficient to render the Marriage valid *de presenti*, but that Condition suspends the Validity thereof, so long as it remains unaccomplished: Because it is of the Nature of a Condition, to suspend the Consent till it be accomplished, unless it be consider'd by the Law, as if it had not been added; therefore as an honest and possible Condition *de futuro*, is not consider'd by the Law as not added, the Marriage remains void so long as the Condition remains unaccomplished.

5. It may be asked, next, *If the Consent given for Marriage must necessarily be sensible and manifest; how, and before what Persons?*

To which I answer, 1. *That the Consent of the contracting Parties, must necessarily be sensible and manifest, otherwise it is not sufficient to render the Marriage valid*; because the Essence of Marriage consists in that mutual Consent, therefore both Parties must be convinced of it, which cannot be without some external Signs.

The Consent of the contracting Parties, at present, must be manifest and sensible, not only to one another, but likewise to the proper Minister, and to two or three Witnesses, and that under Pain of Nullity; because it was thus decreed by the Council of Trent, *Seff.* 24. which is followed in the Church of England, on this Article, and several others relating to the Discipline.

I have said, *at present*, to give thereby to understand, that before the foresaid Decree of the Council, it was sufficient at least for the Validity of the Marriage, that the Consent of the two contracting Parties, should be reciprocally known to one another, without letting it be known, either to the Minister, or to Witnesses; and then clandestine Marriages were thought valid.

3. There is requir'd, besides, at least to render a Marriage lawful, a publick Publication of Bans, at three different Times; and that according to the Council of Trent, *Seff.* 4. c. 1.

From these I pass to several very essential and necessary Questions, relating to the Impediments of Matrimony; treating first of Impediments in general.

It may be asked, 1. *What is understood by Impediment of Matrimony consider'd in general?*

To which I answer, *that thereby is commonly understood something pre-existing, which renders a Marriage either positively or negatively, invalid or unlawful; either by the natural, positive, divine, or human Right.*

I say, 1. That an Impediment is *something pre-existing*; otherwise it could not be conceived, how it could in the Beginning render it invalid or unlawful. The Reason is, because if it be considered only as something adventitious, it could be said, that it either hinders the Use thereof, or only dissolves the conjugal Knot; for an Example of the first Affirmation, we'll bring an Affinity contracted by an unlawful Copulation, after Marriage; and for an Example of the second, a solemn Vow of Chastity, though this is not received in the Church of England.

I say, 2. Either *positively or negatively*, for it is not necessary to be accounted an Impediment, that it should be always something positive, as is the Impediment of Crime, Rape, &c. but it suffices, that it be something negative, as is the Impediment of Impotency, &c.

It is said, 3. *Which renders from the Beginning, a Marriage invalid or unlawful*; because, either the Impediment is diriment, and thus renders the Marriage invalid, or Impediment only; and thus renders only the Marriage unlawful.

Our next Question on this Subject, will be, *how the Impediment of Matrimony considered in general is divided?* To which I answer, that it is commonly divided into *diriment Impediment, and into Impediment, simply Impediment*; because either the Impediment of Matrimony is such, that it not only hinders it from being contracted, but likewise renders it void after it has been contracted; and thus is a diriment Impediment; or the Impediment is such, that it does not render Matrimony, after it has been contracted invalid, but hinders it only from being contracted lawfully, and thus is only a simple Impediment.

The Roman Church reckons fifteen diriment Impediments, contained in the following Verses,

*Error, conditio, votum, cognatio, crimen,
Cultus disparitas, vis, ordo, ligamen, honestas,
Amenus, affinis, si clandestinus, & impos,
Si mulier sit rapta, loco nec reddita tuto;
Hæc facienda vetant connubia, facta retractant.*

Of these Impediments some are such with respect to certain Persons, such are the Impediments of Relation, Affinity, Crime, &c. and others are so absolutely with respect to all Sorts of Persons whatever, such are the Impediments of *solemn Vow, Order, Folly, absolute Impotency, &c.*

Now we'll enter into a strict Examen of each Impediment in particular, beginning by the first, viz. *Error*.

Therefore, it may be asked which is the *Error* which renders a Marriage void? Which to answer in a proper Manner, we must consider, 1. That by the Word of *Error* is understood an Act of the Understanding, thinking a Thing true, which is entirely false, or a Thing false, which is entirely true.

2. That there may be three Sorts of *Error*, with Respect to the Object, viz. 1. With Respect to the Substance, as when one Person is taken for another, viz. *Leah* for *Rachel*. 2. With Respect to the Condition of the Person, not that which modifies and suspends the Contract, but that which imports either a servile or free Condition, as, when, v. gr. one marries a Woman Slave, which he thought free. 3. With Respect to the Quality of the Person, as when, v. gr. one marries a Prostitute for an honest Woman, or a Woman of low Extraction for one of Birth. 4. With Respect to the Fortune, as when, v. gr. a Man marries a poor Woman, which he thought rich.

3. That the *Error* can be consider'd in two Manners, with Respect to the Act, 1. As Antecedent. 2. As Concomitant. That is Antecedent, which is the Cause of the Action; and that Concomitant which does not induce to Act, but which accompanies the Action in such a Manner, as that the Act does not at all depend on his Existence, as when, v. gr. one contracts with *Elizabeth* thinking her to be *Mary*, for he is so habitually disposed in his Will, that though he should know her to be *Elizabeth*, he would as freely marry her, and perhaps sooner. These pre-observed,

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I answer, 1. That an antecedent Error, and even a concomitant one, with Respect to the Person, invalidates or renders void, of natural Right, and much more of human Right, the Marriage contracted with that Circumstance. Because that Error destroys entirely the Consent requisite for the Validity of Marriage, since a perfect Knowledge of the Person must be the first and substantial Object of a Contract of Marriage. Whence he that contracts with such Error, is not reckoned to consent to be married, but with the Person he has in his Mind; and he does not contract with that, when he contracts with an Error with Respect to the Person, because he contracts with that he has not in his Mind, therefore, &c. notwithstanding that with only that concomitant Ignorance he be so affected in his Will, that he would not miss contracting with *Elizabeth*, if he knew her to be *Elizabeth*; because the Consent requir'd in Marriage, must be positive and actual; which consent is not such, when there is in it a concomitant Error, since there is no Position without Knowledge.

I answer, 2. That an Error, with Respect to the Condition of a Person, invalidates a Marriage; which will be proved by the next Article.

I answer, 3. That an Error, with Respect to the Quality and Fortune of the Person, does not of itself invalidate a Marriage; because that Error does not relate to the Person, but only to the Accidents; and nothing hinders such Contracts from being voluntary, with Respect to the Substance.

If I be asked what Condition invalidates a Marriage; before I answer, we must observe, 1. That it is a Question here of the Error with respect to the Condition.

2. That the Condition understood here is not properly that expressed by the Particle *if*, or by the Equivalent *provided, when, &c.* which keeps in Suspense; but that which import a servile Condition.

3. That it is a Question here of that Error which regards the servile Condition of the Person, and which happens when any Body marries a Slave, thinking her to be free; such an Error rendering a Marriage void. These pre-observ'd,

I answer, that an antecedent or concomitant Error, with Respect to the servile Condition of the Person, renders a Marriage void, by the positive and ecclesiastical Right, in that Case where he who contracts with such an Error, is of a free Condition.

Our next Question is, *which Degree of Parentage invalidates a Marriage?*

Previously to my answering this Question, we must observe, 1. That by the Word *Parentage* is understood a certain Relation of the contracting Parties between themselves.

2. That there are three Sorts of Relation, viz. a natural one called *Consanguinity*, one spiritual, and the third legal; each hereof must be explained before we proceed further.

A natural Relation or *Consanguinity*, is commonly defined an Union between those Persons, one of which proceeds from the other by a carnal Generation, or between those which descend from the same common Stock by a carnal Generation.

It is called, 1. An Union because by Sanguinity several Persons are joined together, as by a Knot, not a physick but a moral one.

It is said, 2. Between Persons, one of which proceeds from the other, by a carnal Generation, either to denote the direct Line of Consanguinity, or to exclude the Formation of *Love* of one of *Adam's* Ribs.

3. It is said, or between these Persons, which descend from the same common Stock, by a carnal Generation; to denote the transversal or collateral Line. If I be asked, what I understand here by the Name of *common Stock*; I'll answer, that by *Stock* is understood that Person from which the Descendants draw their Origin and Blood.

It is said from a *near Stock*; because those who descend from a too distant Stock, have no Consanguinity, otherwise there would be a Consanguinity between *Adam's* or *Noah's* Descendants; whence it is commonly said, that the most distant Relation is not so much to be accounted a Stock, as a Root, whence the Stock and Branches draw their Origin.

5. It is said by *Generation*, i. e. by a Production of a

Living joined with a Living, in Similitude of Nature.

6. It is said by *carnal Generation*, i. e. by a communicative Production of Flesh and Blood.

It may be asked here for a clearer Elucidation of our Definition, which is, and how many there are Lines of Consanguinity; and which is the Degree minded in the Line, either direct or collateral, and how we can distinguish the Degrees of Consanguinity? To answer those Questions.

I answer, 1. That by Line is understood a certain Series and Co-ordination of Consanguinity; and I say, that we may consider two Lines of Consanguinity, a *direct* one, and the other *collateral* or *transversal*.

The *direct* one is that Series of Consanguins, in which the Inferiors descend from the Superiors by a carnal Generation: Such is the Series in which the Son descends from the Father; the Grandson from the Son, &c.

The *collateral* or *transversal* Line, is that ordinate Series of Consanguins, who descend from the same common and near Stock, but not from one another: Such is the Series with Brothers, with Sisters, with Uncles with Nephews, &c.

I answer, 2. That by a Degree in a Line, is understood the Distance of one Person from another in that same Line.

I answer, 3. That Consanguins are so many Degrees distant from one another in a direct Line, as there are Persons reckoned in a Series, one of them being taken out. Thus Father and Son are in the first Degree; the Grandfather and Grandson in the second Degree. But the Consanguins in an equal transversal Line, are distant from one another of so many Degrees, as they are distant from the common Stock; thus two Brothers are only distant from one another of one Degree, and two Nephews of two Degrees; but if the transversal Line be unequal, the Consanguins who are distant unequally from the common Stock, are distant between them by as many Degrees, as the most distant of them, is distant from the common Stock; so that if one of them be distant of one Degree only, and the other of five Degrees, they are reckoned to be distant between them of five Degrees.

Consanguinity terminates in the sixth or seventh Degree, excepting in the Succession to the Crown; in which Case *Consanguinity* is continued to Infinity.

The Civilians call *fratres Consanguinei*, those born of the same Father; in Opposition to *fratres Uterini*, who are only born of the same Mother.

According to the common Opinion, those were not allowed to complain of an inofficious Testament, i. e. of being disinherited without Cause; excepting from the Turpitude of the Person appointed Heir in their Place. But *Van Water* endeavours to shew the contrary; and urge that the *Consanguinei* might plead Inofficiosity, even where the Testament was not made in Favour of a Person incapable.

As to the *legal Kinship*, or *Relation*, it is that *Relation* which arises from *Adoption*. Which to understand, we must examine what *Adoption* is, which is commonly defined a *gratuite Assumption of a Stranger for a Son and Heir*. It is called, 1. *Assumption*, i. e. Election: It is called, 2. *Gratuite*, i. e. liberal, and without any Burthen: It is said, 3. Of a *Stranger*, i. e. of a Person wanting that Degree of Filiation to which he is promoted. Which does not hinder, notwithstanding, a Relation from being capable of Adoption; since it suffices for it, that the adopted Person be not born of the Person who adopts him; whence nothing hinders a Father-in-law from adopting a Daughter-in-law.

With Regard to the aforesaid Adoption, you must observe that these Conditions are required in the Person who adopts, 1. That he be a Male. 2. That he be of his own Right, or his own Master. 3. That he be major. 4. That he has no natural Impotency towards procreating Children. The Conditions required in the Person adopted, are, 1. That he be present before the Person who adopts him, and consenting to it. 2. That he be younger, at least by eighteen Years than the Person that adopts him, that by Reason of his Age he may have him for Father, since that Adoption of Children has been invented and introduced *ad instar*. of carnal Children. 3. That he be a Stranger, in the Manner above-men-

tioned; having regard, however, in that Case, to the Law and Customs of every Kingdom. These pre-ob-

I answer that a natural Kinship or Consanguinity, in a transversal Line, annuls at present a Marriage only to the fourth Degree inclusively, and antiently to the seventh.

I say, 1. In the transversal Line, to insinuate that according to the common Opinion of Doctors, that Relation in a direct Line, annihilates a Marriage much farther, and even in infinitum.

2. Only in the fourth Degree, and that at present, to give to understand, that in the transversal Line that Kinship never invalidates in the fifth Degree, whether the Line be supposed equal on both Sides of the Consanguins, or Unequal. Whence I say, that he who on one Part is in the third or fourth Degree, can contract with that which on the other Part is in the fifth Degree.

If I be asked with Regard to a natural Kinship, according to what Right it has the Power of dissolving a Marriage? I'll answer, that natural Kinship has that Power of natural Right, with respect to the first Degree. For Nature has in Abhorrence a Marriage contracted between Brother and Sister, unless it be in case of an extreme Necessity, as it happened in the Beginning of the World, when Adam's Son could have no other Wife but Adam's Daughter. I say, 2. That that Kinship has the Power to dissolve a Marriage, with respect to the other Degrees, only of an ecclesiastical Right; whence I say besides, that two Infidels married in the Degrees prohibited only by the ecclesiastical Right, can, after they have been converted, continue in that Marriage, because when they contracted it they were not subject to the ecclesiastical Laws; thus their Marriage is valid, and cannot be annihilated by their Conversion.

I answer, 2. That a legal Kinship renders a Marriage void, 1. In a direct Line, between the Adopting and Adopted, and between their Children to the fourth Degree. 2. In a transversal Line, between the legitimate Children of the Adopting, while they remain in the Power of their Father, and the Adopted. 3. By manner of Affinity, between the Wife of the Adopting, and the Adopted, and vice versa, between the Wife of the Adopted and the Adopting. Observing at the same Time, that this Kinship in the first and third Degrees above-mentioned, is always diriment, though the Adoption be dissolved by the Death of the Person who adopted; but in the second it is no longer diriment, but while the adopted lasts, and the legitimate Children of the adopting remain in the Power of their Father.

We'll ask next, if, and what Crime has the Power to dissolve a Marriage, and by what Right? To which I answer, that two Crimes have the Power to dissolve a Marriage, viz. Homicide and Adultery, not every Adultery, nor all Homicide, but that attended with certain Circumstances.

If I be asked, What Conditions are required in an Homicide, that it may have the Power to dissolve a Marriage? To which I answer, that all the following ones are required; so that if one of them be wanting, the rest cannot dissolve the Marriage.

The first is a real Murder of the Husband, or of the Wife, but not that which has been only attempted, so that the Husband must kill in fact his Wife, or the Wife her Husband. For in all penal Laws it is commonly required, that the Effect should be consummated, to incur the Punishment, which is supposed inflicted by that Law. Hence it follows, 1. That he who kills another Person with Intention to kill his Wife, and the same must be said of the Wife, is not in the Impediment of the Crime. It follows, 2. That he or she that has given Order to kill his Wife, or her Husband, and has afterwards revoked that Order, and has sufficiently signified, that Revocation to the Assassin, is not subject to the Impediment of the Crime. But, say you, does it Matter much in what Manner a Husband is killed by his Wife, or a Wife by her Husband? No; for it suffices that he kills her, or she kills him, no Matter whether by himself, or by another, whether by a Sword, or by Poison, or any other Weapon.

The second Condition is, that the Man and Woman, who want to be married together, must have conspired together against the Life of the deceased Husband or Wife; whence if it happens, that one of them has con-

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trived the Death of the Wife or Husband, without the Concurrence of the other, they are not reckoned to have contracted the Impediment of the Crime, excepting notwithstanding, the Case in which in Consequence of such a Murder, an Adultery has been committed; for it suffices in such Case, that one of them has machinated the Murder, though the other be not conscious of it.

The third Condition is, that the Conspiracy may be carried on to the End, that the Husband or Wife dead, the Conspirators may be at Liberty to marry. The Reason is, because the Church has decreed that Impediment to hinder a Husband from killing his Wife, or a Wife her Husband, and afterwards marry the Person, with whom that Death had been concerted.

But what can be said, say you, of a Husband or Wife, who concert the Death of his Wife, or of her Husband, with another Person, by a Motive of Hatred or Revenge, and not with a View of marrying such Person? I answer, that in such a Case a grievous Sin is committed, but it is not properly an Impediment of the Crime, which has the Power to invalidate a Marriage.

It will be asked next, *which Kind of Adultery has the Power to invalidate a Marriage?*

To which I answer, that *Adultery* can be an Impediment in three different Manners.

1. When Adultery is joined with Murder committed with the View of marrying the Person who was accessory to that Murder.

2. When the Adultery is joined with Marriage, the former Wife being yet living, as, *v. gr.* when *Titius*, his former Wife being yet living, has a carnal Knowledge of *Mary*, and marries her at his former Wife's Death; for in that Case he is not allowed to marry *Mary*, at his former Wife's Death; notwithstanding, whether the Adultery be committed before or after he married his former Wife, provided it be committed while that former Wife was alive.

3. When the Adultery is joined with a Promise of Marriage with the Person, with whom the Adultery is committed; no Matter if the Promise be made with an Oath or not.—If I be asked, *if the Promise must be reciprocal to have the Force of a diriment Impediment?* I answer in the Negative, because the Laws require only a *Promise*, which can be such without being reciprocal. Two Things are required to this Promise, 1. That it be manifest by some external Sign. 2. That it be accepted.

From all we have said on this Subject it may be inferred, that there are four Cases in which Homicide and Adultery have the Power to dissolve Marriage by the ecclesiastical Right, *viz.*

1. When the Husband and a Woman contrive with a common Consent the Death of the Wife, with a View of being afterwards married together.

2. When an Adulterer procures the Death of his Wife or of the Husband of his Adulteress, to marry her afterwards. Likewise, when the Adulteress procures the Death of her Husband, or the Death of the Wife of the Person with whom she has committed Adultery, to marry afterwards the Adulterer.

3. When the Adulterers have contracted together, the former Wife and Husband being yet living; or one of the Parties having yet his former Help-mate.

4. When the Adulterers have promised to marry one another, after the Death of the Wife of the Adulterer, and of the Husband of the Adulteress.

But it must be observed, that this Impediment of the Crime has been established by the ecclesiastical Law only; because we find no where that it has the Sanction, either of the natural or divine Law.

If I be asked, *why the Church has decreed that Impediment?* I'll answer, that it has done it to prevent several Homicides and Adulteries; for Husband and Wife would be much more ready to procure one another's Death, in hope of a future Marriage, if the Church by its usual Prudence had not put that Bar to it.

Our next Question is, *an, and which Disparity of Worship dissolves Marriage?*

Before I answer this important Question, we must observe, 1. That by Disparity of Worship is understood Diversity of Religion, such as is found between the Faithfuls and Infidels.—2. That the Infidels

can be considered in two Manners. 1. As baptized, such as Hereticks, and Apostates. 2. As not baptized, such as all Infidels, who have not been initiated to the true Baptism of Christ. 3. That it is a Question here, if the Disparity, found, 1. Between a Person who is baptized, and one not baptized, be an Impediment capable to dissolve a Marriage. 2. If that Disparity of Worship which is between an Orthodox and an Heretick, be likewise a diriment Impediment. These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That *the Disparity of Worship between a Person that's baptized, and one who is not, has the Faculty of a diriment Impediment.* Which is proved by the third Council of Toledo, c. 14. and by the constant and universal Custom of the Church, which has the Power to decree Impediments. Since such a Custom, which I suppose lawfully established, has, according to St. Isidorus, the Power of Law, and must be taken for Law when the Law is deficient.

It may be asked here, 1. *If the Infidels who are not baptized who are married together, must be parted when one of them is converted to the Faith.*

Which I answer, with a Distinction, in the Affirmative, with regard to some Cases; and in the Negative, with regard to others.

For Proofs of the first Part of my Answer, *viz.* that *they are to be parted in some Cases*; I say, 1. That they are to be parted, when they have contracted in some Impediment, which by the natural Law, or the Constitutions of their Prince, have the Power to dissolve a Marriage. As, *v. gr.* when an Infidel refuses to cohabit with the Faithful, according to the Doctrine of the Apostle, 1 Cor. vii. 15. *But if the Unbelieving will depart let him depart, &c.* or likewise, when the Infidel agrees to cohabit with the Faithful, but not without that Cohabitation being injurious to the Creator; in that Case the Faithful can dissolve his Marriage and marry another, according to the Advice of the same Apostle, in the same Place, *A Brother or a Sister is not under Bondage in such Cases, &c.* If I be asked, *when, in such Case, an Injury is supposed to be offered to the Creator?* I answer, that it is offered when the Unbeliever excites the Believer to Sin; or when he does not hear the Name of God, or of Christ with Respect, or blasphemes it, or hinders his Family from being educated in the Christian Faith, &c.

I prove the second Part of my Answer, *viz.* that *in certain Cases they are not to be separated*, *viz.* when they have contracted without any Impediment established either by Nature, or by the Prince; and when the Unbeliever agrees to cohabit with the Believer, without any Injury done to the Creator; and when there is no Danger for the Believer of being perverted.

I answer, 2. That the *Disparity of Worship between two Persons baptized, one of whom is Orthodox, and the other Heretick, is not a diriment Impediment*; because no Law has decreed it such; whence it follows, that a Marriage contracted between two Persons, one of whom is orthodox, the other heretick, is valid.

Our next Question is, *if, and which Violence dissolves a Marriage, and by what Right?* I have no need to dwell long on the Explanation of this Impediment, since it is easily understood by what I have said heretofore, when I have treated of the *Fear cadens in constantem virum*, and by what I shall say hereafter, when I shall explain *Rape*.

We'll ask next, *if a Tye be a diriment Impediment of Matrimony; and what is understood by Tye or Ligament?*

Before I answer this Question, we must observe, 1. That by the Name *Ligamen*, a Tye, is understood the indissoluble Knot of Marriage, whereby a married Person remains obliged to the other while he lives, so as to be incapable of contracting with another. 2. That it is Question here of that Knot which arises from the Marriage of Persons baptized, and that consummated. Since we have said heretofore that a Marriage between Infidels can be dissolved, if one of them be converted. These pre-observed,

I answer, that *Ligamen*, Tye, or Knot, as considered in this Place, has the Power to dissolve a Marriage, both by the ecclesiastical and divine Laws; because it has been so decreed by the Church; and *Jesus Christ* declares *Matt. xix. 9. Whosoever puts away his Wife, and shall marry another commits Adultery.*

It may be asked, in this Place, *If a Woman can marry a second Husband, when she does not know if the other be dead; but only presumes it, because he has been long absent?* Which Question I answer in the Negative; because she must have at least a moral Certitude, that her first Husband is dead, for fear of exposing herself to take a second Husband when the first is yet alive.

It may be asked, 2. *If a Woman contracted with a second Husband believing the first was dead, though in fact yet alive, is obliged to quit the second, to return to the first?* Which I answer in the Affirmative; and say, that she neither ought, nor can ask, or grant the Duty of Matrimony to the second, after she has been informed that the first is alive.

We'll ask next, *If and what publick Honesty is capable to dissolve Marriage, and how far?*

Before I answer this Question, we must observe, 1. That it is understood here by publick Honesty, some apparent Relation, resulting either from Persons having been lawfully betrothed, or from a Marriage celebrated, but not consummated. With this Notion, we must observe, 1. That this Sort of Honesty is called the Justice of publick Honesty, because founded on the Justice and Equity of publick Honour, and on a common Honesty, and human Decency. 2. That it is called an apparent Relation, because it bears along with it some Appearance of Affinity, from which it notwithstanding differs, because Affinity is founded on Copulation; and Honesty not.

We must observe, 2. That it is asked here, to what Degree this publick Honesty invalidates a Marriage. These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That *that publick Honesty, resulting from a lawful Betrothing, is an Impediment, which ever since the Council of Trent, invalidates a Marriage only in the first Degree*; because it has been thus decreed by that Council, *Seff. 24. c. 3. de Reformat.*

I have said, 1. *Which result from a lawful Betrothing*; to give to understand, that before that Council an Impediment resulting even from an invalid Betrothing, dissolved a Marriage. Hence it follows, 1. That a conditional Betrothing has not the Force of an Impediment of publick Honesty, before the Condition be accomplished, because it is not a true Betrothing before that Accomplishment. 2. That the Impediment of publick Honesty does not result from a Betrothing dissolved with the mutual Consent of the contracting Parties; because such a Betrothing is invalid. 3. The Impediment of publick Honesty does not result from a second Betrothing, contracted after a former one, which was lawfully contracted. Because that second Betrothing is render'd invalid by the former.

I have said, 2. *Only in the first Degree*, to distinguish it from the Impediment of publick Honesty, resulting from a Marriage celebrated, but not consummated.

I answer, 2. *That the Impediment of publick Honesty, resulting from a Marriage celebrated, but not consummated, has the Force to dissolve a Marriage, as far as the fourth Degree*; according to the Council of Trent; which Impediment of publick Honesty, is not minded among the Reformed.

Our next Question is, *If, and which Affinity has the Force of a diriment Impediment, and how far it dissolves a Marriage?*

Before I answer this Question we must observe, 1. That there are two Sorts of Affinity, one spiritual, and the other carnal. As to the spiritual Affinity, it does not dissolve a Marriage; and is not at all minded among Protestants.

2. That by the Name of carnal Affinity is understood the Relation of Persons, one of whom has had a carnal Knowledge of the Consanguin of the other, for which Relation, the Consanguins of that Man are said to be in the same Degree of Affinity with the Woman thus known, as they are in Consanguinity with the Man himself. If I be asked, *in what a simple Affinity differs from Consanguinity?* I'll answer, that it differs in that Consanguinity is founded in the same Blood; and a carnal Affinity in a carnal Knowledge, fit to procreate Children. For all other Copulation capable to produce a carnal Affinity, cannot produce a diriment Impediment.

3. There are two Sorts of carnal Knowledge, in which the Impediment of Affinity is founded, one lawful, which is between two Persons lawfully married; and the other unlawful, between two Persons who are not lawfully married. These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That *the Impediment of carnal Affinity resulting from an unlawful Copulation, has the Force to dissolve a Marriage to the second Degree inclusively*; according to the Council of Trent, *Seff. 24. c. 3. de Matrim.* If I be asked, *if that Impediment, though it does not invalidate a Marriage, hinders it, notwithstanding from being contracted in the other Degrees.* I'll answer it in the Negative. If I be asked further, *if at least he hinders a Man who has had a carnal Knowledge of the Consanguin of his Wife in the third or fourth Degree, from requiring the Marriage-Duty from his Wife?* I'll answer, likewise, this Question in the Negative; because the Affinity resulting from that unlawful Copulation, has not the Force of dissolving a Marriage in the third and fourth Degree; since that Affinity which before the Contract has not the Force to dissolve it beyond the second Degree, has not likewise the Force of hindering the Use thereof, when contracted beyond that Degree.

If I be asked, *by what Right or Law that Affinity has the Force to invalidate a Marriage?* I'll answer, by the ecclesiastical, not by the divine Law; since we find neither in the Scripture, nor in the Tradition, that such an Affinity is a diriment Impediment.

I'll answer, 3. That *an Affinity resulting from a lawful Copulation, has the Force to dissolve a Marriage to the fourth Degree inclusively, and no further*; because it has been thus decreed by the Church, *c. non debet. de Consang. & Affinit.*

If I be asked, 1. *If Affinity produces Affinity?* I'll answer in the Negative; since we find it decreed nowhere. Whence we commonly say, *Affinis mei, non est affinis meus*, v. gr. because a Person has an Affinity with my Brother, it does not follow hence, that he has an Affinity with me; therefore it is not surprizing, that Peter can marry the Sister of the Wife of his Brother Paul; or James the Daughter of the second Wife of his Father Henry.

Our next Question is, *If, and what Folly dissolves a Marriage?*

Before I answer this Question, we must observe, 1. That by the Name *Folly* is understood a Privation of the Use of Reason, proceeding from a natural Defect. 2. That that Folly can be consider'd in two Manners with respect to Marriage. 1. As being antecedent to the Marriage. 2. Or subsequent to it. These pre-observ'd,

I answer, 1. That *an antecedent Folly, whether it be consider'd as perpetual or as temporal only, has while it lasts the Force to dissolve a Marriage, and that by the natural Law*; because it takes off the free Consent necessarily requisite in the Contract of Marriage. Therefore it is not at all surprizing, if the Contract of a Madman, or of a Man drunk, or asleep, be considered as void.

I answer, 2. That *a Folly which happens after the Marriage is contracted, has not the Force to render it void*; Because a Marriage once lawfully contracted is indissoluble as to the Knot, while both Spouses live.

We'll ask next, *If, and which Impotency can render a Marriage void?*

Previously to my answering this Question, we must observe, 1. That it is not Question here of the Impotency of begetting Children, commonly called Sterility, since it is certain, that it does not render a Marriage void; but of the Impotency of a carnal Copulation. 2. That by the Impotency we mean, is understood a certain Inability towards a carnal Copulation, or towards consummating Matrimony by that carnal Copulation. If I be asked, by the Way, *in what consists that carnal Copulation, and what's necessarily required for it?* I'll answer, that it consists in the Emission of the Seed of the Man, within the Womb of the Woman, for it is by that Semination that the Man and the Woman are properly said to be one and the same Flesh. Whence we may infer, that it matters not from what Part the Impotency proceeds, whether from the Man or from the Woman; and consequently it is no Matter, whether it be active or passive. 3. That the Impotency meant here, can be consider'd either

ther as perpetual or temporal. That is reckon'd perpetual, which cannot be remedied without putting the Life of the Person in Danger, or without Sin, or without a Miracle. And that is temporal, which can be remedied in Process of Time, either by Age, or the common Remedies of the Church; or by the Administration of Medicines, without any Danger for the Life of the Patient. 4. That both these *Impotencies* can be again consider'd in two Manners, 1. As absolute, *i. e.* with Respect to either of the Persons, as when, *v. gr.* the Man, because of the Impediment he has, can consummate Marriage with no Woman whatsoever. 2. As respective only, *i. e.* with Respect to a certain Person, but not to all others: As when, *v. gr.* some Women are too narrow with Respect to some Man, but not so with Respect to some other. 5. That *Impotency*, particularly the perpetual, can be considered existent in the Subject at the Time the Marriage is supposed contracted, or happening after the Marriage is contracted. These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That a perpetual *Impotency*, supposed to exist in one of the contracting Parties, at the Time the Marriage is contracted, renders it void, and that by the natural Law; because it has been so declared by the Church, *titul. de Frigidis & maleficiat*; and because that Contract is null by the Law of Nature, in which one of the contracting Parties obliges himself to do, what, it is supposed, he can by no Means perform; which is the Case of him who contracts Marriage with a perpetual *Impotency*, since, it is supposed, that he cannot grant the conjugal Duty to which he obliges himself: Therefore his Marriage is void. We may add to this, that that perpetual *Impotency* is repugnant to the primary End of Marriage: Therefore it invalidates a Marriage, when it exists at the Time it is contracted.—Whence it follows, that those who are perfectly Eunuchs, and cannot emit a perfect Seed, are unable, towards contracting Marriage; but not so, if they can emit a perfect Seed, though they appear to be perfectly Eunuchs.

I have said, *Which is supposed to exist in one of the contracting Parties, at the Time the Marriage is contracted*; to give to understand, that if the said *Impotency* happens after the Marriage is contracted, it does not dissolve it, because it is supposed, that at the Time it was contracted, it had all the Things essentially requisite.—But what is to be done, if it be probably supposed that the *Impotency* has preceded the Celebration of Marriage? I answer, that the Doctors do not agree among themselves on that Point. For some of them are of Opinion that one must presume that it has preceded Marriage: Others, on the contrary, opinate in Favour of the Marriage, and say that the said *Impotency* is to be presumed to have happened after the Marriage was contracted.

I may be asked, if a respective perpetual *Impotency* has the Force to render a Marriage void, and renders it void in Fact, while it exists at the Time the Marriage is contracted? Which I answer in the affirmative, because Marriage regards the individual Person; therefore, if with Regard to such a Person the *Impotency* be diriment, it follows hence, that a Marriage contracted with it is void.

I answer, 2. That a temporal *Impotency*, from what Cause soever it may proceed, does not, of itself, render a Marriage void; because it has been so decreed by the Church, *c. fraternitatis de frigid, & malefic.* and because it is not required to the Validity of the Marriage, that the Faculty of Generation be actual; it suffices that it be aptitudinal; therefore it suffices, *v. gr.* that the Man be capable in Time to perform the Act of Generation: But a temporal *Impotency* does not take off an aptitudinal one, since it is supposed, that in Process of Time he can perform the Act: Therefore it does not dissolve the Marriage. You must observe, that I have said *of itself*; to give to understand that a Marriage to which such an *Impotency* is annexed, can be render'd void by some other diriment Impediment, *viz.* for Want of the Age requir'd by the Church, and that under the Penalty of Nullity of Marriage.

But what must be done, say you, when there is a Doubt if the *Impotency* be perpetual or temporal: If absolute or respective?

I answer, 1. That the Church, in that Case, grants

three Years to the Persons married, to resolve that Doubt.

I answer, 2. That the three Years expired, if the *Impotency* continues, he that of the two is judged able, can marry another Person, after he has took an Oath before a Judge, that during those three Years he has done all he could to perform the conjugal Act, but could not.

I answer, 3. That the Person whose *Impotency* after a Trial of three Years, was judged perpetual, is obliged to return to the Person he was contracted to, if by a carnal Knowledge he has had of other Persons afterwards, we can judge that he is sufficiently capable to have a carnal Knowledge of the Person, from whom he has been divorced by a judiciary Sentence, and the second Marriage be contracted and consummated.

I answer, 4. That nothing ought to be determined with too much Precipitation in these Cases; and Physicians must be consulted before any Thing can be concluded.

We'll ask next, *If, and what Rape can dissolve a Marriage?*

Before I answer this Question, we must observe, 1. That by the Name *Rape* is understood the carrying off by Violence a Woman from the House of her Father: No Matter whether or not the Woman be Single, Married, or Widow; provided she be carried with Violence from one House to another, with a Design to marry her. 2. That we may consider two Sorts of *Rape*, the first when an unjust Violence is offer'd to a Maid, and she is carried off against her Will: The second when there is no Violence offer'd, and she is supposed to have consented to her being carried off; but that Violence is offer'd to the Parents or Tutors, under whose Care and Power the Maid was. This last is not properly a *Rape*, and is not consider'd as such in *England*. These pre-observ'd,

I answer, that a *Rape* renders void a Marriage contracted between the Ravisher and the Person ravished; because it has been so decreed by the Church. *Concil. Trident. Sess. 24. c. 6.*

But what, say you, if the Ravished being separated from the Ravisher, and carried to a safe Place, where she is at Liberty, consents to have him for a Husband, and the Ravisher takes her for his Wife?

I answer, that in that Case the Marriage is valid; but the Ravisher, and all those who have been accessory to the *Rape*, are *ipso jure*, excommunicated, and for ever infamous, and incapable of all Sorts of Dignities; though this does not hold in *England*. The Ravisher is obliged, besides, whether he marries her or not, to allow her a handsome Maintenance, at the Option of the Judge; according to the Decree of the Council of *Trent*.

I'll pass from this Explanation of the diriment Impediments of Matrimony, to the Solution of some other very essential Questions, relating to the same Subject, and, 1. Of those relating to a Separation of Bed, and Cohabitation: Therefore,

It may be asked, *If there can be any legitimate Cause for the Dissolution of a Marriage, as to the Bed and Cohabitation?* Which I answer in the Affirmative, according to the Council of *Trent*, *Sess. 24. can. 8.*

The next Question resulting from this Answer, is, *Which are the legitimate Causes of the Dissolution of a Marriage, as to the Bed and Cohabitation, and consequently of a Divorce?*

I answer, that those Causes can be reduced to three principal ones. The first, is, *Adultery* supposed committed after the Marriage is contracted, according to St. *Matthew v.* but not when supposed committed before the Celebration of Marriage; because nothing can be supposed then committed against the Faith given.

If I be asked, *If there is an equal Right of procuring a Divorce, for the same Cause in both Parties?* I'll answer in the Affirmative, because both Parties have an equal Right on their respective Bodies.

If I be asked further, *if the Sentence of a Judge be necessary to such a Divorce?* I'll answer with a Distinction, in the Affirmative, when the Adultery is not publick, and notorious enough; because a Divorce is a publick Punishment, which consequently must be imposed by publick Authority. And in the Negative, if it be publick and notorious enough. Though in that Case one is obliged to follow the Custom of the Country.

The second legitimate Cause of a Divorce, is the *Brutality of one of the Parties*, as when, *v. gr.* there is a Foundation to fear some great Evil; and the Reason is, because the natural Law gives every one a Right to avoid the Danger of Death. How this Separation must be made, must be according to the Laws and Customs of each Kingdom.

The third legitimate Cause of a Divorce is Apostacy, because if there be an imminent Danger for the Soul of one of the Parties, that Party is obliged to separate himself from the other.

We'll treat next of the Faith, or Fidelity, of Persons engaged in the conjugal State; and ask, *what that Fidelity obliges them to?*

Before I answer that Question, we must observe, 1. That by *conjugal Fidelity* is understood here, that mutual Fidelity whereby married People are obliged to the matrimonial Duty towards one another, and are not to have such Familiarity with Strangers. That same Fidelity extends likewise towards the reciprocal Love which must subsist between them, and towards helping or assisting one another. 2. That for a clearer Explanation of this important Subject, it may be asked, 1. If they be both equally obliged to the conjugal Duty. 2. If they be both obliged to cohabit together. 3. What should be the Love of married People towards one another. 4. If they be obliged to assist mutually one another in their domestick Affairs? These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That *married People are mutually obliged to grant one another the conjugal Duty*; according to the Apostle, 1 Cor. vii. 3. *Let the Husband render unto the Wife the Benevolence; and likewise also the Wife unto the Husband*: And because every one is obliged to observe the Law of Justice; which Law of Justice obliges married People to observe the aforesaid Fidelity.

It may be asked next, *what can be the Obligation between married People, with regard to the conjugal Duty?* To which I answer, that they are obliged to it under a greivous Sin, when any of them asks for it seriously and reasonably. I say *reasonably*, because when it is desired otherwise, *viz.* at an improper Place or Time, the other is not obliged to grant it. I have added *seriously*, and with Instance; because otherwise, one is not obliged to grant it, since it is a Sign that there is no great Danger of Incontinence.

If I be asked, *which are the Causes which excuse from granting the conjugal Duty?* I'll answer, that the most common Causes are the four following, *viz.* 1. The great Danger the Body of the Person is exposed to, if he or she grants the conjugal Duty. 2. Adultery supposed to have been committed by one of the Parties. 3. The Knowledge of a diriment Impediment, though it be not known to the other Party. 4. When the Person who asks for it, is drunk, or furious, or mad.

I prove the first Part of my Answer, or the first Cause which excuses from conjugal Duty, *viz. the great Danger of the Body resulting from the Grant of conjugal Duty*. Because every one is no less obliged by the natural Law to consult his own Safety, than to the granting the conjugal Duty. Therefore as Charity ought to begin always by oneself, it follows hence, that one of the Parties is not obliged to grant the Duty to the other, if he foresees that he is to suffer thereby. Whence it is not surprizing that a Husband or a Wife, is not obliged to grant to his Wife, or to her Husband, the conjugal Duty, if he or she know her or him infected with some contagious Distemper.

I prove the second Part of my Answer, or the second Cause which excuses from granting the conjugal Duty, *viz. Adultery committed by one of the Parties*; because if a Divorce be granted for Cause of Adultery, why should not the conjugal Duty be refused for the same Cause.

I prove the third Part, or the third excusing Cause, *viz. the Knowledge of a diriment Impediment, though it is not known to the other Party*; because in that Case the Marriage is void, and therefore Copulation in such a Case is rather an Act of Fornication, of the Part of the Person that knows the Impediment, than a conjugal Act.

I prove the fourth Part, or fourth Cause, *viz. when the Duty is required by a Person that's drunk, or furious, or mad*; because it is not asked in a human Manner.

I answer, 2. *That a Man and Wife must cohabit toge-*

ther, without the Cases excepted. Because that's prescribed by both the ecclesiastical, and civil Laws; and because they are obliged to assist one another, in the Administration of their Affairs, and in the Education of their Children; which they could not do, if they were not to cohabit together.

I have said *without the Cases excepted*; to give to understand, that there are some Cases in which it is lawful for one of the Persons married not to cohabit with the other, as heretofore explained.

I answer, 3. *That a Man and Wife are in such a Manner obliged to assist mutually one another, in the Administration of their domestick Affairs, and the Education of their Children, that the Wife always remains subject to the Husband.*

I prove the first Part, *viz. that they must help one another in the Administration of their Affairs, and the Education of their Children*, because it is one of the chief Ends of Marriage; as it appears from Gen. i. where God speaks thus, *Let us make him a Help like him.*

I prove the second Part, *viz. that notwithstanding the Wife ought to remain subject to her Husband.* Because, according to 1 Cor. ii. *The Husband is the Chief of his Wife.* Whence the Apostle speaks, 1 Tim. i. *For I suffer not a Woman to teach, nor to usurp Authority over the Man.*

I answer, 4. *That there should be a perfect Love in God between Man and Wife*: Which I prove, 1. By Scripture, Ephes. v. *Husbands love your Wives, as Christ loves his Church, &c.* 2. By Reason, because Marriage represents the Union of Christ with the Church, and the reciprocal perfect Love between both. Add to this, that without such mutual Love, they cannot support the Burthens of the conjugal State, as they ought; which is rendered light and supportable by that Love.

I may be asked, *in what the reciprocal Love must appear most?* I answer that it should appear most in the following Circumstances and Occasions.

1. That in all Things lawful they endeavour to agree, so that one procures what he knows agreeable to the other, and remove what he thinks may offend him.

2. That on all Occasions they speak honourably of one another, and hide their Imperfections if they have any, with the Cloak of Charity.

3. To abstain from opprobrious and provoking Language; and if one of them be guilty of it, the other should oppose nothing else to it but Patience and Love.

4. To exhort mutually one another to Acts of Piety and Virtue, &c.

As to what regards the Use of Marriage. I may be asked, *if the Use of Marriage be honest and lawful between Man and Wife lawfully contracted?* Which I answer in the Affirmative, and prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, 1 Cor. vii. 5. *Defraud you not one the other, &c.* And a little lower, *and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your Incontinency.*

By the Fathers, especially St. *Augustin*, throughout his whole Book of *the conjugal Good*.

By Reason, because that Act is good which is a Means ordained by God, for to attain a good End, such as is the conjugal Act; as it appears from Gen. i. and Matt. xix. Therefore, &c.

When I have answered the Question in the Affirmative, I understood, that the conjugal Act is good, *of itself*; for it can be rendered bad by Accident, *viz.* whether it be vitiated on the Part of the End, or of the Manner, or Place, or Time, or some other like Circumstances.

APPENDIX.

Of POLYGAMY.

Polygamy, is a Plurality of Wives, or Husbands, held by the same Man or Woman, at the same Time.

Polygamy is prohibited among Christians, but was allowed by divine Appointment among the Jews; as it is still among the *Mahometans*.

Major *Grant* observes, that the Males and Females brought into the World are nearly on a Balance; only abating for a little Excess on the Side of the Males, to make up for the extraordinary Expence thereof in War, and at Sea: Whence it follows, that Nature only intends one Wife, or one Husband for the same Person; since, if they

they have more, some others must go without any at all. Hence he concludes that the Christian Law, which prohibits, is more agreeable to the Law of Nature than the *Mahometan*; and we may add then the *Jewish* Law, which tolerates *Polygamy*.

Yet *Selden* has proved, in his *Uxor Ebraica*, that Plurality of Wives was allowed of, not only among the *Hebrews*, but almost all other Nations, and in all Ages. It is true, the ancient *Romans* were more severe in their Morals, and never practised it, though it was not forbid among them; and *Mark Antony* is mentioned as the first who took the Liberty of two Wives.

From that Time it became pretty frequent in the Empire, till the Reigns of *Theodosius*, *Honorius*, and *Arcadius*, who first prohibited it by express Law in 393. After this the Emperor *Valentinian*, by an Edict permitted all the Subjects of the Empire to marry several Wives; nor does it appear from the ecclesiastical History of those Times, that the Bishops made any Opposition

to this Introduction of *Polygamy*.

In effect, there are some even among the Christian Casuists, who do not look on *Polygamy* as in itself criminal. *Jurieu* observes, that the Prohibition of *Polygamy* is a positive Law, from which a Man may be exempted by a sovereign Necessity. *Baillet* adds, that the Example of the Patriarchs is the most pressing Argument in favour of *Polygamy*.

At *London* we had some Years ago an artful Treatise published in behalf of a Plurality of Wives, under the Title of *Polygamia Triumphatrix*; the Author whereof assumes the Name of *Theophilus Aletheus*; but his true Name was *Lyserus*, a Native of *Saxony*. It has been answered by several.

Polygamy is also used in the common Law, for a Plurality of Wives, though only had successively, or one at a Time. In the *Roman Church* this still disqualifies a Man for the Priesthood; if even the Person had been married but twice.

SACRED HISTORY.

SACRED HISTORY, is that History which lays before us the Mysteries and Ceremonies of the Deity, &c. Miracles, and other supernatural Things, whereof God alone is the Author. Such are the Old Testament, and the Gospels, &c.

Note. That *History* is a Recital or Description of Things as they are, or have been in a continued orderly Narration of the principal Facts and Circumstances thereof.

History, is divided with regard to its Subject, into the *History of Nature*, and the *History of Actions*.

History of Nature, or *natural History*, is a Description of natural Bodies; whether terrestrial as Animals, Vegetables, Fossils, Fire, Water, Air, Meteors, &c. which I have given in my Treatises, of *Animals*, *Botany*, &c. or celestial, as the Stars, Planets, &c. which is seen in my Treatise of *Astronomy*.

History, with regard to Action, is a continued Relation of a Series of memorable Events, in the Affairs either of a single Person, a Nation, or several Persons, and Nations; or whether included in a great or little Space of Time. Thus *Thucydides* has wrote the History of *Greece*, *Livy* of *Rome*, *Mezeray*, and Father *Daniel* of *France*; *Tyrrel*, *Echard*, and *Rapin* the History of *England*; which the ingenious Mr. *William Guthrie* is writing with great Accuracy and Impartiality: *Buchanan* of *Scotland*; *Clarendon* the History of the Rebellion; *Thuanus*, Bishop *Burnet*, &c. the History of their own Times. *Eusebius*, *Baronius*, *Ilcury*, &c. have wrote the History of the Church; Bishop *Burnet* that of the Reformation, &c.

History, with regard to its Matter, is either sacred or natural, civil or personal, or singular. I have already given the Definition of the *sacred*, and *natural History*.

Civil History, is that of People, States, Republicks, Communities, Cities, &c.—Such are those of *Thucydides*, *Halicarnassens*, *Livy*, *Polybius*, *Mezeray*, Father *Daniel*, *Milton*, *Buchanan*, &c.

Personal History, is that which gives the Portrait, or Life of some single Person. Such are the Lives of *Plutarch*, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Suetonius*, &c. the Lives of the Painters, Poets, &c. *Personal History* is the same, with what we otherwise call *Biography*.

Singular History, is that which describes a single Action, Siege, Battle, or even War, Expedition, &c.

History with regard to its Form, is either *simple*, or *figurate*, or *mixed*.

Simple History, is that delivered without any Art or foreign Ornament; being only a naked and faithful Recital of Things, just in the Manner and Order wherein they passed; such are the Chronicles of the Eastern Empire, the Fasti, Chronological Tables, Journals, &c.

Figurate History, is that which is further enriched with Ornaments, by the Wit, Ingenuity, and Address of the Historian. Such are the political and moral Histories of the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and most of the Moderns. This latter is a kind of rational *History*; which without stopping at the Shell or Outside, the Appearances of Things discovers the Springs and Movements of several Events; enter into the Thoughts and Breast of the Persons concerned therein, discovers their Intentions and Views; and by the Result of Enterprizes and Undertakings, discovers the Prudence or Weakness, wherewith they were laid, conducted, &c.—These are much the most useful and entertaining *Histories*.—To this Class may be particularly referred the *Histories* and Annals of *Tacitus*, among the Antients, and those of *Guicciardin*, *Thuanus*, &c. among the Moderns.

Mixed History is that, which besides the Ornaments of Figured History, calls in the Proofs and Authorities of Simple History, furnishing authentick Memoirs, or original Letters, Manifestos, Declarations, &c. Such are the Histories, or Collections of *Rushworth*; *M. Rapin de Thoyras's* History of *England*, and that of Mr. *William Guthrie*; the Genealogical History of *Du Chesne*; *M. de Marca's* History of *Bern*, &c. The Reader will find all these different Sorts of Histories in my *Chronology*, the Histories of Councils, of the different Christian Sects, of the religious and military Orders, &c.

But to return to the *Sacred History*, which is to be the Subject of this Treatise, which History, as already observed, is contained in the Books of the Old Testament, and in the Gospels; as I have already given the most essential Part of the History of the Old Testament in my *Chronology*; I begin this Treatise where I left off there, *i. e.* at the Birth of *Jesus Christ*, where I'll begin my Abridgment of the History of the New; and which, though it is to be contained in less than two Numbers, we shall, I hope, please the Reader as well, as those voluminous Works swelled with the Dreams of some modern Interpreters, who understand the Gospel as they do the Alcoran; since mine is to be a simple Narration of Facts, with the Sentiments of the ancient and most learned Fathers of the Church (whose Veracity has not been contested yet by any Christian Sect) on the most difficult Passages; which History will not be one of the less useful and entertaining Subjects of the whole Work; since the Reader will find it an exact and impartial Narration of the Life and Actions of their Divine Saviour and of his Apostles, illustrated with the Interpretations of orthodox Interpreters, and not in the least depraved with the Spirit of Heresy and Schism; besides, the Science of the Scriptures is a true Science, and that of the Saints. Therefore,

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Human Nature had sighed during four thousand Years for its Deliverer, and could find no Remedy to its Evils, neither in the Precepts of a human Philosophy which is nothing but Pride, nor in the Observations of the Law of *Moses*, which had nothing but Shadows, and which, though holy in itself, rendered the *Jews* more criminal, and more punishable, because they did not keep them. Besides that, its Office was, according to the Apostle, *Rom. iii.* to shew the Sin, the Cure whereof belonged to *Jesus Christ*. All Men, as *Adam's* Children, were born in Ignorance, which darkened their Understanding; in the Slavery of the Concupiscence which corrupted and weakened their Will; and in a Condemnation to a temporal and eternal Death, as due to the first Sin. Their Unhappiness was, that they did not know that deplorable State: At least there were but few of them to whom a divine Light rendered it sensible. Temples and Altars were erected to the Devil throughout the whole Earth; the most frightful and infamous Abominations were accounted a religious Worship among the Nations, so great was his Power to seduce them, and extinguish in them all the Lights of Nature and Reason. The Worship of the true God flourished only in *Judea*; and even that was extremely vitiated in the Doctrine and Manners, by the bad Example of the Priests, the Brutality of the *Jews*, always uncircumcised of Heart, and by the Errors of divers Sects introduced into it. The Scepter was gone out of the Tribe of *Judah*, and *Herod the Idumean*, possessed it under the Protection of *Augustus*. That Prince had joined in his Person, the Power of *Lepidus*, and of *Antony* his Colleagues in the Triumvirat; and having no more either Rivals or Enemies to fear, he made the World enjoy a general Peace. This State of Things marked the Time of the Coming of the *Messiah*, according to the Scriptures.

The Prophets called him the Son of *David*. To accomplish their Prediction, he chose a young Virgin called *Mary*, who descended from that Prince; but who by the Revolution of human Things, was fallen into Obscurity and Poverty. The Scripture speaks neither of her Genealogy, mentioned by *St. John Damascenus*, nor of her miraculous Birth of *Anne* who was sterile. I leave that Discourse, and that of her Life in the Temple, where, according to several Authors, she was presented to God, while she was but three Years of Age, and where she lived in the Practice of the most perfect Piety, till being marriageable, she was given in Marriage to *Joseph*; though there was no conjugal Commerce between them, that Marriage was notwithstanding a true one, says *St. Augustin*, *l. 3. c. 9.* against *Julian*; since Faith, Mystery, and the Fruit thereof, were found in it. Faith, because there was no Adultery: Mystery, because there happen'd no Divorce; and the Fruit, because Christ is born of the Woman. The divine Wisdom had order'd, that Christ should be born of a married Woman, though in fact she was a Virgin, to prevent his being reproached with being born in Adultery, and by that Accusation elude the Strength of his Words, and reject his Authority; besides the Danger his Mother had run of her Honour, whereof *St. Ambrose* says, on *St. Luke*, he took a greater Care than of his own; chusing rather that the Truth of his Generation by the Holy Ghost should be questioned, than his Mother's Virtue; and being unwilling to assert the Miracle of his Birth, at the Expence of her Reputation. The ancient Fathers, and Authors add, that this happen'd thus, in order to have *Joseph* for an irreproachable Witness of her Virginity, and that he should take Care of the Infant *Jesus*. *St. Ignatius* the Martyr, in his Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, and several other Interpreters add, that it was done, besides, to hide his Birth of a Virgin from the Devil, lest he should know that he was the *Messiah*. It must be added, to support that Thought, that the Devil seeing *Joseph* and *Mary* married together, did not apply himself to take Notice, that she remained always a Virgin, and that seeing her pregnant, he thought she had conceived like other Women.

He that was the Messenger of that miraculous Conception, was called *Gabriel*, he enter'd *Mary's* Chamber while she was alone, and saluted her full of Grace, and told her, that *she should conceive the Son of the Almighty, that God would give him the Scepter of David his Father,*

that he should reign in the House of Jacob, and that his Reign would have no End. *Mary* surpris'd at that Message, answer'd him in Terms, which shewed no Mistrust of the Truth of the Words of the Angel, but which contained only an humble Question of the Means whereby that Conception was to be accomplished, having made a Vow of Virginity. *Gabriel* assured her, *that the Holy Ghost should come into her, and that the Child who was to be born of her, would be holy, and called the Son of God.* She replied nothing else but that she was the Lord's Servant, and that it may be done to her, according to the Words of the Angel. At that Instant the Body of the Son of God was perfectly formed; and by that marvellous Conception he became *Adam's* Son, without inheriting his Guilt, which is no otherwise transmitted but by the natural Way of Generation, infected with the Concupiscence. *Joseph* perceiving her big, was in strange Inquietudes, because he knew that he had lived with her like her Brother, and could not question her Virtue, though he saw in her Marks of the contrary; so that as he could not excuse her, and being unwilling to expose and accuse her, he took a Resolution worthy a just Man as he was, which was to abandon her, in going some where else, and to leave the Judgment of it to God. In that Thought the Angel appeared to him, dissipated his Doubts, and made him change his Resolution, informing him of the miraculous Conception of his Spouse, which had been done by the Operation of the Holy Ghost. *Mary* knew his Suspicions, by the Manifestation of the Grace she had received, but would not clear up his Doubts, because in discovering her Innocence, she discover'd at the same Time her Greatness, and she did not know what God would have her do in that Occasion. There is a Diversity of Sentiments between the Fathers and Interpreters on that Subject; some of them believing that *Joseph* and *Mary* were then betrothed only; and others maintaining that they were in fact married. I follow the last Opinion, as that which I think the most common in the Church; but I do not condemn the other, which has its Reasons, its Proofs, and its Defenders among the Fathers and modern Interpreters.

A few Days afterwards she departed for *Nazareth*, to pay a Visit to her Cousin *Elizabeth*, of whose miraculous Pregnancy she had been informed by the Angel, to confirm her in the Truth of that he promis'd her. That pious Woman was married to a Priest, called *Zachariah*, and both had lived without Children, to an Age where Nature forbid them to hope for any: But God had permitted that Sterility for the Manifestation of his Power, and the Glory of his Son. One Day, while *Zachariah* was serving in his Turn, in the Temple, and offering the Sacrifice of the Incense, according to Custom; the Angel of the Lord appeared to him, and assured him, *that his Wife should conceive a Son, who would be great before the Lord; that the Joy of his Birth would be general; that he would be filled with the Holy Ghost, even in his Mother's Womb; that he would convert to God several of the Children of Israel; that he should precede the Lord, and prepare to him a perfect People.* *Zachariah* surpris'd at that Apparition, and doubting of the Favour which God promised him, lost his Speech, for a Punishment of his Incredulity; and to shew the Truth of the Things which were announced to him. The People was expecting that he should come out of the Temple, and was surpris'd that he staid so long; but they were much more surpris'd to see him come out dumb; every one believing that he had had some Vision. He returned to his House, when the Time of his Office was expired; and a few Days afterwards *Elizabeth* found herself pregnant. She was already six Months gone, when the blessed Virgin came to visit her. When she saluted *Elizabeth*, the Child within her knowing his Master, adored him, by a Leap, which was rather divine than natural. It was then he received the Use of his Reason, and the Sanctification of the Holy Ghost, which the Angel had promised to *Zachariah*. At his coming into the World he untied the Tongue of his Father, who sung a marvellous Song to announce the approaching Birth of the *Messiah*. Every one conceived great Hopes of him, whose Birth had been accompanied with so many Prodiges. He surpassed those Hopes by the Holiness of his Life, as we'll see in the Sequel of this History. *Mary* departed from that

that blessed House, where her Presence had brought so many Favours, and returned to *Nazareth*, the Place of her Habitation, to wait for her Delivery. But God had not chosen that City for the Accomplishment of so great a Mystery, no more than that of *Jerusalem*, Capital of *Judea*.

Augustus wanting to know the Forces of the Empire, caused a general Edict to be publish'd, whereby he order'd that in all the Provinces subject to it, there should be a Muster made of all the Persons found in them. *Quirinus* was sent into *Syria* by an extraordinary Commission (*Sentius Saturninus* being then Governor thereof) to have it executed. The Order he gave in *Judea*, which was comprised in that Province, was that every one should come to be enrolled in the capital City of his Family, or of his Tribe. Therefore *Bethlehem* being the Chief of the Family of *David*, *Joseph* and *Mary*, who descended from it, came thither to obey the Command of the Emperor. That Description is called the first by *St. Luke*; because *Quirinus* made another nine or ten Years afterwards, when *Archelaus* Son of the old *Herod*, having been, as I'll say hereafter, exiled to *Vienna* in *Dauphine*, *Judea* was reduced into a Province, and govern'd by a Procurator of *Cæsar*. The City of *Bethlehem* was so small, and so many People flocked to it, that *Joseph* and *Mary* could find no Place to lodge in; but were forced to retire into a Cave (some place it in the City, and others in the Suburbs) which served for a Stable for Beasts.

It was there that the Son of the living God would come into the World, and not in a magnificent Palace, to confound the Vanity of Men, and to begin by his Humility the Cure of the Evils which the Pride of the Chief of human Nature had caused. He came out of the Womb of the Virgin, as a Flower comes out of its Stalk without opening it; and instead of wounding her Virginity, he consecrated it anew by his Birth, which was to be as pure as his Conception. His Cradle was a Manger for Beasts, and he would submit himself to all the Infirmities of other Children, which are the Punishment of the Sin in which they are born, though he was free from it. An Angel declared to Shepherds who kept their Flocks in the Fields, that the Saviour was born, and commanded them to go and adore him in *Bethlehem*, where they would find him wrapped in Swaddling Cloaths, in a Manger. At the same Time they heard a heavenly Musick of Angels, who sung *Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, good Will towards Men*. They immediately took the Road of *Bethlehem*, where they found the Infant *Jesus*, with *Joseph*, and *Mary* his Mother, in the Condition that was told them. They ador'd him, and return'd to their Flocks, blessing God, who had sent at last into the World, the *Messiah*, whom *Israel* had so long expected. He was circumcised the eighth Day, according to the Law of *Moses*, though he was not subject to it, having no Sin, and coming to take off that Mark, which distinguished the *Jews* from the other People of the World, in order to form of both a new People, who should worship God in Spirit and Truth. The Name of *Jesus*, which signifies Saviour, was given him, as it had been order'd by the Angel, when he announced to her his Conception. If the Circumcision was done in the Place where he was born, or in a House, it is a Question more curious than important.

A Star newly created, appeared to the Magi in the East, and a divine Light made them know, from their Observation of that new Phænomenon, that the King of the *Jews* was born. At the same Hour they left their own Country (some say it was *Persia*, others *Chaldea*, or *Arabia Felix*, and I believe that it is the last which produces Gold and Perfumes, and is not so far from *Judea* as the two other Regions) to come to search for him, obeying the Motion of the Spirit of God which conducted them. They came directly to *Jerusalem*, thinking that they were to find that new King in the Capital of the Kingdom. *Herod* informed of their Arrival, and of the Subject of their Journey, was much disturbed, and the whole City took the Alarm, as well as he. After he had assembled the Doctors, to know of them in what Place Christ was to be born, and they had answer'd, that according to the Prophets it would be in *Bethlehem*, he dismissed the Magi, and desired them to return back thro' *Jerusalem*, that on their Report, he might go him-

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self and worship that Monarch, whose Birth was so gloriously announced. His Heart had Sentiments quite different from his Words; but God confounded all his Ends. The Star which had hid itself from the Magi in *Jerusalem*, appeared again to them when they came out of it, and conducted them to the Place where the Infant *Jesus* reposed. Though they found him in the Infirmities of other Children, they notwithstanding adored him as their God; and were the Premises of the Gentiles in their Homage, which they accompanied with a rich Present of Gold, Myrrh, and Incense. The Feast which the Church celebrates, at present, in honour of that Adoration, in its first Institution among the *Greeks*, had for Object the Nativity of *Jesus Christ*, which they called *Theophany* and *Epiphany*, that is to say, the *Apparition* and *Manifestation of God*, and solemnized it the sixth of *January*, thinking that Christ was born that Day. He would offer himself to the Temple the fourteenth Day after his Birth, and observe all that the Law of *Moses* prescribed for the Redemption of the First-born, as his blessed Mother observed on her Side all that respected Women after their Delivery for their Purification, tho' she was not subject to it; having neither conceived, nor been deliver'd of her Son by the natural Way. *Simeon*, who was a just Man, and feared God, had been assured by the Holy Ghost, that he should not die without seeing the Redeemer of *Israel*. He lived in Expectation of so signal a Favour, and was almost always in the Temple. The Spirit of God conducted him thither when *Mary* enter'd it, carrying her Son in her Arms, and let him know in that Infant who appeared very poor, the King of *Israel*, and the Saviour of the World. He sung a Canticle where he named him the Salutary of God, and the Light of Nations. Afterwards, speaking to the Mother, he told her, that *he would be to several a Sign of Contradiction, and a Subject of Ruin as well as of Resurrection in Israel*. *Anna*, the Prophetess, a Widow of a singular Piety, who was always in the Temple, and spent the Days and Nights in Fasts and Prayers, announced, at the same Time, the Greatness of *Jesus Christ*, to all those who waited for the Redemption of *Israel*. When *Joseph* and *Mary* had accomplished all the Ordinances of the Law, they returned to *Nazareth*, which was the Place of their Habitation.

Mean while the Angel cautioned the Magi against returning thro' *Jerusalem* towards *Herod*, who had resolved, being informed by them of the Place where *Jesus* was, to have him killed, to secure in his House the Kingdom of *Judea*, and quiet entirely his Mind. When he saw that they did not return, his Fear increased; and made him take a quite barbarous Resolution. He sent Soldiers into the Territory of *Bethlehem*, and the neighbouring Places, with Orders to put to the Sword all the Male Children under two Years of Age. *St. Epiphanius* understanding ill those Words; has said, that the Magi did not come to adore our Lord but two Years after his Birth; but in that he is followed by no Body. The Force of the *Greek* Text shews, that it was soon after, and the common Opinion of the Church places that Arrival on the thirteenth Day. That Cruelty (which *Macrobius* alone, among the profane Authors has mentioned, and of which *Josephus*, which is surprising enough, does not speak, tho' he forgets none of the bad Actions of *Herod*) stained that unhappy Prince with an horrible Crime, without producing the Effect he expected from it. I do not believe that one of his own Sons was wrapped in that Massacre, because there is not the least Appearance that at his Age, he could have a Child only two Years old. It was on Occasion of the Death of his other Children, *Augustus* said, that he would rather chuse to be *Herod's* Dog, than his Son. The Angel advised *Joseph* to take *Jesus* and his Mother, and fly into *Egypt*, and to stay there till he should command him to come out of it. *Joseph* obey'd immediately, and the Saviour of the World would fly before a petty King, who reign'd only by his Leave. *Herod's* Death followed soon that Flight. I have related in my Chronology of the Kings of the *Jews*, the frightful Circumstances it was attended with. It suffices to repeat in this Place, that it cannot have happen'd later than the second Year of *Jesus Christ*; and the 37th begun of the Reign of that Prince, reckoning from the Time he was declar'd King by the Senate; and

the 34th, since by *Antigonus's* Death, he enjoyed peaceably the Throne. He left three Sons, *Archelaus*, *Herod* surnamed *Antipas*, and *Philip*. The first went to *Augustus* to be confirmed in the Dominions of his Father, who had declared him his Successor. *Herod* pretended to it in Virtue of a former Will, and all his Relations join'd with him. The *Jews* had sent Ambassadors to desire the Emperor to deliver them from the Dominion of both, and allow them to live under the Governors of *Syria*. The Cause was pleaded before him, and *Nicolas Damascenus* spoke for the Princes they wanted to exclude from the Throne, having already experienced the Violences of one, and fearing that the other would not be much better. *Augustus* to adjust those Differences, gave *Judea*, *Idumea*, and *Samaria* to *Archelaus*; the rest of the Kingdom was divided between *Philip* and *Herod*, and *Galilee* fell to the last.

The Angel having informed *Joseph* of the Death of the Persecutor of *Jesus Christ*; commanded him to leave *Egypt*, and return into *Judea*. But as that careful Guardian heard that *Archelaus* supplied there the Place of his Father, he was afraid he should be Heir of his Father's bad Dispositions towards *Jesus*, as he was of his Kingdom. He imitated him in his Cruelties, which were so great at last, that the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, incapable of bearing them any longer, sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to carry their Grievances to the Emperor. He sent for him to answer the Accusations exhibited against him, and as he made but a very bad Defence, he banished him to *Vienna* in *Gaul*. The Provinces where he commanded, were joined to the Government of *Syria*. *Caponius*, a *Roman* Knight, was sent to govern them with the Title of Procurator of *Cæsar*.

Joseph chose his Habitation in *Nazareth*, a small City of *Galilee*, which was done by the Direction of the Holy Ghost, who wanted to make him accomplish the Prophecy, which says, *he shall be called Nazarene*. That Name was written on the Title of the Cross as ignominious; but the Angels gave it *Jesus Christ* after his Resurrection, as a Title of Glory and Greatness. The first Christians were called *Nazarenes*, a Name they retained till they took that of Christians. Authors do not agree among themselves on the Time our Lord staid in *Egypt*. Some of them will have it two Years, others three; and others eight. Cardinal *Baronius* follows the last Date, but we leave that Dispute to Chronologists. What we can say for certain is, that he consecrated that Province by his Presence; and sowed in it the Seeds of Holiness, which some Centuries afterwards, produced those marvellous Examples of Austerity and Piety we read in the Lives of the Anchorets, who made of it a Country of Penitence. *Eusebius* says, that at the Entrance of the Son of God into *Egypt*, the Devil, which had been so long worshipp'd there, and where he had reigned with so absolute an Empire, fled. *Origen*, *St. Athanasius*, and *Sozomene* add, that the Idols fell, according to this Prediction of *Isaiah xxxvi*. *There the Lord shall ascend on a high Cloud, and enter Egypt, and its Idols shall be shaken*.

At 12 Years of Age *Jesus* ascended into *Jerusalem* with his Kindred, to solemnize the Feast of *Easter*, where he staid, without having informed his blessed Mother of his Design. When she saw, that she could not find him among her Acquaintance, and her Relations, she and *Joseph* were affected with a Grief which could scarce be expressed. They were gone already a Day's Journey, when they returned back, and re-entering the City, went directly to the Temple, where they found him among the Doctors, asking them Questions, and answering them, in so learned, and so wise a Manner, and so much above his Years; that those who heard him were ravished with Astonishment, to see at that Age so clear an Understanding, so well instructed in his Religion, and so prudent. His Mother having thus found him, said to him, when they were alone, *Son, how could you use us in this Manner, your Father and I were looking for you, very sorry to have lost you*. But *Jesus* answer'd that tender and loving Complaint, in a Manner which seemed a little rude. *Why did you look for me*, said he, *did you not know that I must apply myself to the Things which regard my Father?* *St. Luke*, who relates those Words, adds, that they did not understand his Answer. That Ignorance did not regard the divine Condition of his Person, but

only the Particular of the Affairs of his divine Father, to which he said he was obliged to apply himself. After that Action the sacred History says nothing more of his Life till his Baptism, but only that he returned to *Nazareth* with his Parents, and was subject to them. Let us not be curious without Cause, and respecting that Obscurity, in which he was pleased to spend 30 Years of his Life, we ought not to make fruitless Meditations, under Pretence of Piety, which, though sincere, must establish its Thoughts on the Truths which the Scripture, or the Fathers teach, as the Belief of the Church. There would be a Temerity in wanting to know what *Jesus Christ* would hide. The Scripture says nothing either of the Life of *Joseph*, or of the Time of his Death; which, notwithstanding, must have happened before that of our Lord, for if he had been living, the Son of God, before he expired on the Cross, had not recommended his Mother to the Care of *St. John*, his beloved Disciple. The Fathers and ecclesiastical Historians say nothing of him: But the Holy Ghost has praised him more than any Body could, when in one Place the Evangelist says, that *he was the Spouse of Mary, of whom Jesus Christ was born*. And in another Place, that *he was a just Man*. Which few Words include a great Excellency.

Augustus, after he had govern'd alone the *Roman* Empire, during forty Years, and made his Government agreeable by wise and prudent Conduct, and procured a general Peace to the whole Earth, to those who were the most zealous for the antient Liberty, ended in *Nole*, a Life which his good Constitution had carried to the Age of seventy-five, ten Months, and some Days. His excellent Qualities joined to his good Fortune, had raised him to a Fulness of Greatness. He had robbed the *Roman* Citizens of their Liberty, but he had deprived them of a Good which they could not preserve, and of which they were no longer capable. His Beginnings were of an Usurper, and he ended as a Father; which made the *Romans* say, that *he should never have been born, or must never have died*. The greatest Harm he did the Empire, was to leave it to *Tiberius*, whose bad Qualities he was not unacquainted with.

In the fifteenth Year of *Tiberius's* Tyranny, when *Pilate* governed *Judea* in the Quality of his Procurator, *Herod Antipas* reigned in *Galilee*, *Philip* his Brother was Tetrarch of *Ituræa*, and *Trachonites*; and *Lysanias* of *Abilene*. *Caiaphas*, and *Annas*, were one Pontif, and the other Prince of the Priests, or Chief of the Grand Council called *Sanhedrim* (some Authors say that he was Vicar of the first in his Absence) when the Holy Ghost taking *John Baptist* from the Desert, where he had lived, according to some Authors, ever since he was five Years of Age, commanded him to preach on the Shore of *Jordan*, a Doctrine and a Baptism of Penitence, which made a great Noise in *Judea*. He was that Angel whom God had promised by the Prophet *Malachy* to send before the Lord, to prepare his Ways. He very well deserved that Name by his new Kind of Life, which surpassed the natural Strength. For from his Infancy he had lived in the Desert, on Locusts, which are good to eat in those Countries, and wild Honey; his Cloaths were made of Camel's Hair, and there was nothing in his Person, and his Countenance, which did not preach a great Austerity. This contributed much towards authorizing his Discourses, which spoke of nothing else but of God's Judgments, of his Wrath ready to overtake Sinners if they refused to repent. From all Parts of *Judea* People came to hear him, and several confessing their Sins, received the Baptism of Water, which he administered in the River *Jordan*. Seeing the Pharisees came to it, he treated them as their Pride and Hypocrisy deserved, calling them a Generation of Vipers. But as much as the Knowledge of their secret Sins excited his Indignation, as much that he had of that Holiness of the *Messiah*, caused his Surprise, when he saw him among a Croud of Sinners present himself to his Baptism; which was but a Disposition to that which was to be instituted by him, some Time afterwards, for the Remission of Sins. *John* wanted to be excused, protesting that he could not do an Action which he judged so contrary to the Respect he owed him, as to the Lamb of God come into the World to purify all Men. But

Jesus commanded him to obey, and told him, that he should do what he desired of him, and that he was willing to accomplish all Justice, *i. e.* bear all the Humiliations due to Sin to satisfy to the Justice of his Father, and glorify him by that Humiliation. At his coming out of the Water, the Heavens opened, and the Holy Ghost came down upon him in Form of a Dove, and a Voice was heard saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I placed my Delight.*

There is a great Diversity of Opinions among the ecclesiastick Authors on the Time of that Baptism, which the Evangelist marks by these Words, *Jesus was as beginning his thirty Years.* For some of them maintain, that he was but twenty nine Years and ten Months of Age; others, that he had entered his thirtieth Year; St. *Chrysostom*, and most of the *Greeks* after him, say, that the thirtieth Year was accomplished. The *Latins* have followed that Date. The eastern Church has always believed, that this great Event had happened the 6th of *January*, and makes mention of it in the Office of the Epiphany.

St. *John* in his Office of Preacher of Repentance, did not lead Sinners to despair, and discouraged no body, of what Condition soever, of the Hope of Salvation, not even Soldiers, whom he obliged only to be contented with their Pay, and to offer Violence to no body. But when he saw the Pharisees and Sadduces coming to him, he treated them in the Manner above-mentioned, and was not afraid to threaten them with the Wrath of God.

The Son of God coming out of the Water, which he had sanctified by his going into it, was conducted by the Holy Ghost into the Desert, where he staid forty Days and forty Nights without eating, far from the Company of Men, and conversing with the Beasts of the Earth. St. *Mark* says, that he was driven into the Desert; and that Term of conducted used by the other Evangelists, marks, in my Opinion, a very great Thing in that Retreat, which is, that the Son of God, who in receiving the Baptism of *John* Baptist had confessed himself a Sinner like all the others who received it, wanted likewise to bear all the Humiliations, and all the Punishments due to Sin. Which are the Banishment from God, a Privation of his Creatures, and a Subjection to the Devil to be tempted by him. In fact, he follows *Jesus Christ* into his Solitude, and dares to tempt him there of Gluttony, pressing him to change the Stones into Bread; of Curiosity, intreating him to throw himself from the Top of the Temple to the Bottom; and of Ambition, promising him all the Kingdoms of the World, if he would fall before him and worship him.

The Insolence of the Slave against his Sovereign could go no further; as the Humility of the Sovereign who suffered with so much Patience his Audaciousness, could not be greater, and less imitable. For instead of using his Power in exterminating the Tempter, he argued with him, and answered to the Passages of the Scripture he alledged by others, which shewed the bad Application thereof.

The Author of the Treatise called, *the Cardinal Deeds of Jesus Christ*, attributed to St. *Cyprian*, and found among his Works, denies the Reality of that Transportation; and will that it had only happened in Spirit; but all the ancient Fathers, and the universal Church believes at present that it was a true one; which we can easily conceive if we consider, that our Lord at the End of his Life was much more subjected to the Power of Darknets, *i. e.* of the Devil, and in a Manner much more derogatory to his Dignity. His Greatness appeared in that Temptation. For the Devil having been confounded, retreated full of Confusion, and was forced to leave the Place to Angels who came down from Heaven, to serve him whom the Tempter had treated so ill. The Christians in this first Action of the Life of our Saviour have a marvellous Model, to learn in what Manner they must behave when they are tempted, and to put their Confidence in him, who himself would be tempted, to deserve for them the Virtue of conquering the Temptation. Of this marvellous Example of the Fast of her Spouse, the Church has drawn that of Lent, which is as venerable by its Institution, which the ancient Fathers called apostolick; as it is holy for its End,

to all those who believe truly in him whose Life has been a Model of Penitence, though it has always been not only innocent, but the Source of Innocence for others.

After this great Victory *Jesus* came out of the Desert, as a Wrestler inured to fight against the Devil; and began to carry a vigorous War against him by the Predication of the Gospel, which destroyed all the Maxims of his Reign.

One of St. *John's* Disciples called *Andrew*, hearing his Master say, who pointed at *Jesus Christ* with his Finger, *There's the Lamb of God*, followed him, and meeting with his Brother, called *Simon*, told him, that he had found the *Messiah*; at that Instant he desired him to carry him to our Lord who received him kindly. He changed his Name of *Simon* into that of *Cephas*, which signifies *Peter*. The Day following he called *Philip*, and this gained *Nathanael*, who deserved from the Mouth of *Jesus Christ* the Title of true *Israelite*, in whom there was no Fraud.

He came afterwards to a Wedding, in the little Town of *Cana in Galilee*, where he changed Water into Wine, which was his first Miracle. Some Authors have wrote, that it was the Wedding of St. *John* the Evangelist, who having seen that marvellous Transmutation, quitted his Spouse to follow *Jesus Christ*. But this Fable is without Foundation, and none of the Antients have spoke of it. *Nicephorus* writes, that it was the Marriage of *Simon* the *Canaanite*, who was afterwards one of the Apostles, called *Zelotes*. From thence our Lord came to the City of *Capernaum*, where he staid some Time with his Apostles; and his blessed Mother retired to *Nazareth*, which was the Place of her Birth.

The Feast of *Easter* happening, he ascended into *Jerusalem*, where entering the Temple, he made a Whip, wherewith he expelled all the Sellers and Buyers, who profaned the Holiness thereof, and of the House of his Father made a publick Market. The *Jews* who saw that Action, were offended at it, and asked him some Marks of the Authority he exercised on that Occasion; but instead of shewing them the Letters of his Mission, he made them an Answer which confounded them more, because they understood of their material Temple built in forty Years by *Herod*, what he would say of the Temple of his Body, which after they had destroyed it, he would rebuild in three Days. To his Discourse he added so many great Miracles, that several believed in him.

Nicodemus was remarkable among the rest, because of his Rank, and of his Reputation among the *Jews* and Pharisees, whose Sect he followed. He came to *Jesus Christ* by Night, and heard from his Mouth Truths which surprized him at first, but which were a great Subject of Consolation to him, when he, who taught him those Truths opened his Understanding to understand the Regeneration of Man by Baptism. We'll follow the Order of the Feasts of *Easter* he has celebrated, to relate summarily his principal Actions, it being impossible to make an exact Detail of them, because of the Conciseness we have prescribed to ourselves, and of the Severity of the Laws of History.

The Son of God, ever since that Time, continued to preach the Doctrine of Salvation in *Judea*; and the Apostles baptized those who believed in him. *John* Baptist had Disciples, who by an indiscreet Zeal for the Glory of their Master, could not bear the Reputation of *Jesus Christ*; he reprimanded them for that Thought, and told them, that it was absolutely necessary that *Jesus Christ* should increase in Glory and Authority, while himself declined in both; and that they should remember the Protestation he had so often, and so solemnly made, of being not Christ, but only his Forerunner. Being in Prison he deputed some of them to him, that at his Miracles they should acknowledge him for the *Messiah*, and follow him after his Death; having retained them near his Person with no other View than to dispose them to receive his Doctrine. The Zeal he had for Justice, and the Honour of God, was the Cause of his Imprisonment. *Herod Antipas*, though he loved him, and had done several Things at his Recommendation, could not bear he should reprimand him so bitterly
to

for the Incest he had committed with *Herodias*, his Brother *Philip's* Wife, and *Aristobulus's* Daughter. He loved her so passionately, that he was not afraid to take her from her Husband, and of irritating against him *Aretas*, King of *Arabia*, whose Daughter he had repudiated. In fact a very cruel War was thereby kindled between them, and *Herod's* Forces were often beaten. But his greatest Misfortune came from the Death of *St. John*, whom, by an inexcusable Complaisance, he sacrificed to the Fury of his Mistress. The Daughter of that Incestuous having pleased him in dancing at a Feast he celebrated on his Birth-day, he promised with a solemn Oath, to give her all she would ask, was it even half his Kingdom. The Mother making use of the Occasion, engaged her to ask the Head of *John Baptist*, which was granted to her; and the Life of the greatest of the Sons of Men, was the Reward of the Dexterity of a Dancer. *St. Jerom* says, that *Herodias* pierced his Tongue with the Needle of her Hairs, to be revenged, after his Death, of the Freedom of his Speeches. His Disciples buried his Corps in *Samaria*.

Herod, being informed of the Miracles of *Jesus Christ*, thought that him he had put to Death, was risen from the Dead. God punished the Author of that Death, with a very great Severity. For *Herod* having been accused by the old *Agrippa*, at his Return from *Rome* into *Judea*, of wanting to excite a Revolt, and his Defence having not appeared satisfactory to the Emperor *Caligula*, he was banished to *Lyons* with *Herodias*, and where they ended their Days in a miserable Manner. In that Calamity *Herodias* acted generously; for the Emperor being loth to join her in the Punishment of her Husband, and causing all her Fortune to be restored to her, in Consideration of her Brother *Agrippa*, she answered him generously, that *he granted her a Favour worthy his Goodness, but she could not accept it; and that since she had been Partaker of Herod's Prosperity, she thought the conjugal Love obliged her to accompany him in his Adversity*. *Caligula* could not bear that Generosity, and banished her with her Husband, executing the divine Revenge on her who had been the principal Cause of the unjust Death of *John Baptist*, whose Holiness is so great, that it was questioned if he was not the *Messiah*; which appeared by the Deputation of the Priests of *Jerusalem*, who had a Suspicion that he could very well be the *Messiah*. Our Lord having named him the greatest, *i. e.* the most holy of the Children of Man, made a Panegyrick of him to which nothing can be added. I have related these Events out of the Times they happened, but the Sequel of Things has obliged me to it.

Jesus Christ being informed that his Forerunner was put in Prison, quitted *Judea*, and came into *Galilee*. In passing through *Samaria*, he converted, near the Well of *Jacob*, that famous *Samaritan* Woman, who was his Evangelist near her Countrymen, and he informed her that the Time was come when God would be no longer adored on the Mountain of *Sion*, nor on that of *Gerizim*, but would be worshipped every where, in Spirit and Truth, *i. e.* by the Light of Faith, and without the Shadows of the antient Figures. He staid two Days in *Samaria*, and several, after they had heard his marvellous Discourses, believed in him. He came from thence into *Cana of Galilee*, where he cured the Son of a petty Prince, or Lord of some City. He would not enter *Nazareth*, but chose *Capernaum* for the Place of his Habitation; not that he staid always there, for he used to travel from City to City, and from Borough to Borough, to preach. In his Journey into *Galilee* he called on the Sea-shore *Peter*, *Andrew* (those for the second Time) *John* and *James*, all Fishermen by Profession. The Grace of that Vocation was so efficacious, that it made them leave their Father and Boats, to follow him, who promised them no temporal Advantage, to oblige them to obey him. With them he entered the Synagogue of *Capernaum*. He cured a Man possessed with the Devil, and restored her Health to *St. Peter's* Mother-in-law, who was afflicted with a violent Fever. Towards the Evening, at the Door of his own House, he did several other marvellous Works. Some Time afterwards being asleep in the Boat of his Disciples, and a Tempest threatening them with an imminent Naufrage,

he awaked, and commanded the Winds to be still, and to the Sea to reassume its former Calm, to which they obeyed immediately. The Devils who were in the Bodies of two possessed, could not resist the Force of his Voice which expelled them; and asked him no other Favour, than Leave to enter the Bodies of the Swine which were feeding near the Mountain; which he granted, and immediately those evil Spirits made them precipitate themselves into the Sea. The Cure of the Paralytick who was let down through the Roof of a House, rendered his Name famous throughout the whole Province. But that of the Woman who for twelve Years successively had been afflicted with a Bloody Flux, and who saw it stopped as soon as she had touched the Hem of his Garment, was a Proof equally illustrious and new of his Power and Holiness. He called *Matthew* the Publican, who was in his Compting-House, and the Efficacy of his Voice made him abandon all his Fortune, to be one of his Disciples. He raised from the Dead the Daughter of *Jairus*, who was but very lately dead, restored their Sight to two blind Men, and expelled from the Body of one of them a dumb Devil, who had tormented him a long Time.

In the Feasts of the second *Easter*, since his Baptism, he cured in *Jerusalem* a Paralytick, who had been thirty-eight Years near the Pool of *Siloam*, without being able to descend into it, because he had no body to help him when the Angel descended to disturb the Water. That Miracle having been done on a Sabbath-day, the Pharisees took hence Occasion to accuse *Jesus Christ* of having violated the Law, whereas such a miraculous Cure should have made them acknowledge him for the Son of God. He defended that Miracle against their Calumny, as well as that of restoring the dried or paralytical Hand to its former Strength; and the Action of his Disciples, who being hungry, and passing through a Corn-field, had, on a Sabbath-day, pulled out some Ears of Corn, rubbed them between their Hands, and eat them, alledging to them the Example of *David*, to whom the High Priest had given to eat the Shew-bread in an extreme Necessity, though by the Law no body was allowed to eat it but the Priests. After he had staid some Time on the Sea-shore, to avoid the Fury of his Enemies who were entirely bent on his Destruction, he left the Multitudes who followed him, and retreated to the Mountain; where he spent the Night in Prayer, after which he chose twelve from among his Disciples, whom he called Apostles. Their Names are *Peter*, *Andrew*, *James* and *John*, Sons of *Zebedee*, *Philip*, *Bartholomew*, *Thomas*, *Matthew*, called the Publican, *James* Son of *Alphaeus*, called the Lord's Brother, *Thaddeus*, *Simon*, and *Judas* the Traitor. They were all of a low Birth, of a mean Profession, of a coarse Understanding, and illiterate. In that appeared the Wisdom of the Son of God, who would not, by chusing Persons of Condition and Learning, that the Success of his Gospel should be attributed to their Authority or Eloquence. But we shall see soon those Fishermen confound the Doctors of the Law, render Philosophers mute, and make the Folly of the Cross triumph over the Wisdom of the World. It was after that Election that our Saviour made that excellent Sermon of the Beatitudes, and Christian Perfection, related by *St. Matthew*. Coming down the Mountain, he cured a Leprosy, and entering *Capernaum*, he restored his Health to the Servant of the Centurion, whose Faith he was pleased to praise, seeing that he thought himself unworthy he should enter his House, but asked him only a Word which he thought sufficient to produce the Effect he desired. Coming from thence into the small Town of *Naim*, he raised from the Dead the only Son of the Widow, whom he found at the Gate of the Town carried to be buried.

The Conversion of the Woman Sinner, in the City (whom a common Belief mistake for *Mary*, Sister of *Martba*, and *Lazarus*, and for *Magdalen* of *Galilee*, though the Antients were of another Sentiment, and distinguish them) can very well be called a Resurrection. As soon as she knew that *Jesus Christ* was at *Simon's* the Pharisee, who had invited him to eat, she went thither, without considering the Reasons of Decency which should have hindered her from it. She staid behind him, and throwing herself at his Feet, bathed them with her Tears, and

wiped them with her Hair, making subservient to her Repentance, all that had been subservient to her Sins. The Pharisee was offended to see that *Jesus Christ* suffered her to touch him; but he judged of Things by the proud Maxims of his Sect, and not by the Motion of that Grace which the Son of God was come to bring into the World. He defended her Repentance against her Accuser, and sent her away, with this Testimony of having loved much, which will render her illustrious throughout all Ages. In *Capernaum* he delivered a Possessed who was blind and dumb. After which he preached on the Sea-shore, and under several Parables of the Seed, of the Zizany, of the Mustard-Seed, of the Leaven, of the Treasure found in the Field, and the Net full of large and small Fishes; he taught the Increase of the Church to the Multitudes who followed him; the City of *Nazareth* which was obliged, as the Place where he had dwelt longest, to do him a particular Honour, not only would not hear favourably his Discourses, but was scandalized at them, because of his low Birth, being thought the Son of *Joseph* and *Mary*, and because he had not frequented the Schools, where the Sciences were taught. That Injury obliged him to leave a Place where his Affection was so ill acknowledged; and the Evangelist observes, that the Incredulity of his Fellow-Citizens hindered him from operating a great Number of Miracles in *Nazareth*. But it did not hinder him from evangelizing in *Galilee*, which he over-run. As he could not alone suffice to so much Work, he sent his Apostles, two and two, to preach, and to authorize their Discourses, he gave them the Grace of Miracles. They acquitted themselves with a great deal of Piety, of that Ministry, and when they came back to him, he carried them into a Solitude to repose themselves. Five thousand Men followed him thither, whom he fed with five Loaves and two Fishes, which he multiplied by his Blessing in so marvellous a Manner, that after that great Multitude had been satiated, there were yet twelve Baskets full of what they had left. That Miracle gave him subject, being at *Capernaum*, to make that excellent Sermon of the evangelical and eucharistick Bread, related in the sixth Chapter of *St. John*.

Jesus Christ did not ascend into *Jerusalem* with his Apostles, to solemnize the third *Easter*, because the *Jews* searched to put him to Death; but made that Journey in secret, and afterwards returned immediately into *Galilee*, from whence he went as far as the Frontiers of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, where he cured the Daughter of the *Cananean* Woman, who was tormented by the Devil. At his Return on the Sea-shore he cured several Diseased and made a Man who was both dumb and deaf, speak and hear. He afterwards fed four thousand Men by the Multiplication of seven Loaves, and some small Fishes, and seven Baskets were full of what was left. In the Districts of *Magbedam* and *Dalmanutha*, the Pharisees asked him a Sign from Heaven; and instead of gratifying their Curiosity, he cautioned his Auditors against their Hypocrisy, which he calls their Leaven. He being afterwards in *Casarea*, examined his Apostles on the Opinion People had of the Son of God. They answered that some said he was *Elias*, others *John Baptist*; these *Jeremiah*, and those some of the antient Prophets: Which shews the common Belief among them of the Transmigration of Souls. Having heard that Answer, he asked them what was their own Opinion of him? *Peter* answered for them all, and confessed him the Son of the living God. That Confession, which neither Flesh nor Blood could have revealed to him, raised him to the Dignity of the fundamental Stone of the Church, under him who is the corner Stone of that Edifice, against which the Gates of Hell will never be able to prevail. To the Promise of that high Dignity, he joined the Discourse of his approaching Passion, and pronounced the solemn Sentence, which obliges all his Servants to carry their Cross after him; which Sentence has been reformed since. *Peter* could not hear the melancholly News of the ignominious Death of him, whom he had so lately acknowledged for Son of God. He followed in his Discourse the Impulse of his Affection, which was yet all carnal, and would dissuade

his Master from entering the Road to *Calvary*, after which he thirsted. He received from him an Answer which filled him with Confusion, and heard himself called *Satan*, by the same Mouth which a little before had so highly praised him. He had notwithstanding soon after the Favour to see his Transfiguration on the Mountain, in the Company of *James* and *John*; and if *Jesus Christ* had then followed their Sentiments, he had always staid there; and built three Tabernacles, one for himself, one for *Moses*, and one for *Elias*. He appeared to them in a bright Cloud, with a Face more radiant than the Sun, and in Cloaths as white as Snow. Their Conversation had no Report to that State of Glory, for it run only on the bloody Execution which was to be done in *Jerusalem* on his Person. He forbade the three Witnesses of the transitory Glory of his Body, to speak of that great Vision, till after his Resurrection. At his coming down from the Mountain he cured a Possessed who was Lunatick, and from whose Body his Disciples could not expel the Devil; and he told them, that he was of the Number of those which cannot be expelled but by Fasting and Prayer.

To give them an Example of the Obedience due to the Law, he would pay for himself and for *Peter*, the capital Imposition of half a Sicle, which was raised of each *Jew*, by God's Ordinance, for the Support of the Temple. But in doing that Action, to which he was not obliged, since he was the Son of the God of the *Jews*, and of the Temple, he wrought a Miracle. For he sent *Peter* to fishing, and the first Fish he took, had in its Mouth the Piece of Money necessary to pay for them both. *St. Hilary*, and several Authors after him, interpret thus the Tribute I mention. *St. Jerom* and *Bede*, on the contrary, believe that it was an Imposition made by *Augustus* on each *Jew*, and that it was carried to his Coffers. It is certain that *Titus* the Son of *Vespasian*, imposed on the Head of every Man of that Nation, the same Tribute which was payed to the Temple by Order of the Law. But I find the first Explication the best. The voluntary Submission of the Master should have hindered the Disciples from pretending to any Degree of Primacy among them; notwithstanding which they had some Thoughts of it, and disputed upon it on the Road, in a very ignorant Manner. The Son of God reprimanded them for it, with his usual Goodness, and calling a Child, whom he placed in the Middle of them, told them, that those should have no Part in the Kingdom of Heaven, who would not be semblable to the Child he held; that's to say, would not have the Simplicity, Meekness, Obedience, Purity, and Disinterestedness required by the Gospel. He taught them afterwards the Abhorrence for the Sin of Scandal given to the Elect whom he called little, and pronounced that we must pull out the Eye, and cut off the Hand and Foot, which scandalize, *i. e.* that we must quit all Occasions which can incline us to Sin, without considering the Utility and Pleasure we receive by remaining in it, no more than the Inconveniency and Trouble we can meet with in quitting it. This Discourse was followed by that of the fraternal Correction, and of the Forgiveness of Enemies, under the excellent Parable of the Father of a Family, who calling his Servants to their Accounts, remitted to one of them a great Sum he owed him, who immediately after meeting with one of his Companions, who owed him a Trifle, carried him by Force to Prison: Which being reported to the Father of the Family, provoked him to Wrath, and he caused that unmerciful Servant to be thrown into a Dungeon, and confined there till he had paid his whole Debt.

At the Feast of the Tabernacles, he did not ascend into *Jerusalem* with his Relations, according to his Custom, but went thither in secret. The *Samaritans* refused him the Entrance of their City, because he was going to *Jerusalem*; and that Insolence inflamed so much the Zeal of the Apostles, that *James* and *John* asked Leave to make the Fire come down from Heaven to burn that ungrateful City. He reprimanded them for that Rigour, and told them, that the Son of Man was come into the World to save, not to destroy. He was so far from resenting the Injury, which the Apostles thought had been done to him by the *Samaritans*, that a Leprous

of that City presenting himself before him, and nine other Persons afflicted with the same Malady, received an entire Cure.

During the Solemnity, he preached in *Jerusalem* with so much Efficacy and Reputation, that the Princes of the Priests, and the Pharisees, jealous of his Credit, which diminished theirs, sent Men to take him Prisoner: But they were taken themselves by the Charms of his Discourses, and returning back to those who had given them charge to seize his Person, they told them boldly, *that no Man had ever spoke like him*. His Enemies thought they had entrapped him, by presenting to him a Woman surpris'd in Adultery, for if he had condemn'd her, they had accused him of Cruelty, he who was always preaching Meekness; and if he had absolved her of her Sin, they had made him pass for a Destroyer of the Law of *Moses*, which commanded that she should be stoned to Death. The Wicked were themselves entrapped in their Malice; and the Accusers of that poor Criminal having read their Sins which the Saviour had wrote on the Dust (which is the Opinion of several grave Interpreters) they went away one after another, being incapable to resist the Remorses of their Conscience, which reproached them with the same Crime they had render'd themselves Accusers of, and perhaps of others much more abominable. The Sinner found in *Jesus Christ* a Physician rather than a Judge, and he sent her back with a salutary Advice to sin no more; which he has always added, when he has forgiven some very great Sinners. A little afterwards he cured a Person born blind, having put upon his Eyes Earth dissolved with his Spittle; which was capable to blind him, if he had had the Use of his Sight. That Miracle was so famous, that the Pharisees could not eclipse it. It caused a Division among them, some of them maintaining, that *Jesus Christ* was a Sinner, because he had done that Sign on a Sabbath-Day; and others, on the contrary, defending his Innocence, as being impossible that a wicked Man could do so marvellous an Act.

From *Jerusalem* he went throughout all *Judea*, announcing the Kingdom of God, and sending always some of his Disciples before him. He chose them to the Number of seventy-two, and gave them the same Instructions he did to the Apostles. Being in *Bethany*, in the House of *Lazarus*, of *Martha* and *Mary*, he prefer'd the Contemplation of one, to the Sollicitude of the other, to whom he gave the Praise of having chose the *better Part*. A little afterwards he taught his Apostles a Formula of Prayer. The first Part contains all that we owe to God, and which should be done to him, to honour him in the Quality of our Father, and Sovereign, as are the Sanctification, *i. e.* the Glorification of his Name, the Coming of his Kingdom, *i. e.* the last Judgment, which will put an End to the Reign of the Prince of this World; and the Accomplishment of his Will on Earth, as it is in Heaven. The second Part of that divine Prayer, includes in the Words of daily Bread, all Things necessary for the Preservation of the Life of the Soul, and of the Body. The Forgiveness of the daily Offences all Men are guilty of, being joined in it with that of the Forgiveness of the Enemies; the Evils of which it makes us ask to be deliver'd from, is nothing else but the Concupiscence, which is the Source of all the Sins which are committed, and of which the Grace of God alone can stop the unhappy Effects. That Prayer is one of the strongest Arguments *St. Augustin* employs against the *Pelagians*, to prove that all Men sin, and that none has lived neither under the Law of Nature, nor under the written Law, nor under the Gospel, without falling into those Faults called venial, the blessed Virgin excepted, and that every one wants the Grace of God to do Good, and avoid Evil. *Jesus* never refused to go to the Feasts to which he was invited, and he returned always to those who invited him the Unity of the Charity they did to him. When he did eat with the Pharisees, Complaisance was not capable to hinder him from condemning their Superstitions, their Vanity and their Hypocrisy. In the House of one of the most Apparent among them, he cured a Man afflicted with a Dropsy on the Sabbath-Day, and shew'd them by the Text of the Law that by that Action he did not violate the Sabbath. The *Jews* in that of the Dedication of the Temple, wanted to stone him;

but his Hour being not come, he fled, and crossed the *River Jordan*. Several Persons ran thither to hear him, and the Pharisees among the rest. He disputed against them on the Indissolubility of Marriage, and on the Divorce which, he says, had been allowed to the *Jews*, because of the Hardness of their Heart, against the first Institution of that Union, which does that the Man and the Woman are two in one Flesh; whence he concludes, that Man ought not to part what God has joined. On the Road he found a young Man, whom the Proposition of forsaking every Thing discouraged from following him; which gave him Occasion to speak to his Disciples of the Difficulty the Rich had to be saved, and of the Happiness of those who abandoned all Things for his Sake. He continued to teach the Truths of the Gospel by several Parables. Some antient Interpreters will have, that what he says of *Dives* is one of them; others, but in a greater Number, maintain that it is a true History. But whether Parable or History, the Rich must learn from it, that the common Use they make of their Riches, is what will condemn them at God's Judgment; and not the State of Riches; and that it does not suffice that they have not acquired them by oblique Means; but that they must expend them, according to the Rules of a Christian Sobriety, which exclude Luxury and Pleasure; and give Part of them to the Poor, whom they have killed by refusing to feed them; and who, after they have suffered transitory Evils in this Life, enjoy an eternal Happiness in the other.

Jesus Christ being on the Confines of *Judea*, received a Message from *Mary* and *Martha*, informing him of the dangerous Malady of their Brother, in these Terms; *He whom you love is ill*; they thought it was enough to let him know the extreme Danger his Friend was in, and let him act, on that Occasion, according to his Will, which was their Rule. He did not come to *Bethany* till four Days after he had received their Message. He went to the Sepulchre where *Lazarus* had been buried, and where he was already stinking. He snook, he suffer'd himself to be in a Kind of Confusion, he shed Tears, he pray'd to his Father, and after all those extraordinary Actions, he cried with a loud Voice, *Lazarus come out of the Tomb*. The Dead obeyed, and the Apostles having untied the Bands his Body had been tied with, let him go. So illustrious a Resurrection having converted a great Number of Persons, made the Priests, Scribes, and Pharisees take the Resolution to have him put to Death, together with *Lazarus*; for they could not disguise that Miracle; and all the People ravished with Admiration, look'd on *Jesus* as the greatest Prophet which ever appeared in *Judea*. Their bad Design, which was not unknown to him, obliged him to retire from among them; and he came into the City of *Ephraim*, near the Desert, where he did not stay long. For the Feast of *Easter* approaching, he returned to *Jerusalem*, to celebrate it there as the last; and to be himself our Passover, offering himself as a Lamb come to blot out the Sins of the World. *John* and *James*, Sons of *Zebedee*, were very far from the Humility of his Thoughts. They believed that he was soon going to restore the Kingdom of *Israel*, and therefore made their Mother ask him the two first Places of the Kingdom. They thought of a Throne, while himself thought of nothing but of his Cross, and of the bitter Cup of his Passion, which he desired with a Sort of Impatience to drink, to exhaust that of the Wrath of his Father. They boasted that they could drink it, but they knew neither the Bitterness thereof, nor their Weakness. *Jesus Christ* their Master, answer'd, that he could dispose neither of his Right nor of his Left, but that such a Thing belonged to his Father alone. The other Apostles were shock'd with that ambitious and imprudent Request; and our Lord took that Occasion to teach them, how much the Ministry to which he designed them, required to be free of all Sorts of Vanity and secular Dominion.

Passing thro' *Jericho*, *Zachens* received him in his House, and his Conversion was the Reward of his Hospitality; as the Restitution he made deserves our Esteem and Admiration; for it was of the Four-fold of what he could have gained unjustly in the Administration of the publick Funds; and of the Fortune he had left, he gave half to the Poor. Few Persons of his Profession follow his Ex-

ample, and those who restore what they have robbed from the Publick, and from private Persons, think to have done much, among the *Roman* Catholicks, to restore a Crown in ten thousand, among others the Restitution has been reformed; therefore few of them are truly converted. *Jesus Christ*, at his Coming out of his House, restored two blind Men to their Sight. *Simeon*, called the *Leper*, made a Feast, which the *Unction of Mary, Lazarus's* Sister, render'd famous. *Judas* condemned the Prodigality of the Perfumes she poured on the Head of the Saviour, and wanted to cloak his Avarice under the specious Pretence of the Care of the Poor; but the Son of God took the Defence of so holy an Action, which anticipated in him the Duties of his Sepulture, and assured, that it would be celebrated to the latter End of the World.

He enter'd *Jerusalem* amidst the Acclamations of the People, who heaped up the Road through which he passed with Branches of Palm-Trees, and threwed their Garments under the Feet of the young Colt he mounted, according to the Prediction of *Isaiah*. The Children who followed him, gave him Blessings as to the Son of *David*, who came in the Name of the Lord. Who would not have said, seeing that magnificent Entry of *Jesus Christ* into the Capital of *Judea*, that he was going to be acknowledged King of the *Jews*. But that Honour, and these Acclamations preceded only of six Days, the Maledictions and horrible Clamours of that same People, who were heard to ask, that he should be crucified; as the worst of all Men. Approaching the City he shed Tears, foreseeing its future Desolation. He enter'd the Temple, whence he expelled the Buyers and Sellers. He cured several lame and blind People, though the Pharisees, actuated by their usual Motives, condemned those Actions, which they should have admired. His Father, by a Voice which came from Heaven assured him to glorify him, and gave an illustrious Testimony of what he was to the *Gentiles*, who had desired to see him. The *Jews* laughed at it, but he reproached them with their Incredulity, and under divers Parables foretold them that the Kingdom of God, *i. e.* the Gospel, would be taken from them to be given to the Nations. As they did not dare to lay Hands on him, they endeavour'd to surprize him by asking him what he thought of the Obligation of paying the Tribute to *Cæsar*. His Answer was, Give to *Cæsar* what belonged to him, and to God what was due to God; and sent them away with Confusion. Though the Scribes and Pharisees were his declared Enemies, that he reproved their secret Vices, in the most terrible Manner, and fulminated frightful Maledictions against them; he notwithstanding recommended to the People to do what they said, and respect them as being seated on *Moses* Chair; which teaches the Faithful, that the Imperfections of the Pastors, whom God has established for their Conduct, does not excuse them from the Respect and Obedience they owe to them. But at the same Time, that must teach the Pastors, that they are guilty of a great Sacrilege, when they destroy the good Doctrine they teach, by their bad Example.

The Apostles admiring the Structure of the Temple, and the Bigness of the Stones, *Jesus Christ* foretold to them the approaching Ruin of that magnificent Edifice, and afterwards the general Destruction of the World by the last Judgment.

Mean while *Judas* was making his infamous and sacrilegious Bargain with the Princes of the Priests to deliver his Lord to them, and set at thirty Pence, *i. e.* about thirty Shillings of *English* Coin, the most precious Head of the World.

The Saviour, who while he lived had loved tenderly his own, would leave them an eternal Pledge of that Love in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which he instituted after he had eat the Paschal Lamb with his Apostles, at the Time appointed by the Law, which was the fourteenth of the Moon, at the Evening, where began likewise the Observation of unleavened Bread. The *Latin* Church use it, at present, for the Sacrament; but the Learned are of Opinion, not without Reason, that that Use is modern, and pretend to prove that Opinion which revolts the Vulgar, by the Authority of the ancient Canons, and of the Fathers, during several Centuries. The Examen of this Controversy is not of this Place, and the Change happen'd in

that Circumstance of the Eucharist, some Time before Pope *Leo IX.* does not at all wound the Truth thereof; and for that Subject the *Latin* Church would not make a Divorce with the *Greek*, since it is not a Question of an essential Dogma, but of a ceremonial Custom, for which the Unity ought not be broken. Our Lord instituting the Sacrament of his Body, would do that Action, which is the End, and the Abregee of all those of his Life, with particular Circumstances, to render it more venerable.—First he chose a Place which was handsomely adorned. Some Authors have said, but without Foundation, that it was the House of *St. John the Evangelist*, or of another *John*, Son of *Mary*. But the sacred Text is repugnant to that Imagination; for as to *St. John the Evangelist*, it is clearly marked that he was sent with *St. Peter* to meet the Man who was to shew them the House where the Lord had commanded them to prepare the Passover.

Having eat the Paschal Lamb (some Authors say that it was before) *Jesus Christ* rose from Table, and quitting one of his Robes, he tied a Cloth round him, and went about to wash the Feet of his Apostles. He would begin with *Peter*; but his Humility resisted to it at first, and he could not be persuaded to suffer that his Master should thus demean himself; till he was threatened, that if he should not wash his Feet, he would have no Part in his Kingdom: That Action so humble, and done with so much Love, could not soften *Judas*, nor make him change his Design. That Ceremony ended, whereby he taught the Priests, and the Faithful, the Purity of Heart which is necessary to receive, or participate worthily of the Sacrament he was going to institute; he took his Place at Table, and eat the natural and common Supper: In Eating, he said that one of them was to betray him. *St. John* who reposed in his Bosom (the *Jews* used to eat lying on little Beds in the *Roman* Fashion) *i. e.* who was nearest to him, to gratify *St. Peter's* Curiosity, whom that Discourse afflicted much, took the Liberty to ask, who was the Wretch of the Company, who had formed so execrable a Design. Our Lord would not name him aloud, to spare the Honour of him, who would not spare his Life; but designed him, by giving him a Bit dipped in a Dish; it was, perhaps, that of the bitter Lattuces, says Cardinal *Baronius*, which, according to the Ritual of the *Jews*, was served at the second Course, in the Ceremony of the Passover; in which the Chief of the Family dipped a Bit of the unleavened Bread: The Traitor received it from his Hand, and at that very Instant the Devil entered his Body, either by a real Possession, or by a new Rage wherewith he filled his Soul, to make him execute quickly the Project of his Treason.

The natural Repast being ended (several Authors place the Washing of the Feet, abovementioned, immediately after) he took the Bread, returned Thanks to God his Father, blessed it, brake it, and giving it to his Apostles, said to them, and at the same Time did what he said: *This is my Body which is given for you, do this in Remembrance of me*: Afterwards he took the Cup, and having returned Thanks, he gave it to them, and said; *Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for the Remission of Sins*. The Truth succeeded the Figure; this was a new Food to maintain a new Life, and the Servants were fed with the Flesh of their Masters. *Judas* was made, with the rest, Partaker of that divine Meat, but it became a Poison for him; for no sooner had he received it, but he rose from Table, to go and execute his abominable Bargain; shewing the Truth of what *St. Paul* has said since, *1 Cor. xi.* that whoever eats and drinks unworthily the Body and Blood of the Lord, is guilty of delivering his Body and his Blood, and eats and drinks his own Judgment.

After the Institution of that great Mystery, *Jesus Christ* made that marvellous Discourse, which *St. John* relates in three Chapters of his Gospel. He speaks divinely of his Unity with his Father, and of that whereinto he introduces Christians, which takes them from their own Being, that is a divided Being, to establish them in God's Being, and make them one with him.

When *Jesus Christ* had ended that Discourse, and sung the Hymn of Thanksgiving, which was said after the Celebration of the Passover, he quitted the City, and

went

went on the Mount of *Olivet*, where there was a Garden, which he entered with *Peter*, *John* and *James*, having left the other Apostles further off: He left these likewise at some Distance from him, and prostrating himself on the Ground to pray, he enter'd into an Agony which was so strong, that it forced out of his Body Drops (the *Greek Word* signifies Clods) of Blood and Water. He asked at three different Times, his Father, that the Cup of his Passion should pass far from him; having left his Soul in the natural Sentiments of Fear of that frightful Death, which he was soon to suffer, and suspending the ordinary Influences of the Divinity, to render it capable of being sorrowful to Death. But his Prayer, though proceeding from a great Fervency, was always accompanied with a perfect Submission to the Will of his Father. An Angel descending from Heaven comforted him, who is the Strength of the Angels themselves; and who at the Time of his Humiliation wanted to bear this likewise, of receiving Consolation from one of his Ministers. He rose from the Ground, and went to meet the Soldiers, who were coming to take him. He could very well have saved himself from their Hands, since with a single Word he struck them down to the Ground. *Judas* appeared at their Head; and a Kiss was the Signal to make him known. He whom he betrayed with so much Insolence, and Rage, would not refuse him to touch his sacred Mouth, and was contented with reproaching him his Crime in a Manner which would have melted a Tyger. *Peter* drew his Sword to defend him, and cut off an Ear of the Servant of the High Priests. *Jesus Christ* restored it immediately to its Place, and commanded his Apostle to sheath his Sword, since he did not want to be defended in that Manner; he who could have commanded, if he had been willing, Legions of Angels in his Defence: Then all the Apostles abandoned him. He was conducted first to *Anna's* House, and afterwards to that of *Caiaphas* his Son-in-law, who was sovereign Pontiff. There he received a Slap on the Face from the Hand of one of the Ministers, and contented himself with reproaching the Person who had done him that atrocious Injury, that he was in the wrong to strike him thus without any Subject. In fact, he had answered *Caiaphas* with as much Modesty as Truth, on the Doctrine he had preached publicly, which the People could witness.

While they examined him, *Peter*, who consulting his Love rather than his Strength, had boasted that he would die rather than deny him, denied him three Times, and added Oaths and Imprecations, by a Weakness which serves for Example to the whole Church, to make those who think themselves the best founded on Virtue, live in a great Mistrust of their Strength; and to teach them what they are capable to do when they trust to themselves, and when to punish their Presumption, and make them know their own Weakness, the Grace forsakes them. A Look of *Jesus Christ* restored to him the Light which the Fear of Death had made him lose; and shewed him the Horror of his Crime. He quitted that unfortunate Palace, and by a Flood of bitter Tears, which did run to his Death, he began to witness the Truth of his Repentance. He gave a marvellous Example of a sincere Repentance in not going to throw himself at the Feet of his Master, to ask for Forgiveness, so soon as he knew his Offence; which had been, says *St. Ambrose*, doing him a Kind of Injury; but staying out, and wanting by the Punishment of that Separation, very rigorous to his Love, to expiate the Heinousness of his Fault.

Caiaphas having asked our Lord, in the Name of the Living God, If he was Christ, the Son of God? and hearing him answer clearly that he was, tore his Robe, as if he had heard an execrable Blasphemy, without considering that such a Thing was forbidden him by the Law, *Levit.* 10. and 24. All the Assistants were seized with the same Fury, and pronounced that he deserved Death. When they had condemned him with that Precipitation and Injustice, they did spit on his Face, and left him in the Hands of Soldiers and Servants, who, during the whole Night, treated him in such a barbarous Manner, that the divine Providence thought proper to draw a Veil on that bloody Scene, lest the Knowledge thereof should have thrown all the Created Beings into

Convulsions. The next Morning the Priests, Doctors, and Scribes, having held a Council, conducted him to *Pilate*, who was Procurator of *Cesar* in *Judea*, that he should have their Sentence executed. He endeavoured to save him, perceiving very well that the Envy of his Accusers was all his Crime. Having heard them accuse him of being a *Galilean*, and of exciting the People to Sedition, from *Galilee* to *Judea*, he sent him to *Herod*, who was then at *Jerusalem*, as a Criminal under his Jurisdiction. That Prince, who had a long while wanted to see him, asked him several curious Questions, to which he returned no Answer. His Silence made *Herod* and all his Court laugh at him; and he ordered he should be clothed with a white Robe (the *Greek Word* of the Evangelists signifies shining) the same as was given to Fools, and in that Dress sent him back to *Pilate*, with whom he was reconciled, on account of the Civility he received from him in that Occasion. The *Jews* continued to press *Pilate* to have *Jesus* put to Death. To excuse himself from it, he proposed them to forgive him, according to Custom, in the Solemnity of the Passover. But by an execrable Impiety, they preferred to him a notorious Thief, called *Barabbas*, who was then Prisoner for a Murder he had committed in a popular Emotion. That weak Judge thinking himself obliged to give them some Satisfaction, caused him to be whipped in a most cruel Manner. The Soldiers, who very likely were paid by the *Jews*, to exercise on him all Sorts of Barbarities and Injuries, tore his sacred Body in a horrible Manner, and made but one single Wound of it. To that Torment they added the Ignominy of the Robe, or military Cassock of Purple they cloathed him with, of the Reed which they put in his Hand, as a ridiculous Sceptre, and of the Thorns they crowned him with. In that Garb *Pilate* shewed him to the People. The Blood which run from his Head and from all the other Parts of his Body, served only to render their Rage greater, and all with one Voice cried, *Let him be crucified*. The President resisted still; but when he was attacked by a Reason of State, and he had heard these Words: *If thou release him thou art not Cesar's Friend, because he makes himself a King*; he relented, and condemned him by a precipitate Sentence to die on the Cross, violating thereby the Ordinance of the Emperor, and the Laws of the *Jews* at the same Time; for by that the Execution of Criminals was to be deferred for ten Days after they had been condemned, and the Supplice of the Cross was lately for notorious Thieves. By this the Crime *Jesus Christ* was accused of, had the Lapidation for its Punishment. But by an ineffable Counsel of the divine Wisdom, the God of Innocence, would die of the most ignominious of all Deaths, and suffer the Punishment due to *Barabbas*, whom the *Jews* had preferred to him.

Simon the *Cyrenian* helped him to carry his Cross, which he could not do alone, because of his Weakness caused by a prodigious Effusion of his sacred Blood in his Scourging. On his Way he found several Women whom their Compassion for his deplorable Condition, made to weep bitterly. He advised them not to shed Tears for him; but rather for themselves, and the City of *Jerusalem*, which should soon feel the divine Revenge for the Parricide they committed on his Person. He was conducted as far as Mount *Calvary*, very little distant from the City, and the Place appointed for such Executions. Most of the Fathers have thought that *Adam* was buried there. For a greater Infamy, he was placed between two Thieves. At first both blasphemed him; but one of them being enlightened by a sudden and marvellous Light, acknowledged him for his God; his Companion, on the contrary, continuing to blaspheme; and while his Apostles had abandoned him, he asked him Part in his Kingdom, tho' he saw him in a Condition, in which he seemed incapable of saving himself from the Hand of his Enemies. So great a Faith was not deceived, and as he had believed, he entered the eternal Empire of that living God, whom he had so gloriously confessed. That Forgiveness would give Hope to the greatest Sinners; but it must not serve us for Pretence to defer our Repentance to the Hour of our Death, because it is rather a Miracle of the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, than a regular Example of his Conduct for those

those whose Life is a continual Series of Crimes, to whom the Church does not refuse the Penance they ask for, when they are going to die, but to whom likewise she does not give any Security. *Jesus Christ* being on the Cross, said that he thirsted, and was presented with Vinegar, of which he would not drink. *St. Mark* speaks of a Wine of Myrrh which Interpreters are much puzzled to find out. *St. Matthew* mentions a Wine mixed with Gall; which is a sort of composed Drink, which they used to give the Criminals who died of a violent Death, either to stupify them, or to strengthen their Heart. I leave the Questions formed on that Subject, which has been learnedly agitated between Cardinal *Baronius* and *M. le Febvre* Preceptor to *Louis XIII.* King of *France*. I consider them as much more curious than useful, and they would interrupt the Narration of the Death of *Jesus Christ*, wherewith nothing should be mixed capable to divert the Mind of the Reader from the Attention due to so holy a Thing, and so important to our Salvation.

The Son of God seeing his blessed Mother, and the Disciple he loved, at the Foot of the Cross, said to her, *There's thy Son*, pointing to *St. John*; and to him, *Here's thy Mother*. And from that Time he took her under his particular Care, and into his House. *Magdalen*; and some other pious Women, who had followed him from *Galilee* to serve him, did not abandon him till he had delivered up his blessed Soul into the Hands of his Father. He did it with a great Cry (*St. Paul* adds with Tears) to shew that he died rather by the Strength of his Love, and by his own proper Will, submitted to that of his Father, than by the Violence of the Torments. He prayed before for his Executioners, as for Men ignorant of what they did; though their Ignorance did not excuse them notwithstanding from being guilty; since they wanted Forgiveness, which supposes a Crime deserving Punishment. The Son of God is commonly painted fastened with three Nails, but I am of Opinion that there was four Nails, two for the Hands, and two for the Feet; and that from the Middle of the Cross came out a Piece of Wood in Form of a Seat, on which his Body rested. Otherwise the Weight had carried it down, and it could not have remained nailed, as the Texts of the Evangelists informs us it did, till it was taken down. The Soldiers divided his Vestments, and for his Coat, which was without Seam, they did cast Lots, that the Prophecy of *David*, which had marked that Circumstance, in precise Terms, should be accomplished.

Nature shewed itself sensible of the Death of its Author, while the Princes of the Priests, the Scribes, and the Pharisees rejoiced at it, and loaded him with atrocious Maledictions. The Sun lost its Light by a miraculous Eclipse, since the Moon could not cause it by the Interposition of its Body, being full: That Obscurity did not only cover *Judea*, but spread over the whole Earth. *Origen* writing against *Celsus* the Philosopher, makes use of that Event contrary to the Law of Nature, and alledges the Authority of *Phlegon* the Emperor *Adrian's* Freedman, for a Proof which could not be suspicious to him. *Tertullian*, in his Apology, speaks of it, as of a certain Thing. *Eusebius* relates his own Words, which witness besides, that at the same Time the Earthquake mentioned likewise by the Evangelists, threw down several Houses in the City of *Nice* in *Bithynia*. *Dionysius* called the *Areopagite* (I speak according to the common Opinion) observed that marvellous Eclipse, being at *Heliopolis* with *Apollophanes*, which contributed much to his Conversion, when he learned from *St. Paul* the History of the Death of *Jesus Christ*. Besides that Prodigy, which alone could be sufficient to discover the Divinity of the Son of God, there happened several other very great ones. The Veil, which parted the Sanctuary from the rest of the Temple, was rent in two. The Monuments were opened, and several Dead appeared to divers Persons. By the Earthquake the Stones on *Calvary* were broke in two. *St. Cyril* of *Jerusalem* says, *Catech.* 3. that in his Time several of them were yet seen in that Condition. Some Authors write, that in divers Places several Mountains were thrown down, but this is not well proved, no more than the Narration of *Plutarch*, of that Voice which cried to certain Mariners passing near an Isle, that *the grand Pan*

was dead. *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* have wrote, that at the same Time Voices were heard in the Temple, saying, *Let's go out of this Place*. But *Josephus* referred that Prodigy to the Time of the Siege of *Jerusalem*. Those related by the Gospel suffice to strengthen our Faith. They touch'd so sensibly the Centurion, and the Soldiers who had assisted at that bloody Execution, that they acknowledged for the Son of the true God him whom they had seen expire on the Cross. The *Jews* intreated *Pilate*, that he should have his Legs broke, that his Body should not remain on the Cross on the Sabbath-day, which happened the next Day. He granted them their Request; but when those who were to execute his Order, having broke the two Thieves, came to him, they found him dead; so that that Injury was not done to him; according to the Prophecy, which said, *you shall not break one of his Bones*. A Soldier having opened his Side with a Lance, there run from it Blood and Water; the marvellous Symbol of the Sacraments of the Church, which did flow from that Wound which Love had made, rather than the Steel of the Soldier, according to the Expression of the antient Fathers.

Joseph of *Arimathea*, who, while *Jesus* was living, had been one of his secret Disciples, and had not consented to his Condemnation, had the Courage to ask his Body of *Pilate*, which was granted. He wrapped it in a white Sheet, imbalmed it, and deposited it in a Monument he had built anew, and with it the Cross, the Title, and the Nails, which had served to his Passion. The Priests who could not obtain from *Pilate*, that the Title of the Cross should be changed, and wanted that in lieu of these Words, *Jesus the Nazarean King of the Jews*, there should be wrote, *Jesus the Nazarean, calling himself King of the Jews*, obtained of him Leave to seal his Sepulchre, and have it guarded, to hinder, said they to him, his Disciples from stealing his Body, and from publishing afterwards that he was risen from the Dead, which would cause a second Error worse than the first.

Those Guards could not hinder the Effect of the Promise he had made of his Resurrection. The Morning of the third Day there happened an Earthquake, and an Angel descending from Heaven, rolled away the Stone which stopped the Entrance of the Sepulchre, and at his terrible Aspect the Soldiers were frightened to Death. *Magdalen* and the other Women, who used to accompany the Son of God, coming the Day after the Sabbath (*i. e.* Sunday, according to our Manner of reckoning) to embalm him anew, what *Joseph* had done, being not sufficient to satisfy their Devotion; an Angel appeared to them, and said, that their Master whom they searched in the Tomb, was living of a Life which was no more subject to Death. He made them enter the Sepulchre, that finding not in it the Body of our Saviour, they should be Eye-witnesses of his Resurrection. At their coming out, they had a Vision of two other Angels who spoke to them a little roughly. They came to bring this News to the Apostles. Presently *Peter* and *John* run to the Sepulchre. This, as the youngest, and running faster, arrived first to the Monument, and looking into it, he saw nothing but the Shrouds he had been wrapped in. *Peter* entered it, and found nothing else. *Magdalen* was returned to the Sepulchre with the Apostles, and believing that the Body of her Master had been stolen, melted in Tears. *Jesus Christ* appeared to her under the Form of a Gardener; and if her Eyes were something deceived, her Ear could not: For as soon as he had called her by her Name, *Mary*, she knew him, and went to touch him; he pushed her away, and told her, *Do not touch me*. He would teach her thereby, that henceforward she was not to use him with the same Familiarity he had allowed her while he was mortal; and that at present as he lived of a new and quite spiritual Life, he would have her love him in Spirit, and consider him as not having yet truly ascended at the Right-Hand of God, but notwithstanding would soon take his Place there. She brought that good News to the Apostles, and on the Road *Jesus Christ* appearing to her, and to the Women who were with her, he permitted them to kiss his Feet.

The Apostles added no Faith to their Words, and

to draw them from their Incredulity, the Saviour appeared to *Peter*.

Two Disciples who were going to *Emmaus*, a little Place near *Jerusalem*, thinking to converse with a Traveller, conversed with the Saviour, who shewed them by the Sequel of the sacred Scriptures, that he was to suffer, and after his Sufferings enter his Glory. Their Eyes, which he kept shut while on the Road, were opened at the Breaking of the Bread, at which he disappeared, leaving them in a very sweet Consolation. They related to the Apostles what they had seen, and while they were speaking of that Apparition, the Doors of the Place where they were being shut, Jesus entered it, shewed himself to all, and dissipated their Doubt, eating with them, and making them feel his Hands, and his Side; at the same Time he gave them the apostolical Mission, to go and preach the Gospel throughout the whole Earth with the Power of remitting Sins.—*Thomas*, who was not there then, and would not believe what his Brethren told him of the Apparition of the Saviour, eight Days afterwards had the Favour to touch his Feet, and his Hands, and the Wound of his Side; and his Incredulity served to procure us an invincible Proof of the Resurrection of the Son of God: Which makes the Fathers say, that his Doubt has been more useful to us, than the Faith of the other Apostles. The Saviour appeared to them, for the third Time, while they were fishing, the beloved Disciple knew him, and informed *Peter* of it, who immediately threw himself into the Sea to go to him. After he had eat before them to confirm more and more the Truth of his Resurrection, he interrogated *Peter* three Times, not on his Science, or on his other Qualities, but on his Love for him; and if it was greater than that of the others, as a Condition absolutely necessary to exercise the Employment of feeding his Sheep and his Lambs, *i. e.* to govern his Church, and to shew his Successors, and the other Pastors who compose the Hierarchy, that Charity is the proper Spirit of Episcopacy and Priesthood. While the Saviour was raising *Peter* to that high Dignity, he foretold him the Death he was to suffer for the Defence of his Name; but he did not understand then what he meant. After that Establishment he shewed himself again, on a Mountain of *Galilee*, which some believe to have been that of *Tabor*, to more than five hundred Brethren. There he taught the Apostles the Manner of baptizing, and assured them, that he would be with them and their Successors, to the Consummation of the World, to preserve his Church against all Heresies, Schisms, and the Powers of the Earth. The Evangelists take no Notice of the Apparition to five hundred Brethren, and to *James* in particular, but it is no less certain.

In all these Apparitions *Jesus Christ* poured a Light of divine Science into their Understanding, and the Heat of Charity in their Heart: So that they made greater Progress during forty Days, in those interrupted Conversations, than they had done during three Years before.

The Day he had fixed upon for his Ascension into Heaven, being arrived, he carried them on the Mount of *Olives*, whence he raised himself by his own Virtue to the Right Hand of his Father. There are very different Opinions about the Year the Son of God died in. *St. Augustine* mentions the Error of those who maintained, that he died while he was forty-six Years of Age. *Tertullian* says, that he was thirty; but the Heresiarch *Valentin*, had invented that Date before him. *St. Epiphanius* says he was thirty three. Several Authors add three Months to the thirty-fourth; and it is the Chronology followed by Cardinal *Baronius*. Some Moderns pretend that the thirty-fifth was began. I will take no Notice of the Reasons they support their different Sentiments with, but resume the Thread of my Narration.

The Apostles losing the Presence of their Saviour, felt within themselves a Sorrow mixed with Joy for the Absence of their good Master, whom they were ravished to see in that high State of Glory and Felicity. Two Angels appeared to them, and told them that it was in vain they staid there, looking to Heaven, and that *Jesus* who had just then ascended into it, would one Day descend from it in the same Manner. They returned then to *Jerusalem*, where they staid shut up with the blessed Virgin and the Disciples in a private House,

employing all the Day in Prayers. In that Retreat *Peter* proposed the Election of some of the Disciples in the Place of *Judas*. That Traitor, sensible of the Heinousness of his Treason, went to the Priests, returned them their Money, and transported with Despair, hung himself, and his Entrails came out of his Body. His vacant Place was filled by *Matthias*, on whom the Lot fell, (*i. e.* some remarkable Sign of the divine Election, after a zealous Prayer made to God, that he should be pleased to declare the Person whom he had elected to the Apostleship) and not on *Barabas*, called the Just, who was kin to our Lord; to teach the Successors of the Apostles not to follow the Sentiments of Flesh and Blood, in the Promotion of their Relations to ecclesiastical Employments.

At the End of ten Days, the divine Comforter, whom the Apostles expected, descended with a great Wind, in the Form of Tongues of Fire, which dividing themselves, rested on the Head of each of them, and of the other Disciples assembled. Their Change was as marvellous as sudden. Those among them who spoke ill their own Mother-tongue, began to speak perfectly all Sorts of Languages. Fifteen different Nations who heard them preach, in their Idioms, were surprized at it, and accused them of being drunk. *Peter*, who was become another Man, spoke to repel that Calumny, and published the Resurrection and Divinity of Christ, to those who had crucified him, with as much Resolution, as he had shewed Weakness, in denying him when he was going to be crucified. That first Predication proved so powerful, that the Hearers touched with Remorse, asked what they should do to expiate their Sins? *Peter* answered, *Repent, and let every one of you receive Baptism for Remission of your Sins.* The Number of those who were converted then was three thousand. Charity united them as much as their Belief. The Rich sold their Inheritance, and brought the Price thereof at the Feet of the Apostles: Thus all the Faithful were poor, though there were no Poor in the Church; because there was distributed to every one what was necessary for his Subsistence, contrary to the Practice of the modern Apostles, who plunder their Flock to enrich themselves; so that those false Shepherds, or rather Wolves, feed on the Substance of their Sheep. They were always in the Temple, and participated every Day of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, sometimes in one House, and sometimes in another. Their Manners were so holy, and so much Candour and Simplicity appeared in their Actions, that the People respected and loved them. *Peter* and *John* ascending into the Temple to pray, cured a Person lame from his Birth, who was begging at the Gate. That Miracle, done in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, gained the People's Admiration, who came in Crowds to see the Authors thereof. *Peter* took that Occasion to tell them, that *he, by whose Virtue they had acted, was Jesus of Nazareth, whom they had denied before Pilate's Tribunal, preferring a Thief to him: That the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, would glorify his Son in their Presence: That they should repent and be converted, to obtain the Remission of their Sins, that they may be saved in the Day of the last Coming of Jesus Christ: That all the Prophets from Samuel had declared his Coming; and that God had sent him, and raised him first for them, who were the Sons of the Prophets, and Heirs of the Blessings promised to Abraham.* This Discourse was so powerful, by the Operation of Grace, that it converted five thousand Persons.

The Priests, and the Magistrate of the Temple (*i. e.* according to *St. Chrysostom*, he who had the Guard of the Temple, and was the Captain thereof, having under him Officers or Soldiers) and the Sadduces, happening to come at the Time he was yet speaking, they sent him and his Companion to Prison. The Day following they assembled the Council of the Seventy, before whom the Apostles were brought. They were asked, in whose Name, and by whose Virtue they had cured the Lame? *Peter* answered courageously, that *it was in the Name of Jesus Christ whom they had crucified, and whom God his Father had raised from the Dead: That he was the Stone rejected by them, and established, notwithstanding their Rejection, in the Office and Dignity of the fundamental Stone, to support the Edifice of the Church, and lastly,*

that it was by Faith in him alone that Men could be saved. The Priests hearing him speak with so much Boldness and Sufficiency, were surpris'd at it, knowing that he was an illiterate Man, and remembering to have seen him, in *Jesus Christ's* Retinue. This Miracle was capable to convince them, and every Step of the lame Person, was a Proof of the Power of him whose Name they abhorr'd. After they had consulted among themselves what they should do; they resolved to let them go, forbidding them only to preach any more in the Name of their Master. But *Peter* and *John* hearing that Prohibition, protested that they would not keep it, and that it was more reasonable to obey God than Men.

The Number of the Faithful increased every Day, and Poverty seem'd so precious to them, as already observ'd, that every one sold his Possessions to bring the Price thereof to the Apostles. *Barnabas*, born in *Cyprus*, quitted a very considerable Estate. He lived in *Jerusalem*, and *Gamaliel* (if we believe the Tradition) had instructed him in the Law, with *Stephen* and *Saul*, one of whom was soon afterwards made a Martyr of Christ, and the other a Vessel of Election, and Apostle of the *Gentiles*. *Ananias* and *Sapphira* believing that they could deceive *Peter*, offered him half of the Price of their Estate. But their sudden Death, at *St. Peter's* Word, who reproach'd them with their Sacrilege, shew'd, that one should not lie to the Holy Ghost, and filled all the Faithful with Fear. Every where the Apostles found sick Persons, who presented themselves to them, and all were cured by the Invocation of the Name of *Jesus Christ*. The single Shadow of *Peter* restored Health, which that of *Jesus Christ* had never done; which was the Accomplishment of what *Jesus Christ* had told them before he died, that those who should believe in him, should do greater Signs than he did. Those Miracles exciting the Rage and Envy of the Priests, they sent them to Prison under a sure Guard. The Night following an Angel set them at Liberty; so that the next Morning they entered the Temple, and continued to preach. Mean while the Princes of the Priests, and those they had assembled, to resolve on what they should do with the Apostles, sent Men to the Prison to bring them before them. They returned back with the News, that the Dungeon they had been confined in was shut, without the least Appearance that it had been broke open; and that the Centries who kept the Watch before the Gate, had not seen the Prisoners go out. That News surpris'd them extremely; but they were still more enraged to hear, at the same Time, that the two Apostles were teaching publickly in the Temple. The Captain of the Temple went thither with some Ministers, to bring them quietly before the Council, for fear of irritating the People, who had a great Veneration for them. Their Death had been resolv'd upon, if *Gamaliel*, a secret Disciple of *Jesus Christ*, had not ward'd off the Blow; by representing to them, that if that new Sect was not of God, it would fall of itself, and, on the contrary, Men could never destroy it, if it came from him. Therefore the Council contented themselves with having them whipped, and the Blemishes of the Rods were for them Marks of Honour, and Subjects of Joy and Triumph, having been found worthy to suffer that Affront, for the Love and Honour of *Jesus Christ*.

The Devil being incapable to destroy the Church by open, thought he could do it by domestick Enemies; he excited a Murmur among the *Jews*, of Religion, who were born out of *Judea*, called *Greeks*, on that their Widows were not admitted, like those of the *Jews* born in *Palestine*, to the Service of the Poor, and to the Care of feeding the Faithful, who took their Repast at the common Tables. Some Authors believe, that that Partiality mentioned by *St. Luke*, was not for the Function of assisting others, but for the little Care taken of those Widows. To prevent the Evil which could have been caused by that Division, the Apostles convok'd a general Assembly of the Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, and propos'd to them the Election of seven Men of good Fame, and full of the Holy Ghost, to exercise to every one's Satisfaction, the Ministry which caus'd Jealousy and Discontent to the *Greeks*. The Assembly made Choice of *Stephen*, *Philip*, *Prochorus*, *Nicanor*, *Timon*, *Parmentias*, and *Nicolas* the *Antiochian*. They were presented to the

Apostles, who laid their Hands on them, after they had prayed, *i. e.* ordained them Deacons of the Church. Their Office was to distribute the publick Alms, and mind the Tables, where the Faithful, together with the common Bread, received the Eucharist. That Custom of taking the Communion in the natural Repast, lasted some Time in the Church; but it was soon changed into that of taking the Sacrament fasting, by Reason of the Irreverences committed in those Feasts, called *Agapæ*, *i. e.* of Charity. Even in *St. Paul's* Time there were Abuses introduced in them, among the *Corinthians*, as we learn from his first Epistle to them, where he accuses them of that Disorder, as of a great Fault against the Respect due to the Body of *Jesus Christ*.

Among the new Deacons, *Stephen* was remarkable for the Strength of his Preaching, and for the eminent Holiness of his Life. The Miracles God operated by him, excited the People's Admiration, and proved the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, by Arguments, which all the Doctors of the Law could not answer. The Holy Ghost spoke in him, and confounded the vain Doctrine of his most violent Adversaries, whom the Text of the *Acts* observe, to have been the *Jews* of the Synagogue of the *Alexandrians*, *Cyrenians*, *Cilicians*, and *Libertines* (*i. e.* of those born of *Jews*, carried Captive to *Rome*, and made free, afterwards, by their Masters) and of the *Asiatics*; who all had Colleges in *Jerusalem*, to learn the Law. The Confusion he put them in, in all their Disputations, provok'd their Rage, and prompted them to seditious Witnesses, who accus'd him with having blasphem'd against the Law of *Moses*, and against God. The People were easily impos'd upon, by the Impudence wherewith they maintained that Falseness; so that a Band of furious Rabble seiz'd him, and dragg'd him to the Place, where the Council of the Seventy, heretofore mentioned, was held. The false Witnesses maintained to his Face all that had been suggested to him. As he was permitted to defend himself, he made a marvellous Discourse, in which going back as far as the Origin of the *Jewish* Nation, and to the Election God had made of her, in the Person of *Abraham*, he proved to them by the Prophets that *Jesus Christ* was the true *Messiah*. The Reproach he made them of the Hardness of their Hearts, and of the Murder of the Prophets, perpetrated by their Fathers, offend'd them in such a Manner, that they gnash'd their Teeth against him. But they stopp'd their Ears, and abandoned themselves entirely to the Transports of their Rage, when the Holy Ghost who made him speak with so much Resolution, transporting him beyond himself, made him cry, *I see Jesus standing at the Right Hand of God*. He was carried out of the City of *Jerusalem* as a Blasphemer, and stoned to Death. He had Compassion of his Executioners, and at the Example of his divine Master, pray'd God not to impute to them the Sin of his Death. The Church lamented that great Man, and did him the last Duties, with particular Cares and Honours, as to a Person, who in so short a Time, had gain'd her a great many Victories, and who the first sanctified her with his Blood. The Martyr *Lucian*, in the Epistle where he relates the finding of his Body, said, that *Gamaliel* caus'd him to be buried in the Night. Authors are of different Opinions with Regard to the Time of his Death. Some, with *Nicephorus*, *Lib. 2. Hist. c. 3.* believe that it happened immediately after he was ordained Deacon, and about the Month of *August*. Others have extended the Term thereof to the seventh Year after the Death of our Saviour: But the common Opinion of the Church is, that it happened the 26th of *December*, which was the first Day of the 36th Year of *Jesus Christ*. The Empress *Eudoxia* caus'd a magnificent Church to be built on the Place where he was stoned to Death.

The Rage of the *Jews* being not yet satiated with the Death of that innocent *Levite*, wanted to involve the Faithful in a general Persecution; and several, to avoid it, quitted *Jerusalem*; which was not done without a particular Direction of the Holy Ghost. For by that Means they spread the Seed of the Gospel, not only in all the Provinces of *Palestine*; but likewise in *Syria*, *Phenicia*, the Isle of *Cyprus*, and in *Antioch*, Capital of *Syria*: Tho' they preach'd then only to the *Jews*, believing that it was only to them that the Truth was to be preach'd;

and

and considering yet the *Gentiles* as an unclean and reprobate Nation.

Among the Persecutors of the Infant Church, *Saul* (who was also called *Paul*, according to some) was the most animated, and had the greatest Credit. He was born at *Tarsus*, Capital of *Cilicia*. *Gamalie* had instructed him in the Science of the Law; and the Jealousy of the Honour thereof, which he thought offended by the Preaching of the Apostles, joined with the Impetuosity of his Age (which was of thirty-three, according to some, or of thirty-four, according to others) and of his natural Genius, carried him to the last Extremities, an indiscreet Zeal of Religion is capable of. He was not contented with having stoned *Stephen* to Death, by the Hands of those whose Cloaths he kept all the while (according to *St. Augustin*, *Serm.* 14. *Sanct.*) though he was his near Relation; with hunting continually the Faithful, who had hid themselves, and carry them to Prison; but would besides wage War against them out of the Province. To satiate his Rage, he took Commissions and Letters from the Princes of the Priests, to go into the City of *Damascus*, and take Prisoners there all those who should make Profession to believe in *Jesus Christ*. He, whom he persecuted with so much Cruelty, had Pity of his Rashness. On the Road, a great Light coming down from Heaven, environed him, and the Lord appearing to him, sounded in his Ears these Words, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? Who art thou Lord*, answered he trembling, *I am Jesus of Nazareth*, continued the Voice, *it is hard for thee to kick against the Pricks*. During that Colloquy, the Darkeness of his Understanding was dissipated, and the Hardness of his Heart softened, and so marvellously changed by the Efficacy of Grace, that he replied to the Son of God, *Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?* He was sent to the good Priest *Ananias*, who govern'd the Faithful, gather'd by his Care in the City of *Damascus*, tho' he was not Bishop thereof, to learn what God desired of him. In rising from the Ground, where he was fallen, he found himself blind, so that those who accompanied him, led him by the Hand into the City. Mean while, the Lord appeared to *Ananias*, and commanded him to go and seek that new Convert, of whom he had resolved to make a Vessel of Election, and an invincible Witness of his Truths, before all the Kings, and all the People of the World. *Ananias*, who at first was afraid of him, as of a mortal Enemy of the Gospel, after he had been assured of his Change, and known the Designs of *Jesus Christ* on him, obeyed the Command; and came to seek him in the House where he was. He saluted him with Words, which shewed that he knew what had happen'd on the Road. On the Imposition of his Hands, *Saul's* Eyes were opened, and a Kind of Scales fell from them. At the same Time he was baptized. He did not leave the Grace of his Vocation needless. For he began immediately to acquit himself of the Ministry of Preaching, he was intrusted with. The Faithful could scarce believe, at first, his Change real and sincere. But the *Jews* were provoked at it beyond Expression. He was a formidable Enemy for them, for he was perfectly instructed in the Law, and they could not reproach him with any Fault, which could lessen the Credit of what he said. After he had staid a very short Time in *Damascus*, he departed for *Arabia*, as we learn from himself in the Epistle to the *Galatians*, Chap. ii. but he has forgot, or rather was not willing we should know what he has done in that Province. There is a great Diversity of Opinions with Regard to the Time of his Conversion, and I am contented with mentioning it, without engaging myself to unfold a Question, which would engage me into a too long Digression.

Mean while *Philip*, one of the Deacons, preached the Gospel in *Samaria*. He did it with so much Strength and Success, that *Simon* the Magician, not daring to contradict him, would himself be baptized with his Fellow-Citizens. The News of it were brought to *Jerusalem*, from whence *Peter* and *John* were immediately sent by the Apostles, to impose Hands on the new converted, and give them the Holy Ghost, what *Philip*, being but a Deacon, had not the Power to do. That Imposition of Hands was nothing else but what we call at present Confirmation,

which Bishops alone, as true Successors of the Apostles in the Episcopacy, can confer on the Faithful, to render them perfect Christians, according to the Sentiment of the antient Fathers. *Simon Magus* seeing, that by the Imposition of the Hands of the Apostles, the Holy Ghost descended, and that immediately the Believers spoke several Languages, which they had not learned, and operated Miracles, he offer'd the Apostles Money to have the same Power. *Thy Money perish with thee*, answered *Peter*, *because thou hast thought that the Gift of God may be purchased with Money. Thou hast no Part in the Word we preach, because thy Heart is not right before God. Repent therefore, and pray him, if perhaps the Thoughts of thine Heart may be forgiven thee, for I perceive that thou art full of Gall, and in the Bond of Iniquity*. Pray you for me, replied that Sacrilege, that none of those Things which you have spoken come upon me. Far from his being disposed to receive the Fruit of their Prayers, he immediately after their Departure, continued to sow his Errors among the *Samaritans*, persuading them, that he was the great Virtue of God. He endeavour'd likewise to deceive the *Jews*, whom he saw enraged against the Faithful, calling himself the Son of God for them, and the Holy Ghost for the *Gentiles*. The Devil wanting to destroy the new Kingdom, which the Apostles were establishing in the World on the Ruins of his, made use of *Simon*, and suffer'd he should be the Chief of the Heretics. The Sequel of the History will oblige me to speak more at large of him, and explain the Impieties he thought to smother the good Doctrine with. That Wretch gave the Name to the Venality of Spiritual Things, which was called *Simony*, and which has ever since unfortunately reigned in the Church.

The Apostles having established a Church in *Samaria*, and in the Neighbourhood, returned to *Jerusalem*; as for the Deacon *Philip*, the Angel of the Lord commanded him to go on the Road which leads from *Jerusalem* into *Gaza*, a City of *Palestine* near *Egypt*, and destroyed by *Alexander*. He had not walked long before he saw a Chariot coming to him, in which was the Eunuch of *Candace* Queen of the *Lower Ethiopia*, who was returning from *Jerusalem*; where, as a Proselyte, he had been to offer his Vows to God in the Temple. The Angel commanded *Philip* to approach him, and having obey'd, he found that he was reading in the Prophet *Isaiab*, and was fallen on that Passage, *He has been carried as a Sheep to the Slaughter, and as a Lamb without Voice before his Shearer; therefore he has not opened his Mouth; who shall declare his Generation? For his Life is taken from the Earth*. Dost thou understand, said the Deacon, the Words thou art reading? How can I understand them, answered the Eunuch, unless some Body be pleased to explain them to me. Of whom does the Prophet say that? of himself, or of some other? Then *Philip*, whom he made come into his Chariot, began by that Passage to preach to him the Faith of *Jesus Christ*. His Discourse was so animated with efficacious Grace, that meeting with a Brook, the Eunuch enlightened with a divine Light, and pressed by a heavenly Motion, told him, *Here's Water, what hinders me from being baptized?* *Philip* answered, that if he believed with all his Heart, that could be done. *Yes*, replied the Eunuch, *I believe with all my Heart, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God*. At that Confession, the Deacon made the Chariot stop; and both descended into the Water, where the Eunuch received the Baptism he desired. At their coming out of that salutary Bath, the Spirit of the Lord ravished *Philip* in an Instant, and placed him, in the Town of *Azoth*. The new Convert pursued his Journey with great Alacrity. According to the Testimony of the Fathers, viz. *Iren. lib.* 3. c. 12. *Hier. in c.* 51. *isa. Enf.* l. 2. c. 1. He was the Evangelist of *Jesus Christ* in his own Country; in *Arabia Felix*, and in the Isle of *Tropobanes*; and had afterwards all his evangelical Toils crowned with a glorious Martyrdom.

The Apostle of the Nations was not idle on his Side. He returned from *Arabia* to *Damascus*, where, for two Years successively, he preached with so much Zeal, and so marvellous a Doctrine, that the *Jews*, incapable to resist the Strength of his Reasonings, drawn from the sacred Scriptures they received, formed the Resolution to

take him Prisoner, and make away with him. We have said that the War had been kindled between *Herod Antipas*, and *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, because of the Repudiation of his Daughter. The *Romans* took Part in it to succour *Herod*, who in several Rencounters had been beaten, Victory following that Party who had Justice on its Side. *Vitellius* who governed *Syria*, did set Forces on Foot to go to his Assistance; and as they were considerable, *Aretas* caused the City of *Damascus* to be carefully guarded for fear of a Surprize. The *Jews* making use of that Occasion, desired him to give them Leave to stay at the Gates, to hinder *Paul* from making his Escape. They staid there Night and Day; but the Disciples of the Apostle, let him down in a Basket over the Walls; and thus he escaped the Hands of his Enemies. He came to *Jerusalem*, where at first the Faithful were afraid of him: But *Barnabas* dissipated their Fears, by informing them of all the Circumstances of his Conversion, and of what he had done for the Propagation of the Gospel. He staid but fifteen Days in *Jerusalem*, during which he had the Time to enjoy peaceably the Conversation of *Peter*, and *James* the Lord's Brother; who are the only Apostles, he says, he had seen in that Journey. But I cannot omit, that he writes himself, that he had particularly undertook it, to see *St. Peter*, and that the Greek Word he makes use of, signifies a Design of observing and studying him; which shews a particular Respect he had for him, and that he wanted to defer to him as to the first Apostle, to make use of the Terms of *St. Jerom*. The *Jews* were so surprized, and so provoked to hear him speak of *Jesus Christ*, as of the Son of God, that they formed the Resolution to kill him. To avoid their Fury, it was found proper that he should quit the City. He was conducted as far as *Cæsarea*; whence he departed for *Tarsus*, his Birth-place.

At the same Time *Tiberius*, died after he had reigned twenty-two Years, six Months, and some Days, or to speak better, after a long Tyranny, which was as infamous for his monstrous Pleasures as for his Violences. He knew without doubt the Manner how to treat the *Romans*, who had neither Courage enough to shake off that insupportable Yoke, nor Wisdom enough to bear it, and endeavour to render it more supportable. He appointed *Caligula* his Successor, whom he knew to be as bad as himself; tho' he did an Act of Justice in the Beginning of his Reign, which proved a Subject of Consolation to the Faithful, by sending *Pilate* into Exile, to punish him for his Concussions while he was Procurator of *Cæsar* in *Judea*, and for his Cruelty against the *Samaritans* who had revolted, having caused them to be almost all put to the Sword. At the End of two Years that unfortunate Judge killed himself, and went to appear before the dreadful Tribunal of him, whom he had to unjustly condemned.

The Tranquility the Church enjoyed in *Palestine*, gave Time to *St. Peter*, to visit the neighbouring Places, to establish there the ecclesiastical Discipline. It was then according to the Tradition, he founded the Church of *Antioch*, which (if we include his Journeys into the neighbouring Provinces) he governed seven Years as private Bishop. It acquired since the Dignity of Primacy of all the Churches of the East, even that of *Jerusalem*, founded by *Jesus Christ* himself, was subjected to it, with *Cæsarea*, the Metropolis of *Palestine*. At *Lydda*, a City situated on the Shore of the *Mediterranean* Sea, he cured a Man, called *Eneas*, who had been eight Years paralytical. That Miracle was the Cause of the Conversion of the Inhabitants, and of those of *Saron*. The Resurrection of *Tabitha*, a Widow famous for her Charity, produced the same Effect in *Joppa*. The Change of the Centurion, called *Cornelius*, was no less marvellous. He was Captain of a Company of Foot, called *Italian*; but the military Profession did not hinder him from being religious in his Conduct, charitable to the Poor, and applying himself to Prayers. Those good Works, animated with the Faith of the true God, whereof he had acquired a Knowledge among the *Jews*, ascended to Heaven, and brought from thence an Angel, who commanded him, by God's Orders, to send into the City of *Joppa* for a Man called *Peter*, who lodged at a Tanner's called *Simon*, to learn from him

what he should do. At that same Time *Peter*, about the Hour he was to take his Meal, had a Vision of a great Sheet full of unclean Animals, which descended from Heaven. He was commanded by a Voice coming from Heaven, to kill those he liked, and eat them. He answered he could not do it, because he had never eat any Thing polluted, and forbidden by the Law: But the Voice replied to him, *that Man could not call unclean what God had purified*. As he reflected on what God would make him understand by those Words, the Deputies of *Cornelius* arrived, and related to him the Apparition of the Angel to their Master, who desired he would come to him; then he understood, that by those Animals accounted unclean in the Law, which he was loth to eat, God did let him know, that his Design was that the Gospel should be preached to the *Gentiles*. He would not defer longer so great a Work; so that the next Day he departed, and the following arrived at *Cæsarea*, where that good Captain had assembled all his Friends to do him Honour, and partake of the Fruit of his Journey. He preached to them the Doctrine of Salvation, and in few Words, but very efficacious, related to them the Life, Miracles, Death, and Resurrection of the Son of God; and explained to them the Prophets who spoke of him. In the Middle of his Discourse the Holy Ghost came down on his Auditors, and made them speak the Wonders of God, in Languages they had never learned. That surprized and rejoiced together, the Faithful, who had been converted from Paganism, to the Faith. *Peter* surprized, and extremely pleased like the rest, had them baptized; and at their Intreaties staid several Days with them. *Cornelius* made so good Use of the Instructions of the Apostle, that, after *Zaccheus*, he was elected Bishop of *Cæsarea*, as we read in the *Roman Martyrology*, on the 2d Day of *February*, and in the *Menology* of the *Greeks* on the 13th of *September*. *Metaphrastus* makes him Bishop of another Place, but without any Proof drawn from Antiquity. His House was converted into a Church, which was standing in *St. Jerom's* Time, who writes to the virtuous *Paula*, *Epist.* 27. that he visited it.

At that same Time *St. Matthew* wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*, for the Instruction of the *Jews* who believed in *Jesus Christ*. He has particularly described the Actions of his sacred Humanity; therefore among the four Evangelists he is represented under the Figure of a Man. It was so much valued, from the very Time of its being first published, that *St. Barnabas* carried always a Copy thereof in all his Travels, with which he was buried, and which was found on his Stomach, when his Corps was digged up, at the Time of the Emperor *Zeno*. The *Nazareans* preserved it a long Time, without any Alteration, and *St. Jerom* got a Copy thereof from them, to transcribe it, in order to translate it into *Latin*. But in Process of Time they corrupted it as well as the *Ebionites*, *Cerinthians* and *Carpocratians*, who took Occasion from the human Genealogy described in it, to deny the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*. *St. Jerom* says, that in his Time the *Hebrew* Original was in the Library of *Cæsarea*.

When the Conversion of *Cornelius* was known, there was some Murmur in *Jerusalem* excited by *Cerinthus*, who was afterwards an impious Heresiarch. But *St. Peter* appeased it, by the Recital of his Vision, and of the coming down of the Holy Ghost, before the Baptism of Water, on those he catechised. Then every one praised the Mercy of God, who was pleased to spread the Light of the Faith on the *Gentiles*, who had been thought excluded from that Grace. The Apostles at the same Time being informed of the Progress of the Gospel in *Antioch* of *Syria*, sent thither *Barnabas* to cultivate that large Field. At his Arrival he found that he was not sufficient alone for the Work of so plentiful a Harvest, so that he went to search *Paul* in *Tarsus*, to come to help him. He could not chuse a better Second, and he discovered soon that God had inspired him with that Choice. By their Preaching, the Faith made very great Progress, though often obstructed by the Devil. It was in that City that the Faithful, called Disciples before, took the Name of Christians, which signifies their Royal Unction flowing from that of *Jesus Christ*.

Caligula having been killed by *Chereus*, Captain of his Guards, after he had reigned three Years, ten Months, and some Days, *Claudius* his Uncle succeeded him, who continuing the same Favour to *Agrippa*, confirmed him in the Kingdom of *Judea*, his Predecessor had given him, as may be seen more at large in my Chronology of the Kings of *Judah*, under the Letter C. He returned thence from *Rome*, where he was at the Time of *Caligula*'s Death, into his Kingdom, loaded with Honours, Glory and Riches. But instead of acknowledging that he received all those Favours from the munificent Hands of the Almighty, and of beginning his Reign by some religious Action, which could bring down his Blessings, he on the contrary signalized it by the Death of *St. James*, called the Major, whose Life he sacrificed to the Rage of the *Jews*, to gain their good Will at his Accession to the Throne. He who had accused him, seeing that he went to Execution with so much Courage, and with so much Love for his Enemies, was touched with Admiration: And the Grace of God enlightning his Understanding, he embraced the Gospel, and asked the Apostle's Forgiveness, who granted it with Pleasure, and who had him at the same Time for a Companion of his Martyrdom. Some Authors pretend, that he converted *Philetus* and *Hermogenes*, both Magicians. They afterwards corrupted their Faith, as *St. Paul* witnesses it, in his second Epistle to *Timothy*; for they denied the future Resurrection of the Dead, maintaining that it had happened already, debauching several Persons by their false Doctrine.

Herod, who searched all imaginable Means to please the *Jews*, that they might love his Government, thought that one of the most agreeable Things he could do to oblige them, was to persecute the Christian Church, and work its entire Ruin. Therefore he took the Resolution to attack *St. Peter*, and put him in Prison under a safe Guard, to give the People the Pleasure of his Execution, after the Solemnity of the Passover. But the Angel of God deceived his Expectation, by setting the Apostle at Liberty, who was still very necessary to the Church. Himself brought the News of his Deliverance to the Christians, assembled in the House of *Mary*, Mother of *John*. They could scarce believe it, seeing him, and hearing him relate how the Angel having awaked him, the two Chains he had been tied with, were fallen off his Hands, and all the Gates of the Prison were opened before him, without the Soldiers who guarded him had perceived it. He ordered them to inform *James*, called the Lord's Brother, of his Deliverance, who was Bishop of the City, and the other Faithful, and afterwards took his Leave.

The next Day, the Soldiers, not finding *Peter* in the Middle of them, were strangely surprized; and *Herod* extremely irritated at his Deliverance, caused them to be rigorously chastised; but he was soon punished for the Impiety he was sorry he had not committed. For while he was in *Cesarea* of *Palestine*, employed in the Celebration of the publick Games, for the Welfare of the Emperor; the Inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Sidon* with whom he was at Variance (*St. Luke* does not mention the Subject thereof) sent him a Deputation to treat of a Peace. He would receive them with an extraordinary Magnificence, and make a Shew of his Grandeur to them. He therefore appeared in publick on his Throne, cloathed in his royal Robes. While he was speaking, the People cried to flatter him, *The Voice of God, and not of a Man*. Instead of rejecting that sacrilegious Acclamation, he was pleased at it, and thought that the People spoke true. But at the same Hour the Angel of the Lord struck him with a frightful Wound: He was carried from the Throne to his Bed, where Worms gnawing his Flesh, made him know, but too late, that he was a Man subject to Death, that Kings being the Images of God, ought not to usurp an Honour due to the Original; and that as it is from him they have all their Power, they must chiefly employ it for the Preservation of his true Worship. After his Death *Judea* had no more particular Kings, and was included in the Government of *Syria*.

The Apostles, to avoid the Persecution which *Herod* had began, particularly against them, divided between them the Provinces of the World, to go and establish

in them the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*. It was then they composed the Symbol that bears their Name, either because each of them made an Article thereof, or because it was a Mark they gave the Christians to know one another, and to distinguish themselves from Hereticks, as Soldiers, of the same Party, do at the Word of their General.

St. John, *St. James*'s Brother already crowned with Martyrdom, went into the lesser *Asia*, and penetrated very far into the eastern Provinces, where he preached the Gospel of him whose beloved Disciple he was, with a Zeal and Courage agreeable to the Gratitude which required from him so honourable a Title. We learn from the synodal Epistle of the Council of *Ephesus* to the Clergy of *Constantinople*, that he lived in *Ephesus* with the blessed Virgin. The Antients make mention neither of that Abode, nor of the Journey of the Mother of the Son of God, nor of their common Habitation; but they speak clearly of the Churches he had founded in *Asia*. *St. Paul* worked three Years in that of *Ephesus*, and he may be called the Founder thereof; so that I would be very apt to think, that the Apostle above-mentioned did not govern it but in his old Age. The Bishops of that City called themselves Successors, and Disciples of *St. John*; and founded themselves on his Authority, for not celebrating the Feast of *Easter*, as the *Roman* Church does. That same Apostle evangelized the *Parthians*, to whom he writes his first Epistle, which anciently bore that Title. The Relations of those who in our Times have carried the Light of the Gospel to the furthest Provinces of the East, say, that they have found an old Tradition among those People of the Preaching of that Apostle. The false *Pachorus* relates Things of it quite fabulous. Those related by *Metaphrastus*, are not much more true. There is a great Dispute among Authors, to know if he be dead, or if God keeps him with *Enoch* and *Elias*, to fight against the Antichrist. That Dispute is occasioned by the Words of *Jesus Christ* to *St. Peter*, which seem to signify, that he should not die like the other Apostles. The Menology of the *Greeks* on the sixth of the Calends of *October*, makes mention of his Passage to God, i. e. of his Death. *Polynates*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, speaks of him in the same Manner, writing to Pope *Victor*. *St. Chrysostom* makes mention of his Sepulchre full of his Bones.

St. Andrew preached to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sogdians*, in *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, *Thracia*, and *Archaia*. *Gregory Nazianzen* says, that he evangelized likewise in *Epirus*. But as to his having founded the Church of *Bizantium*, of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, it is contested; and Pope *Agapet*, maintains, in his Letters read in the fifth Synod, that *St. Peter* was the first who preached *Jesus Christ* in those two Cities. He was crowned for all his Toils, by a glorious Death in the City of *Patras* in *Archaia*. The Proconsul *Ageas* had him fastened to a Cross turned upside-down, which he saluted afar off, with Words which testified, that it was the Object of his Desires. He remained two Days fastened to it; and from it, as from a Chair, which could be very justly called the Chair of Truth and Authority, he preached the Grandeurs of *Jesus Christ*, and caused as much Confusion to the Authors of his Death, as Consolation to the Faithful who heard him; and whom, by his Example, he animated to the generous Confession of the Name of his Master. The Priests of *Archaia* wrote the Acts of his Martyrdom, which *Lipomannus* and *Surius* relate. Those of the Apostles, published under his Name, have been rejected as apocryphal.

St. Philip having converted some Provinces of *Scythia*, and worked gloriously in the higher *Asia*, was crucified, and stoned to Death in *Hierapolis*; at the Age of eighty-seven Years. He was martyred in the twelfth Year of the Emperor *Claudius*.

Thomas whiten'd the *Ethiopians*, as *St. Chrysostom* expresses himself, *Hom. 2. on St. Matt.* and preached to the *Parthians*, *Persians*, *Medes*, and *Indians*, in the great Island of *Tropobane*. He was pierced with a Lance, near the City *Melapur*, at present called the City of *St. Thomas*, and by a glorious Death for *Jesus Christ*, repaired the Fault of his Incredulity. We learn from the modern History of the *East-Indies*, that in the Kingdoms of *Narsingue* and *Canganor*, and in the neighbour-

ing Provinces, the Tradition is constant, that the Apostle here mentioned, carried the Light of the Gospel thither. The Christians found there, were called the Christians of *St. Thomas*, and they recounted several marvellous Things of him, which they said, were extracted from their Annals, and which were sung by the Children of *Malabar*, in the vulgar Tongue. As a little before the last Discovery they had received Bishops from the Patriarch of *Armenia*, their Faith was corrupted by the *Nestorians*. As to the rest, they observed almost the Ceremonies of the *Roman Church*. They honoured religiously the Eucharist, and took it as a Viaticum before they died. They kept the Fast of *Advent*, and of *Lent*, the Feasts of the Saints, and solemnized in a particular Manner the Sunday of the Octave of *Easter*; because on that Day *St. Thomas*, who had been incredulous at the Resurrection of the Son of God, had the Happiness to see him, and put his Hand in his Side. They had not the Use of the Extreme Unction, nor of the Images, except that of the Cross. Their Priests could be married once. The New Testament was read in their Churches in *Syriack*. That Religious Worship was the Cause of the Persecution they suffer'd, either from the *Mahometans*, or from the Heathen Kings, when the *Portuguese* arrived in their Country. They said, besides, that *St. Thomas* had foretold their Arrival, and that it happen'd according to his Prophecy. His Body, according to *Mapheus's* Relation, was found in the Ruins of a Church built antiently to his Honour, in the City of *Meliapur*, and transported to *Goa*, into a magnificent Temple, which the Vice-Roy of that Time caused to be built for it, by the Order of King *Emanuel*. Before the Arrival of the *Portuguese*, the Christians of those Countries were reckoned to amount to 15 or 16000 Families, or, according to another Calculation, to 70000 Persons, who inhabited the southern Part, the nearest Cape *Camorin*, in the Neighbourhood of the Cities of *Coulam*, and of *Cranganor*, Westward; and about *Meliapur*, and *Nagapatan*, Eastward. But towards the Western Coast, and the City *Cochin*, Northward, there were a greater Number of them. Their Archbishop render'd Obedience to the Patriarch of *Mozul*, or *Babylon* (antiently *Seleucia*) who pretended to a Jurisdiction over the Christians of the *Indies*. But under Pope *Pius IV.* he submitted himself to the *Roman See*, at the Persuasion of the *Portuguese*, retaining, notwithstanding, the antient Ceremonies of his Church. His Successor, at a Synod held at *Goa*, in the Year 1599, made Profession with all his Suffragans, of the *Roman Religion*, without any Reservation of the antient Worship, and gave all their Books to correct, to the Archbishop of that City, to take out all that smelt of *Nestorianism*.

St. Bartholomew preached in the *Armenia major*, and converted the People of *Lycaonia*. He preached, likewise, in *Albania*, and in the citerior *India*. *Pantenus*, a Christian Philosopher, in a Journey he made thither, found that they had preserved his Memory; and brought from thence the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, which he had left there. The Brother of the King he had converted, caused him to be slay'd alive.

St. Matthew, who had left his Bank to follow *Christ*, preached the Gospel in *Ethiopia*, where he died.

Simon the Cananean, called *Zelotes*, preached in *Mesopotamia*, and according to some Authors, in *Egypt*, *Africa*, and *Persia*, where he received the Crown of Martyrdom. *Nicephorus* and *Dorotheus* add *Great Britain*, but it is without any Authority of the Antients.

Judas, called *Thaddæus*, and Brother of *James the Minor*, preached likewise in *Mesopotamia*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Idumæa*, and the neighbouring Countries: He died for the Confession of *Jesus Christ* in the City of *Berith*. *Eusebius* reckons him among the 72 Disciples.

St. James, Son of *Alpheus*, staid at *Jerusalem*, because he was Bishop thereof. He is called the Lord's Brother, because he was his Cousin.

St. Matthias preached in *Judea*, and in Part of *Ethiopia*, and was crowned like the others, for the Confession of the Name of *Jesus Christ*.

In all these apostolical Missions, there is no mention made of *America*, which is the new World; and it is very likely, that if the Apostles, or their Disciples had preached there, some Authors had informed us of it.

Tho' it is a surprizing Thing, that God would leave for so many Centuries, half the Earth without the Light of the Gospel. All the Historians who have wrote the Discovery of those Countries by the *Spaniards*, agree, that they found in it no Track of the Christian Religion. Paganism reigned there alone, and even to this Day it is the Country where it has a greater Number of Partisans. Authors give it six of the seven Parts *America* is composed of. Even several of the Inhabitants, tho' Christians, adore still the Idols, which proceeds from their Ignorance, and the little Care the *Spaniards* take of their true Conversion. It is not only in that vast Continent, that Idolatry remains in its Force, it reigns also in the Places from whence the Apostles and their Disciples had expelled it by the Preaching of the Gospel: And it possesses the sixtieth Part of *Europe*, half the Circumference of *Africa*; all that is in that large Country between the River *Nile* and the western Sea of *Ethiopia*; all the southern *Ethiopia*, both Sides the *Nile*, from the eastern Sea to the western, and even as far as the Cape of *Good Hope*, if we except from it some Parts of *Congo* and *Angola*, where there are a few Christians, and the Extremities of the Shore of the Sea of the *Levant*, from *Mosambick*, Northwards, which is full of *Mahometans*. The same may be said of *Asia*, half whereof, or even more, is occupied by the Pagans. But to ask, why God leaves those innumerable People in that profound Night of Idolatry, his Son being come upon Earth to enlighten all the World, and deliver it from the Slavery of the Idols, it is wanting to penetrate into a Secret which God has reserved to himself; and it suffices us to believe, that that Conduct, which is not agreeable to our Reasonings, is, notwithstanding, full of Justice. Ever since two Centuries, the Gospel has penetrated into several Countries of the old and new World; and before *Jesus Christ* comes to judge the Quick and the Dead, his blessed Name will be preached every where. But when, and by whom such a Thing will be effected, is another Secret, which we must not attempt to fathom. Those who make so many curious Questions on this Subject, should rather thank God that he has placed them in a Country where his Name is ador'd, and endeavour to live according to the Gospel which they profess.

I say very little of the Life and Actions of each Apostle; because we have nothing certain relating to it; and the Rules of History forbid us to relate apocryphal Narrations.

In the Portion of the Provinces made by the Apostles, *St. Peter* chose the West, and established his Chair at *Rome*, that the City which had been a School of Error and Impiety for the whole Earth, should become a School of Piety and Truth; and the Pride of the Capitol yield to the Humility of the Cross of *Jesus Christ*.

Peter was no sooner arrived at *Rome*, but he began to work towards the Establishment of the Reign of his Master. But we can say nothing of it in particular with the Authority of the ancient Fathers, who all unanimously agree, that he came to *Rome*, but say nothing of what he did there. But they are not so unanimous with Regard to the Time of his Arrival; some of them placing it in the 44th Year of *Jesus Christ*, and others a great deal later. It is a Matter belonging to Chronologists; and it must suffice us, that he came in fact to *Rome*.

Metaphrastus gives a Relation of his Journey from *Antioch*, and marks all the Churches he founded in his Way. But he proves nothing of what he says, by any Author to be credited. *St. Paul*, in his second Epistle to *Timothy*, salutes him in the Name of *Pudentius* and *Prisca*, or *Priscilla*; and Cardinal *Baronius* is of Opinion, that they were those who received him in his first Journey to *Rome*; that *Pudentius* was a Senator, who was converted to the Faith, with his two Daughters, *Pudentiana* and *Praxedis*, for a Reward of his Hospitality. He adds, that his House built at the Foot of Mount *Quirinal*, served afterwards to the Faithful, for their Assemblies. It was at *Rome* he wrote his first Epistle, which he addresses to the Elect dispersed here and there in several Provinces of the World. He dates it from *Babylon*, which cannot be understood literally, none of the Antients having wrote that he had ever preached there. Those who will have it that *St. John* in his Apocalypse, by that Name understands *Rome*, cannot find

amiss that we take it in the same Sense, and make Use of that Proof to justify by the Scripture his Arrival at Rome.

The Famine foretold by *Agabus*, happen'd at the Time he had marked, which was the second Year of the Emperor *Claudius*, who on that Occasion shewed for the Subsistence of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, a true paternal Care. The Faithful of *Antioch* sent, likewise, very great Succours to the Christians of *Jerusalem* by *Barnabas* and *Paul*.

After they had executed that important Commission, they returned to *Antioch*, to continue their ordinary Functions of the Preaching. Though they did not stay long there, for by the Command of the Holy Ghost, after the Celebration of the Mysteries, a Fast, and the Prayers of the Ministers of that Church, whom *St. Luke* calls Doctors, they received the Impositions of Hands to go and preach the Doctrine of Salvation in the Provinces, where they were sent by the divine Providence. We have explained, already, what that Imposition of Hands was, which so much puzzles the Interpreters; and it suffices to say in this Place, that it was not an Ordination, either to Episcopacy or to the Apostolate, which *St. Paul* had received immediately from *Jesus Christ*, as he witnesses it himself, but a simple religious Ceremony, which declared the Will of God for the apostolical Ministry among the *Gentiles*, more openly, and in a more illustrious Manner than they had done yet. The Ravishment to the third Heaven, happened (according to the Opinion of several) at that same Time to the Apostle of the Nations. God who designed him to preach his Truths in the World, wanted before to let him see them in their Source, that possessing them with more Light, he could explain them with more Efficacy. He did not bury that Treasure, for departing immediately from *Antioch*, he diffused it first in *Seleucia*. He went afterwards to *Cyprus*, an Isle famous for the fabulous Birth of *Venus*. *Sergius Paulus*, whom *St. Luke* calls, in the *Acts*, Proconsul, was the most illustrious Conquest he made there. A Sorcerer, called *Elymas*, endeavour'd to prevent his Conversion, but the sudden Blindness he was struck with by the Apostle, confirmed the new Catechumen in his Resolution. He proved so grateful for the Favour he had received of his Catechist, that, according to the most common Opinion, he desired him to take his Name, which was one of the most illustrious of the Empire. In fact, it is in that Place that *St. Luke* begins to call him *Paul*. That *Roman* Appellation, could serve besides towards rendering him more acceptable to the *Gentiles*, to whom his Ministry was particularly directed.

From *Cyprus* the two Apostles came to *Perga*, a City of *Pamphylia*; and from thence to *Antioch* of *Pisidia*. *Paul* spoke there several Times to the *Jews*, in a Manner which convinced and persuaded a great Number of them. Those who remained obstinate made use of the Simplicity of some pious Women, who are very easily deceived, and of some Men of Quality, to excite a Sedition against him and *Barnabas*, which obliged them to leave that City. They threw against them the Dust of their Feet, according to the Custom of their Nation, and protested, that since they render'd themselves unworthy of the Preaching of the Gospel, they were going to carry it to the *Gentiles*. In fact, they came to *Iconium*, a City of *Lycania*, where the Preaching of *St. Paul* had a marvellous Effect. They met with very great Difficulties; but the Combats they were obliged to sustain, procured them so many glorious Victories.

The most obvious of them all, was the Conversion of *Thecle*, whom her Birth, Beauty, Fortune, and Wisdom, render'd the Admiration of all those who knew her.

From *Iconium* the Apostle came to *Lystra*. The Inhabitants seeing the Miracle he had done in the Person of a Man lame from his Birth, wanted to adore him, taking him for *Mercury*, because he spoke first, and *Barnabas* his Companion for *Jupiter*. They hinder'd them from committing that Impiety in tearing their Cloaths, and representing to them, that the Worship they would render to them, was due to God alone; that they were come to deliver them from the Error they were plunged in, and to teach them to serve him who had created all

Things, and that for them they were only his Ministers. The Respect of those Superstitions was soon changed into Rage; for some *Jews* coming from *Antioch* and *Iconium*, spurred them on in such a Manner, that they helped them to stone that same *Paul*, whom some Time before they wanted to worship. He was left for dead on the Place, but God preserved him by a singular Miracle. At Night he re-enter'd the City, amidst his Disciples; and the next Day went to *Derbe*. From thence he visited the Churches of *Lystra*, and of *Antioch* of *Pisidia*, establishing in all the Cities, Bishops, and Priests to govern them.

At that Time the blessed Virgin quitted the Earth, to go and enjoy in Heaven the Presence of her Son, who had left her in the World till then for Reasons unknown to us. The Chronologists, who disputed of the Age she died at, are very different in their Calculation; and one Opinion is as probable as the other. The *Roman* Church celebrates the Feast of her *Assumption*, and her common Belief is, that she was carried Soul and Body into Heaven. The small Treatise, which bears the Title *Of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin*, inserted among the Works of *St. Jerom*, is no more of him, nor of *Sophronius*, than the Homilies of that Feast, attributed to *St. Augustin*, are his. I know that commonly a Passage of *St. Dionysius*, the *Areopagite*, found in his Book of the divine Names is alledged, where it is pretended, that that Author says, that he was present at the Death of the Virgin, with *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and *St. James*. *Juvencius*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *St. John Damascenus*, and several other *Greeks* after them, understand it in that Manner. Others explain it of the Sepulchre of our Lord, which had received the God of Life. The Change of a single Letter in the two *Greek* Words, can very well have made that Equivocation. But whatever might have been the Time when that blessed Woman died, and whoever was present at her Death, it is certain she died the Death of the Elect, which is always precious before God.

Paul and *Barnabas* having visited the Churches they had founded, returned to *Antioch* in *Syria*. The Devil excited there a Division among the Church, thro' the Obstinacy of some *Jews*, who maintained, that the *Gentiles*, newly converted to the Faith, should receive the Circumcision, according to the Law of *Moses*. The Apostle and his faithful Companion, opposed it courageously; but the Dispute increased to such a Degree, that it was determined that each Party should send to consult the Apostles and Priests who were in *Jerusalem*. *St. Peter* was then in *Jerusalem*, and as it appeared since, that happened by the particular Influence of the Holy Ghost.

The Emperor *Claudius* having banished all the *Jews* from *Rome*, because of the Seditions excited daily among them, and which were occasioned perhaps by some of them embracing the Christian Religion, and others opposing it, *Peter* had been obliged to go out of *Rome* with the rest, to obey the Edict. *Paul* and *Barnabas*, who were sent by the Party of those who refused to oblige themselves to the legal Ceremonies, related their Commission, at their Arrival in *Jerusalem*. The Apostles who happened to be there with *St. Peter*, were *John* and *James*, who judged that to resolve so important a Difficulty, they should assemble with the Priests of the Church, and decide by the Oracle of the Holy Ghost, the Question which troubled the Faithful of *Antioch*. It was disputed with much Warmth; but, which did not alter the Charity among them, *St. Peter*, as Chief, spoke first; and shewed, that it was by him that God had begun to instruct the *Gentiles* in the Truths of the Gospel, that by the coming down of the Holy Ghost on *Cornelius* the Centurion, and on those who were in his Company, he had very well shewed, that he made no Difference between the *Jews* and the Nations, for the Manifestation of the Truth. That by Faith he had purified their Heart; and that it was without Reason, they wanted to impose a Yoke, which the Ancestors of the *Jews*, and even the modern *Jews* could not bear. *Paul* and *Barnabas* related afterwards what God had done by their Ministry in the Provinces, where they had preached to the Infidels. *James* spoke last, and concluded according to the Sentiment of *Peter*; that they ought to order nothing to those who came from Idolatry to the Faith, but

but only that they should abstain from suffocated Meats, and from those sacrificed to the Idols, from the Blood of Beasts, and from Fornication.

By that Determination, equally prudent and holy, both Parties were satisfied. For the Gentiles were discharged from the Obligation of having themselves circumcised, which was the hardest; and of many other legal Observations, which they considered as an insupportable Servitude. For the Jews, they were likewise pleased, because they were left in their Uses, and the Gentiles were obliged to some Precepts of the Law, to which they were much bigotted. The Prohibition of eating Flesh with the Blood had been made to Noah, immediately after the Flood, by the Mouth of God himself. For that of Fornication it was necessary to the Idolaters, not that it was a Thing lawful among them before this Prohibition, since it is bad of itself, and contrary to the Order of Nature, but because they did not consider it as such; and that the civil Laws which condemned Adultery, saying nothing of that unlawful Conjunction, that Silence opened them a wide Gate to Incontinency, and was directly contrary to the Purity, which the Christian Faith requires of its Observers, as of those whose Bodies become by Baptism the Temples of the Holy Ghost; therefore it was necessary to forbid it expressly, that no body should alledge for Excuse either Ignorance or Custom.

After the Decree was formed by the Apostles, in the first Council where the Church had been assembled, a synodal Epistle was drawn, wherein that Decree was explained in the Manner we have related it; and to give it a greater Authority, these Words were put at the Head thereof, *It has seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and unto us.* Which shews, that it is not Men that make the Decisions of the Councils, but the Holy Ghost which render them infallible for the Things of the Faith; of which some of the Calvinists and others are so conscious, that to have Room to condemn what Councils they please, their Translators have expunged these Words to the Holy Ghost, which are in the Original, and in all Translations from the Beginning of the Church, to Luther and Calvin, &c. who having made what Changes they pleased in the Scripture, they have expunged the Words, *to the Holy Ghost*, contented themselves with these, *it seemed good to us.* Judas and Silas were charged with the synodal Epistle, and departed with Paul and Barnabas, to go and restore Peace to the Church of Antioch. Peter came thither some Time afterwards. At first he eat indifferently of all Sorts of Meat with those who had left Gentilism: But at the Arrival of some Jews, being afraid to scandalize them, he left those new Converts, and returned to the legal Observations. Paul, who saw the Consequence of that Conduct, which was likely to rekindle the Division which had been extinguished, and destroy the Decision of the Council, reprimanded him, and resisted him to his Face, *because he was reprehensible*, to use his own Terms. That Resistance was not a Mark of Self-conceit in St. Paul, but of a very courageous and very disinterested Zeal. Neither did it deprive him of the Primacy he had received immediately from the Son of God. On the contrary, by suffering as he did, that publick Correction, he has left a marvellous Example to all Bishops, to make the Interests of their Dignity, give Way to the Salvation of the People, and the Truth of the Gospel.

That Division which did not alter the Charity between the two Apostles, caused another some Centuries afterwards, between the two greatest Men of the Church, St. Augustin and St. Jerom. For this having wrote according to the Opinion of St. Chrysostom, and of the Greeks, that the Dispute of St. Peter and St. Paul had been concerted between them, the better to deceive usefully the Jews, and oblige them to renounce the Superstition they were too much bigotted to, for the Distinction of Meats; St. Augustin, who thought that that Opinion attacked dangerously the Truths of the canonical Scriptures, wrote a Letter of Reprimands to him. It was not delivered to St. Jerom, but several Years after it had been wrote, tho' it had been rendered publick every where. St. Jerom was much nettled at it, and in that Contestation they both wrote Things which instructed the Faithful. It is certain that St. Augustin's Opinion is the true one, and that no Reason obliging to explain

the Dispute of the Apostles otherwise, than it is written by St. Paul, we must mind the Letter, which the Enemies of the Primacy of the Church of Rome pretend to be favourable to their Sentiments.

Paul who had received from the Council the Care of the Nations, persuaded Barnabas to go and visit the Churches of Asia. He consented to it, but he would have along with him his Cousin, called John, and surnamed Mark, to assist them. The Apostle did not judge that proper, because as he had not accompanied them in their first Journey, he would be an entire Stranger to those whom they were to visit; besides, that he thought that Rigour necessary to render him more courageous in Process of Time, than he had been before. But Barnabas, who would not be persuaded to desist from his former Sentiment, parted from St. Paul, and took a different Road. Notwithstanding which, the Charity was not wounded in that Dispute, and Providence made use of their Division to declare the Truth of the Gospel to divers People. That Mark rejected by St. Paul, was afterwards one of his faithful Companions. As for Barnabas, St. Luke says nothing of what he did after that Separation; and it would be imposing on the Reader, to relate the Fables we read in the Book of Abdias, entitled the Combat of the Apostles, and in the Recognitions of St. Clement. The surest Tradition is, that he has founded the Church of Milan, and preached the Gospel in Liguria, which is at present the State of Genoa, but which then extended much further. Cardinal Baronius cannot bear that one should say that he has preached in Rome, before St. Peter. Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and St. Jerom, quote an Epistle of him, which was much esteemed in the Church. Tertullian, and some other Authors have attributed to him that of St. Paul to the Hebrews.

Paul, having parted from Barnabas, and chose Silas to supply his Place, made the Tour of Syria and Cilicia, exhorting the Christians to persevere courageously in the Faith, and observe faithfully the Precepts of the Apostles and of the Priests. In Lystra, he found a young Man called Timothy, Son of a Mother who was born a Jew, but professed the Christian Religion, but whose Father was a Gentile, to whom all the Christians of that City rendered honourable Testimonies of his Piety, and whom he chose for Companion of his Travels. As under so excellent a Master, so good a Disciple made soon great Progresses in all the Christian Virtues, he became very dear to him, and had always the first Place in his Affection, among all those he had educated. He praises him for his Faith, Constancy, Fidelity, and the marvellous Progresses he made in the divine Knowledge. He calls him his dearly beloved, and most faithful in our Lord. He says, that he has no body, to whom he is so unanimously joined, and that he has served him in the Predication of the Gospel as his Child. He gives him the Name of his Coadjutor, and recommends him as himself. He circumcised him for fear of offending the Jews who lived in those Places, making himself a Jew with them to gain them to Jesus Christ, and shew them he did not reject the Circumcision as bad, but only as needless after the Coming of Jesus Christ. It is to Timothy he wrote afterwards two marvellous Epistles, which teach the Qualities and Duties of a good Bishop, of Priests and Deacons.

He would have preached in Asia, and in Bithynia; but the Holy Ghost who breathes where he pleases, and leaves whom he pleases in the Darkeness of Infidelity, would not permit it; and by the Vision of a Man dressed Macedonian Fashion, who told him, *Come thou into Macedonia to assist us*, shewed him that his Will was, that he should preach in that Province. From Troas he came to Samothracia; the next Day to Neapolis, and from thence to Philippi; where he converted a Woman who followed the Occupation of dying in Scarlet, God having opened the Heart to her alone, to receive the Word of the Gospel, which St. Luke observes particularly; and which teaches us that the Preacher speaks in vain to the corporal Ears, if at the same Time the divine Grace does not open the Heart, and introduce into it the Doctrine of Salvation. The Deliverance of the Pythionisse, who was a Maid, and by whose Means the Devil divined, and brought thereby a great Gain to her Master,

fter, caused a Sedition against *Paul*, and against *Silas*. They were presented to the Magistrates, who had them whipped, and put in Prison. In the Middle of the Night, while the others were asleep, they sung Hymns to God, who was pleased to discover their Innocence by a Miracle. All the Gates of the Prison opened of themselves, the Chains fell off the Hands of the Prisoners, and there happened a great Earthquake. The Gaoler, who thought that those put in his Custody were fled, drew his Sword to kill himself through Despair. *St. Paul* said to him that he should not hurt himself, and that they were in the same Place, where he had put them the Night before. The divine Light enlightening his Understanding, he came at that Instant to throw himself at the Feet of the Apostles, and asked them what he should do to be saved. They told him, that it was necessary to believe in Christ, and at the same Time instructed him on the Points of Faith. He believed and was baptiz'd with all his Family. The next Day the Magistrates sent them Word they might go where they pleased; and came themselves to intreat them of it, having been informed that they were Roman Citizens, excusing as well as they could, the Injury done to them against the Laws, and against the Privileges of their Condition. It was at that Time, and in that City, that *St. Luke* Author of one of the four Gospels, and of the Acts of the Apostles, joined *St. Paul*, and never left him afterwards. From *Philippi* the Apostles passed through *Amphipolis*, and through *Apollonia*, and stop'd at *Thessalonica*, where they converted several Gentiles; which enraged the *Jews* against them. *Jason*, who was their Landlord, became their Bail, and it was with the greatest Difficulty that he appeased them. In the Night he procured their Escape, and they came to the City of *Berea*. The Success of their Preaching was great there. The *Jews* of *Thessalonica* being informed of it, ran thither to take the Apostle; which made them take the Resolution to give way to Violence, and carry the Light of Salvation somewhere else.

Athens was a Theatre worthy of *St. Paul*. The Philosophy and other Sciences, flourished there still, but the Superstition of Idolatry rendered it an abominable Place to live in. The Apostle immediately after his Arrival, felt within himself extraordinary Motions of Zeal; and *Luke* observes that he disputed every Day with the Stoicks and Epicureans, who were capital Enemies of the Humility and Purity of the Gospel. For the former made a God of their wise Man, maintaining that he was incapable of feeling any Passions, and of falling. Therefore they acknowledged neither the Corruption of Nature by Sin, nor Weakness by Concupiscence, nor consequently the absolute Necessity of the Grace of *Jesus Christ*. The Epicureans denied the Immortality of the Soul, and by that Dogma alone, ruined all the Religion. For tho' the Voluptuousness whereof their Founder made his sovereign Good, was not that of the Body, which the Vulgar understand by that Word; but he explained it of the Tranquility of the Soul joined with Indolence: That last End notwithstanding, of the human Actions, was entirely different from that the Gospel gives them. They had other Errors against the Providence, and the Respect due to the Divinity, who, according to them, was not to be feared, to enjoy the Felicity of a wise Man. It is not to be wondered at, then, if neither the one nor the other could receive the Doctrine of *St. Paul*, which was so contrary to their Opinions, and which established for its Foundation the Corruption of Nature by Sin, and the Necessity of Redemption by *Jesus Christ*, to which no body could have Part, without partaking of his Sufferings. The Discourse he made in the Areopagum, the Subject whereof he took from an Altar erected, to the unknown God, which he had seen in the City, ravished all those who heard him. But as towards the End, he spoke of the Resurrection of the Dead, and of the last Judgment, some of his Auditors laught at him, as at a Madman who retailed ridiculous Romances. Others said, that they would hear him again on the same Subject. Some were converted, among whom the Text of the Acts takes Notice of *St. Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, i. e. one of the Judges of the Areopagum, as of an extraordinary Man.

From *Athens* the Apostle came to *Corinth*, where he

lodged with *Aquila*, whose Profession was to make Tents for the Soldiers. He knew likewise that Art, and did not think it beneath him, on Occasion, to get his Livelihood, by the Works of his Hands, not to be burthen-some to those whom he instructed; when he thought that to forward their Salvation, it was necessary to receive nothing from them for his Subsistence. For otherwise he never refused from others the common Necessaries of Life. In those Occasions his great Maxim was, that *all that is permitted, is not expedient*. There were a vast Number of *Jews* at *Corinth*. All Sabbath-Days, he preached to them, and instructed them as much by his Example, as by his Words and Miracles; suffering with Joy all Sorts of Persecutions from them, for the Sake of his Master. But when he perceived, that instead of yielding to Truth, they opposed it every Day, with still more Violence, he shook his Cloaths, to shew them that he was innocent of their Reprobation; and told them boldly, that he was a going to communicate to the *Gentiles* the Light they refused. In fact, he changed his Place of Abode, and came to lodge with *Titus*, whose House was near the Synagogue. *Crispus*, who was the Chief thereof, made a very good Use of his Neighbourhood, and received the Grace of Faith, with all his Family. Several of the Inhabitants had the same Happiness, and were baptized. Those Conversions could not happen, without the Devil giving subject to *St. Paul* to exercise his Patience. For he excited every Day some new Persecution against him, to hinder him from destroying entirely his Reign in that City, which was all plunged in sensual Pleasures. The Vanity and Curiosity the Sciences are accompanied with, were, likewise, very great Obstacles to the Doctrine *St. Paul* preached, near Persons who were used to the Eloquence of Orators and Reasonings of Philosophers. The Son of God, who strengthen'd him by his inward Grace, would sensibly encourage him, besides, amidst so many Difficulties by a Vision, in which he appeared to him, and told him, *that he should fear nothing, that he was always at his Side to assist him, that no body could hurt him, and that he had a great Number of Servants in Corinth*. Those divine Assurances filled him with a new Zeal for the Preaching of the Gospel, and engaged him to stay 18 Months in that City; during which he signalized his Apostolate, as he says himself by Miracles, which confirmed the Truth he announced, and which spreading on that Church all Sorts of Blessings, render'd it equal to the most illustrious Churches. *St. Luke* says nothing in particular of the Actions of *St. Paul*; and we can only learn from what he wrote afterwards to the *Corinthians*, that he suffered a great deal there; and acted in an extraordinary Manner, for the Establishment of the Gospel. A Year and a half was employed in that Manner. And that Term almost expired, he was seized by the *Jews*, who hated him mortally, and carried to the Tribunal of *Gallio*, Proconsul of *Achaia*. They accused him of teaching a Worship contrary to the Law of God. But *Gallio* seeing that it was a Question of a Point of Religion, would not meddle with it; and even dismissed them in a pretty rude Manner. The *Jews* enraged to see their Complaints neglected, revenged themselves on *Sosthenes*, Prince of the Synagogue, who was a Christian, and beat him cruelly before the Proconsul himself, who used no Endeavours to stop that Violence. Afterwards the Apostle staid still some Time in *Corinth*; whence he wrote the two Epistles to the *Thessalonians*, to calm the vain Apprehensions some Doctors had inspired them with, of the last Day being near at Hand. When he saw that his Abode was no longer necessary in that City, he left it with the Design of coming into *Syria*. He cut his Hair in the Port of *Cenchreae*, to acquit himself of a Vow he had made. *St. Luke* does not explain that Vow, and we believe it to be that of *Nazarene* for some Time, which Charity engaged him to make; either to persuade the *Jews* who were in his Company, that he respected the Observances of the Law; or because in their Presence, he might, on some Occasions have contracted some legal Impurities, of which he thought proper to purify himself, lest he should scandalize them.

At his Departure from *Corinth*, he had *Aquila* and *Priscilla* along with him, who had received him in their House at *Corinth*; he left them in *Ephesus*, where he

he only passed, designing, at his Return, to stay longer in it. Continuing his Journey he arrived at *Cesarea of Palestine*. From thence he came to *Antioch of Syria*, whence he departed to visit the Churches of *Galatia*, *Phrygia*, and of the Provinces of the *Higher Asia*; in which he employed a whole Year at least. After he had communicated in that Journey to those whom he visited, new Lights, and new Forces, to persevere in the Profession of Christianity, he returned to *Ephesus*, as he had promised.

It was a City famous for the Temple of *Diana*, which was reckon'd among the seven Wonders of the World. *Asia* had employed two hundred Years in building it, and all its Provinces had contributed towards that grand Design: Its Length was of 525 Feet, and its Breadth of 220; it had 127 Columns, erected by so many Kings; they were 60 Feet in Height, and all the Rules of Architecture were marvellously observed in them. But what gained its Reputation, was the Cause of the Unhappiness of *Ephesus*, since that Temple attracting the Vows of all the Provinces of the World, render'd it more bigotted to the Worship of the Devil, which they mistook for a Divinity. It was a Place very advantageous for Preaching the Gospel to all *Asia*, therefore the Apostle staid three Years there. At his Arrival he found some Persons who called themselves Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, and who, notwithstanding, had only been baptized with the Baptism of *John*, and knew not if there was a Holy Ghost, far from having received it. He caused them to be baptized in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, and having imposed Hands on them, *i. e.* confirmed them, the Holy Ghost came down upon them, and made them speak Languages which they had never learned, which was the common Sign of his descending on the new Faithful, in those fortunate Days of Christianity's Infancy. The Apostle, for three Months successively disputed every Sabbath-Day against the *Jews*, and proved to them clearly that *Jesus Christ* was the *Messiah* they expected. But in all the Places of the World, the same Veil of Error cover'd the Eyes of those of that Nation. Instead of yielding to Truth, they contradicted it with Fury; and proffered Blasphemies against the Honour of the Son of God, which obliged *St. Paul* to forsake them. He took his Abode in the School of a sophist Philosopher, called *Tyran*, which was a commodious Place for the Preaching of the Gospel. There was no Day passed without his Preaching the evangelical Doctrine, in a Manner so holy, and so marvellous, that he had always a great Crowd of Auditors. As *Ephesus* was the Capital of *Asia*, Men from all the Provinces resorted thither, who would go to hear that new Doctor, who made so much Noise. Several carried back along with them to their own Country, the Knowledge of the Gospel, and became so many Evangelists among their Fellow-Citizens. Therefore the Apostle, without going out of a City, catechised almost one third Part of the World. He joined the Glory of Miracles to the Strength of his Preaching; so that the Learned who had Genius enough to contradict his Discourses, were forced to surrender to the marvellous Cures he operated by the Invocation of the Name of *Jesus Christ*. His Handkerchiefs, and Girdles restored Health to the Sick, and all Kinds of Devils were obliged to obey his Command.

The Sons of *Sceva*, Prince of the Priests among the *Jews*, Inhabitants of *Ephesus*, (the Text of the *Acts* calls them Exorcists) attempted to do the same Thing, and undertook to expel the Devil in the Name of the God whom *Paul* preached. But the evil Spirit told them that he knew *Jesus*, and the Apostle who preached him; but as for them, they were Strangers to him, and he laughed at their Conjurations. In fact, the Possessed threw himself on them, and having beaten and wounded them cruelly, he forced them to fly quite naked. When that was known by all the Inhabitants of *Ephesus*, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, it filled them with Fear and Respect together for *Jesus Christ*, and for him who preached his Doctrine. The Christians were likewise extremely moved at it; and those who knew themselves guilty of great Sins, were not ashamed to confess them, and seek the Remedies thereof in Penitence. Several Persons, likewise, who had been addicted to Magick, brought all the Books which treated of

that Art, and burnt them in publick. Their Number must have been very great, or their Rarity extraordinary, since in the *Acts*, *St. Luke* informs us, that their Price amounted to fifty thousand Pence, which might have been five thousand Gold Crowns, according to the Supputation of *Budeus*. We learn from History, that *Ephesus* had always been much addicted to the Abominations of Magick, and that Characters were sold there publickly. *Eustachius* observed, that there were several engraven on the Feet and Crown of the Statue of *Diana*. As by it the Devil received great Honours, he opposed with all his Might the Progresses of the Gospel, and excited such cruel Persecutions against the Apostle, that he says in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, that he had suffer'd so much in *Ephesus*, that Life was become tedious to him: He adds, that he had fought against the wild Beasts, which I believe must be explained allegorically, and not literally. He doth speak, without Doubt, of the Sedition which *Demetrius* excited against him, which was very dangerous.

This was a Silversmith in Credit, who gained a considerable Livelihood, and procured it to several other Workmen under him, whom he employed in making Silver Statues, which the Idolaters used to buy, to present them to the Temple of *Diana*, or little Temples formed on the Model of the great one. Ever since the Apostle had began to preach against the Worship of the false Divinities, his Gain had decreased considerably, and he was afraid to find himself at last without Occupation. That made him take the Resolution to assemble all those who worked under him, and had the same Interest to defend the Honours of *Diana*. He represented to them so pathetically the Decay of the Reputation of their Temple, which their Ruin must unavoidably follow, that he engaged them to stir up a publick Sedition. In that Rage they found *Caius* and *Aristarchus*, two *Macedonians* born, who were Disciples of *St. Paul*; they seized them, and carried them to the Theatre. The Apostle offer'd to go thither; but his Disciples, and some *Asiatick* Lords who loved him, dissuaded him from it, for fear, the People in the Height of the Emotion, should put him to Death. A Magician, who happen'd to be there, spoke so dexterously, and so happily to the People, that he appeased the Tumult, and they all went away without doing any Thing against their Prisoners.

The Apostle judging that he had staid long enough at *Ephesus*, took the Resolution of executing the Project he had formed to pass into *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, from thence to *Jerusalem*, and from *Jerusalem* return to *Rome*.

The Apostle, before his Departure from *Ephesus*, appointed *Timothy* Bishop thereof; which Church he govern'd with much Holiness and Zeal. And after he had a long while and gloriously worked for the Glory of *Jesus Christ*, he had the Honour to be stoned to Death for him, in wanting to oppose the impious Worship of *Diana*, and the superstitious Fury of the *Gentiles*, in one of their Feasts.

From *Ephesus* the Apostle wrote his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*. The frightful Excommunication he pronounced against the Incestuous, teaches the Church not to use that Punishment slightly, and the Faithful to fear it more than they do at present. What he says in it of the Advantages of Celibacy, to which he exhorts by his Example, proves clearly that he was never married; and that if he consider'd Marriage as a great Mystery in *Jesus Christ*, and in his Church, to answer previously those who should condemn it afterwards; he preferred, notwithstanding, the State of Celibacy to it, to confound, likewise, those who in Process of Time were to blame a Kind of Life, which having no Model on Earth, has searched it in Heaven, in the Bosom of God the Father; according to the Expression of *St. Ambrose*, *lib. de Virgin.* the Apostle staid several Months in *Macedonia* to confirm the Faithful in their Faith. From thence he wrote his first Epistle to *Timothy*. Continuing his Journey, he went to *Greece* by Sea, where he staid three Months. He landed in the Island of *Crete*; and left *Titus* to govern the Church he had assembled there, and those of the neighbouring Places. He afterwards addressed him in an Epistle, wherein he teaches which are the Duties of a true Minister of *Jesus Christ*. He speaks of him in his Epistles,

Epistles, as of a Man who was very dear, and very useful to him. For in the second Epistle to the *Corinthians* he declares, that not finding him in the City of *Troas*, as he had expected, he was very uneasy; and that having met with him in *Macedonia*, he had received great Consolation at his Arrival, having learned of him the good State of their Church. The antient Authors do not speak of the Time of his Conversion, but they prize his Learning, Zeal, and Toils for the Defence of the Gospel. *St. Ignatius the Martyr* says, that he kept his Virginity all his Life. The Apostle must have discover'd in him an extraordinary Virtue, since he not only made Use of him in several important Employments near his Person, (*St. Jerom* says, that he made him write under him) but gave him the Conduct of the Churches of the Isle of *Crete*, where the Debauchery and depraved Manners of the Inhabitants, required a holy, and very learned Pastor, to establish there the Reign of *Jesus Christ*. *Titus* having done it with great Success, went, besides, to preach the Gospel in *Dalmatia*, where by his Words and Example he converted a great Number of Idolaters to the Faith. He returned into *Crete*, where continuing in his Functions, he died of a peaceable Death at the Age of eighty four.

At that same Time *St. Luke* wrote the Gospel which bears his Name: He was born at *Antioch* in *Syria*, and professed Physick. *Nicephorus* makes him an excellent Painter; and we are shewn to this Day, Images of the blessed Virgin, which are said to be of his Hand. But it is much more certain, that he has painted in a divine Manner the laborious Life of the Son of God in his Gospel; having related several Things of his Birth, Preaching and Miracles, which have escaped the Memory of the other Evangelists. Even his Style is more elegant than theirs. He wrote, likewise, the Book entitled, *The Acts of the Apostles*, where his chief Design was to write the History of *St. Paul*; though he has omitted several of his most important Actions, which we find in the Epistles of his Master. *St. Epiphanius* says, that he preached the Gospel in *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Dalmatia*. That may be, but when he adds, that he was one of the seventy-two Disciples of our Lord, it is against his own Testimony at the Beginning of his Gospel, where, as we have already observed, he declares that he was not an Eye-witness of the Things he writes. The *Greeks*, in their Menology, do not mention him as a Martyr, no more than *St. Jerom*, who marks his Death at the Age of eighty-four Years. But *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, *St. Paulin* Bishop of *Nole*, and *St. Gaudentius* Bishop of *Brescia*, give him the Glory of sealing with his Blood the Truths he had wrote.

By the Death of the Emperor *Claudius*, the *Jews* were allowed the Liberty to return to *Rome*, whence his Edict had expelled them; which engaged *St. Paul* to return thither, likewise, to preach the Gospel; after having passed thro' *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, and staid a little while in *Jerusalem*. From *Nicopolis*, where he passed the Winter, he wrote his second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, wherein he rises the Excommunication of the Incestuous. The Apostle prizes himself much in that Epistle, but it is clearly seen, that it is for the Defence of the Ministry, and not for the Glory of the Minister, that he speaks so advantageously of his Apostolate, of his Visions, and of his Miracles. For he adds to it the Relation of a shameful Temptation he was tormented with, and confesses that he had prayed God with a great Fervency, and a long while, to deliver him from it; which shews, that it must have been very violent.

St. Chrysostom cannot bear that it should be said, that that great Apostle has felt so violent Motions of Incontinency, and in an Age, when it is quite extinguished in the greatest Debauchees: And he explains that Prick of *Satan*, of the continual Persecutions he suffered in the Preaching of the Gospel: But, as he says himself, that it was given him lest the Sublimity of his Revelations should raise him too much; it seems to me that we should conclude, that the Remedy must have been proportioned to the Evil: But the Persecutions he suffered had rather been capable to inspire him with Vanity, than hinder him from conceiving any, because they succeeded always to his Glory: But what could be, on the contrary, more proper to humble him, than a carnal Tem-

ptation, and in his old Age, after he had exercised himself so long in the Practice of Virtue. It is the most common Sentiment of the antient Fathers, and Interpreters, which I am the more inclined to follow, because I find it conformable to the Wisdom of God, who while he was raising *St. Paul* into Heaven, by sublime Visions, leaves him in the Dirt of a carnal Temptation; besides that the Force of Grace appears in it, which hinders him from consenting to it.

From *Cenchraea*, which was the Port of *Corinth*, he writes his Epistle to the *Romans*, which contains the fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion, the Corruption of human Nature by *Adam's* Sin, the Reparation by the Grace of *Jesus Christ*; the Efficacy of that Remedy, its Necessity, and the Secret of his eternal Election, which he establishes on the pure Will of God, who from the same Mass of Corruption draws Vessels in Honour, and Vessels of Ignominy, without any having Right to ask him the Reason of so different a Conduct. He proposes to himself all the Objections which human Pride can make against the Choice of the one, and the Reprobation of the others, which has no other Reason but the Will of him who does it; the Original Sin being supposed. But instead of resolving them, by acknowledging the Proviso of the Merits of some, and of the Infidelity of others, which had plainly satisfied human Reason, he has Recourse to the Sublimity and Depth of God's Judgments, which Man must respect with Humility, and not undertake to fathom with Pride; as if the Creator was indebted in something to those who are all born in the same Condemnation by the first Sin, and who could all be left in it, without Injustice.

St. Paul returned to *Macedonia*, to avoid the Ambushes which the *Jews* had laid for him on the Road of *Syria*. From *Philippi* he came to *Troas* in five Days. Here he raised a young Man from the Dead, who being overcome by Sleep, was fallen from the Windows of the Hall, where he preached very late in the Night, and celebrated the sacred Mysteries. He joined his Disciples in *Asson*, where they were gone by Sea to wait for him. From thence he came to *Mitylene*, and having embarked the Day following, they came to *Chio*; the next Day to *Samos*, and the third to *Miletum*, which was the Port of *Ephesus*. He desired the Bishops who were then at *Ephesus*, and the Priests who governed the Church, to come to him, because he should not stay long in that City, designing to be at *Jerusalem* for the Feast of Pentecost. He made then an excellent Discourse to engage them to acquit themselves with Care, of the Government of those whom the Holy Ghost had committed to their Pastoral Solitude; and concluded with that beautiful Sentence of *Jesus Christ*, which we do not find in the Gospel, *it is better to give than to receive*. He prayed with them Kneeling on the Shore; and left them extremely afflicted, of what he told them, that they should see him no more. From that Place, his Ship carried him streight to the Island *Coo*; the Day following to *Rhodes*, and afterwards to *Patara*. He left *Cyprus* on the Left, and steering towards *Syria*, he came ashore at *Tyre*, where he staid two Days, for the Consolation of the Faithful who were there: Then having re-embarked, he went to *Ptolemais*, and the next Day to *Cesarea*. He lodged there with *Philip*, one of the first seven Deacons, where he staid a Week. The Prophet *Agabus* told him, that if he should go to *Jerusalem*, the *Jews* would certainly take him Prisoner, and deliver him into the Hands of the *Gentiles*. His Disciples hearing that Prediction, intreated him not to go thither, and added Tears to their Intreaties; but all they could say, was not capable to dissuade him from it. And he protested to them, that *he was ready, not only to suffer the Chains for Jesus Christ, but likewise to lose his Life for his Service*. He continued then his Journey, and arrived happily in the City, where he was to lose the Liberty of the Body, to restore that of the Soul to several others, by an admirable Direction of the Holy Ghost.

James, who was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and all the other Faithful, received him with joy, and with due Respect, which what he had suffer'd for the Cause of the Gospel, deserved. The Account he gave them of the Progresses he had made among Idolaters, obliged them

to praise a thousand Times the divine Goodness, and to honour more still, him whom he had employed in so great a Work. The *Jews*, and the *Christians* who judaized, published every where, that he was a mortal Enemy of the Law of *Moses*, and destroyed it wherever he could. This could render him not only useless, but even odious to the Faithful of that Church, who observed obstinately several legal Ceremonies. Therefore St. *James* advised him to shew publicly the Respect he had for the Religion of his Ancestors, the better to blot out the Calumny they aspersed him with; and prevent the Troubles which could be excited in his Church, on his Account. There was then a favourable Occasion for it. Four Men were to purify themselves in the Temple, as it was commanded to the *Nazarenes*. He thought proper, that joining with them, he should use that Observation in his own Person, by offering for himself the usual Sacrifice, and even make the Expence of it for the others. The Charity he had for his Brethren, inclined him easily to that holy Condescension to their Infirmary which was desired of him, but which was not thought should have been followed by the Misfortune which happen'd. For while he was in the Temple, some *Assiatick Jews* who had heard him preach in their Provinces, rushed upon him, and crying that he was that Man called *Paul*, who disclaimed every where against the Law of *Moses*, and was a mortal Enemy thereof, they excited a Sedition, where he had been killed, if the Tribune *Lyfias*, who ran thither to appease it, had not deliver'd him from their Hands, by having him conducted to the Tower, called *Antonian*. He took him first, for a certain *Egyptian* Impostor, who had abused the People some Time before, and assembled four thousand Assassins, who committed great Disorders, and horrible Murders. The Apostle undeceived him, and to appease the *Jews* would give them an Account of his Life. After he had spoke of his Zeal for the Law, and recounted his Conversion, he mentions the Command he had received to preach the Gospel to the *Gentiles*. That Discourse excited the Rage of those that heard him. *Lyfias*, to appease them, commanded that he should be whipped, and he had received that Injury if he had not discovered himself to be a *Roman* Citizen. The Inhabitants of *Tarsus*, who were a *Roman* Colony, had that Right. The next Day he spoke again before the Council, where the Affairs of the Religion were treated. *Ananias*, who was the President, commanded his Servants to buffet him. That Violence obliged him to a just Menace of the Judgment of God against him; and he called him *white-washed Wall*. But having been informed of his Quality of Prince of the Priests; he excused himself, on that he did not know him, and alledged the Passage of the Scripture, which forbids reviling the Prince of his People. His Judges being very little disposed to receive his Justifications, he thought he must come out of their Hands by an innocent Artifice. They were of two Sects, Enemies of one another, viz. *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*. The Apostle who had professed the first, said, that he was persecuted for defending the Resurrection of the Dead. The *Sadducees* denied it; so that that Word made them forget the Cause of their pretended Criminal, to engage them in a violent Dispute among them, which was the Cause that the Assembly separated without doing any Thing.

After he had escaped that Danger, forty Men made a Vow neither to eat nor drink till they had killed him. Those Ambushes were discover'd to him by his Nephew, and he informed *Lyfias* of it, who sent him to the Governor of the Province, called *Felix*, under a sure Guard. *Ananias*, and several others of the most apparent among the *Jews*, went immediately to *Cæsarea* to accuse him. *Felix* having heard the Parties, by the Mouth of *Tertullus* their Advocate, postponed the Judgment of their Differences, till after the Arrival of *Lyfias*, who had examined him first. Mean while he often discoursed with him in private, together with *Drusilla*, a *Jew* Woman of Belief, Daughter of the old *Agrippa*, and Sister of the young one. He had made her leave her Husband *Aretas*, who was a petty King of the *Emesians*, and he kept her publicly as his Wife. St. *Paul* in one of those Conversations, spoke of Chastity, and of the last Judgment, with a great Force. The Proconsul was very much frightened at it, but was not changed, neither for his

Belief, nor for his Manners. He expected always that the Apostle would give him Money to come out of his Hands, and in that Expectation he kept him under the Guard of a Centurion, with Liberty enough, allowing that every Body should see him. He had had that Government by the Favour of his Brother *Pallas*, that famous Freedman of the Emperor *Claudius*, who had with Insolence abused his Fortune, and of the Stupidity of his Master, as we have observed in our Chronology of the *Roman* Emperors. But Things having changed Face under *Nero*, his Successor, *Pallas* was disgraced, in which, according to the Custom which prevails to this Day, all his Relations having been included, the Emperor sent *Porcius Festus* into *Judea*, in *Felix's* Place. He would, at his Departure, gratify the *Jews*, so that tho' he knew the Innocency of the Apostle, he, notwithstanding, left him Prisoner.

So soon as the new Governor was arrived in *Judea*, the Princes of the Priests renewed their former Accusations against St. *Paul*, and intreated him earnestly to do Justice to them, and to command that he should be brought to *Jerusalem*. *Festus* having been, perhaps, informed of it, or knowing their Animosity, told them, that *he was Prisoner in Cæsarea, that in a few Days he would go thither, and that they should send their Chiefs thither, likewise, to accuse him, and if he was guilty, he would make an Example of him.*

The Apostle had no need to fear that Condition. His Accusers being arrived at *Cæsarea*, alledged several Things against him, but could not prove them. As for him, he shewed clearly, that he had failed neither against the Law of *Moses*, nor against the Respect due to the Emperor. *Festus*, who was willing enough to destroy the Apostle, thereby to ingratiate himself with the *Jews*, asked him if he would go up to *Jerusalem*, and there receive his Sentence. *Paul*, who knew how far that Proposition went, told him, *that he appealed to Cæsar, and that it was before his Tribunal he was to be judged.* That Appeal surprized the Judge, and the Parties, and ruined the Design they had formed to undo him. At the End of a few Days, the young *Agrippa*, Son of that *Herod*, whose frightful Death we have related, and *Berenice* his Sister, came to *Cæsarea* to visit *Festus*. He spoke to them of the Prisoner he had in his Hands, and *Agrippa* shewed that he wanted to hear him. As he was a *Jew* by Birth, and Religion, *Festus* was glad he should speak before that Prince, that on his Report, he could inform the Emperor of the Circumstances of his Affairs, and of the Reasons of his Appeal. On the Day appointed for that Audience, *Agrippa* came to the Place with a royal Pomp, the Apostle was brought, likewise, and being commanded to speak, he made so learned, and so powerful a Discourse, that *Festus* interrupting him, cried, *that his great Learning had made him mad.* *Agrippa* was no less moved at it, and could not help saying, *that it wanted but very little, that he should persuade him to turn Christian; My great Desire*, replied the Apostle, *would be, that you, and all those that hear me, should be like me, excepting the State of Captivity I find myself in.* *Agrippa, Festus, Berenice*, and the other Persons of Distinction, who were present, rose at those Words, and after they had consulted among themselves, *Agrippa* concluded, that if he had not appealed to *Cæsar*, there was Room to set him at Liberty.

When the Time was proper for the Voyage to *Italy*, St. *Paul* was put into the Hands of a Captain of Foot, called *Julius*, and embarked on Board a Ship of *Adramyttium*, and *Luke*, and *Arifarchus* the *Macedonian*, accompanied him. Being arrived at *Sidon*, *Julius* gave him Leave to visit his Friends. After they had crossed the Seas of *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, they came on Shore at *Lystra*, a City of *Lycia*. There they re-embarked in a Ship of *Alexandria*, freighted for *Italy*; and after a very tedious Navigation, occasioned by contrary Winds, they were forced to sail towards *Crete*. They came to anchor in a Place called *Good Harbour*, near a small Town called *Thalassa*. They were to winter there; but their Guide forced them to put to Sea again, and laughed at the Apostle threatening them with an approaching Shipwreck. The Event confirmed his Prediction; for a furious Tempest rose, which lasted fourteen Days, without seeing all that Time, either Sun, Moon,

or Stars, and which forced them to throw their Merchandise over Board, to ease the Ship. Every one thought his Death unavoidable; but God gave all the Passengers to the Prayers of his Servant, and assured him of it in the Night, by an Angel. After that furious Storm, they were thrown against the Isle of *Malta*, where they went on Shore. A Viper coming out of the Wood they had lighted to dry themselves, fastened itself to the Hand of *St. Paul*. Those who were present, took him immediately for a bad Man, pursued by the divine Justice on Land, after he had escaped the Sea. But when they saw him shake off the venomous Beast, and that the Sting had done him no Harm, they threw themselves at his Feet, and took him for a God. He preached to them the Gospel, and operated several Miracles to confirm the Doctrine thereof, among which the Cure of the Father of *Publius*, Prince of the Isle, acquired him a great Reputation and Authority. That Isle is at present the Bulwark of Christendom, against the Designs of the *Turks*, and its Knights, tho' in a small Number, stop their Fury, as the Sand of the Shore stops that of the Sea, when it seems that its Waves are going to cover and drown the Earth.

The Spring being come, the Captain *Julius* made the Apostle re-embark, and this second Navigation was more happy than the first. They came to *Syracuse*, Capital of *Sicily*, thence to *Reggio*, and the second Day afterwards to *Putoli*. The News of his Arrival having been spread in *Rome*, several Christians went out of it to meet him. With them he enter'd that great City, which was the Capital both of the Empire of the World, and of Idolatry. At the End of three Days he desired the Chiefs among the *Jews*, who dwelt in *Rome*, to come to him. He told them the Subject of his Voyage, and the Reason of the Appeal he had interjected to *Cæsar*; not to avoid the Punishment of any Crime he had committed, or to accuse any of his Nation; but to deliver himself from the Rage of his Adversaries, who had sworn his Ruin; and wanted to employ the Formalities of Justice to destroy him. The *Jews* answered him, that they had received no Complaint from *Judea* against him, but had only heard from common Report, that the new Doctrine he preached, was opposed every where, and that they would be glad to hear him on that Subject. He promised to gratify them, whenever they would. At the Day appointed, they all crowded to the House where he was arrested. He preached the Gospel to them, and proved, by the Text of the Law, the Figures, and the Prophets, that *Jesus Christ* was the Redeemer promised to their Fathers. Some of them were persuaded, but the greatest Part contradicted the Truths he taught them. So that he was forced to reproach them with the Hardness of their Heart, and to carry to the *Gentiles* the Light they would not receive.

Nero had governed the Empire two Years, and by his

Beginnings gave very great Hopes of as just a Reign, as the Sequel was abominable. God deliver'd the Apostle from the Mouth of that Lion, who gave him leave to walk in Peace, under the Guard of a Soldier. He converted several Persons of his Family. He appeared before several other inferior Tribunals, and defended himself always so well, that they could find no Room to condemn him. This made the Doctrine he preached known every where; and encouraged the new Christians to follow him. It was not enough for his Zeal to sow the Word of Life in that great City; he took Care, likewise, of the distant Pastors, and of the Churches he had founded, instructing them by his Epistles. The first he wrote was the second to *Timothy*, in which he gives him a Relation of what had happened to him. Those to the *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, and *Colossians*, shew his Vigilance, and his apostolical Care, to caution the Faithful against the Errors, sowed already by divers Hereticks. It was likewise from *Rome* he sent the admirable Epistle to the *Hebrews*, wherein by the divine Explanation of the Sacerdoce, or Priesthood of *Jesus Christ*, he shews his profound Erudition in the Law of *Moses*, and his other Light in the most sublime Truths of the Gospel. It furnishes great Subjects of Controversy, either for its Author, or for the Sacrifice it treats of. But my Design is not to examine this Question here; besides that it would be dangerous to do it.

St. Luke ends his Narration at the second Year of the Abode *St. Paul* made in *Rome*, at the End of which he recover'd an entire Liberty, according to the Chronology I follow. For some learned Men believe, that he came to *Rome* much later; and that he never went out of it after his first Absolution. We cannot say any Thing of his Actions till his Martyrdom, at least with any Certainty; because we have neither valuable Acts, nor Authors worthy of any Consideration that speak of it. *St. Chrysostom* says, that he went into *Spain*, as himself declares, writing to the *Romans*, that he once designed it. In eight Years, he might have made the Tour of the World. We should have some Subject to complain of the Silence of the *Sacred History*, in this Occasion, if we were not obliged to respect the Conduct of the divine Wisdom, who was not willing that the Actions of so great a Man, for eight Years successively, should come to our Knowledge, for Reasons, which tho' hidden, are notwithstanding very just. I know that it is pretended, that in that Time he founded several of the Churches of *France*; and among others that of *Narbonne* pretend to have received from his Hands the Proconsul *Sergius Paulus*, who had been converted in *Cyprus*, for its first Bishop; but I do not care to introduce those Traditions, which have not much Certainty, into my Narration, it being my Design, when I first began it, that uncontroverted Truths should make the Ornament thereof.

SCULPTURE.

SCULPTURE, is the Art of cutting or carving various Figures or Representations in Wood, Stone, or other Matter; as also of fashioning Wax, Earth, Plaster, &c. to serve as Models or Moulds, for the casting of metalline Figures.

Sculpture is divided into several Branches, viz. *Statuary*, which is the Art of making *Statues* only, either in Wood, Stone, Ivory, Plaster, &c. *Carving*, which is that of making *Bass-Relievs*, *Festoons*, *Cartouches*, *Fret-work*, &c.

We'll begin with the first and most noble Branch, which is *Statuary*, and in that examine first what a *Statue* is; and how many different Sorts of *Statues* there are?

A *STATUE* is a Piece of *Sculpture* in full Relievo, representing a human Figure.

Daviler more scientifically defines *Statue*, a Representation in high Relievo, and Intulate, of some Person distinguished by his Birth, Merit, or great Actions; placed as an Ornament in a fine Building, or exposed in a pub-

lick Place, to preserve the Memory of his Worth.

In Strictness, the Term *Statue* is only applied to Figures on Foot, as that of King *James II.* at *Whitehall*; the Word being formed from the *Latin Statua*, the Size of the Body; or from *stare*, to stand.

Statues are usually distinguished into four Kinds.—The first are those less than the Life, of which Kind we have several *Statues* of Men, of Kings, and of Gods themselves.

The second, those equal to the Life; in which Manner it was, that the Antients, at the publick Expence, used to make *Statues* of Persons eminent for Virtues, Learning, or the Services they had done.

The third, those that exceed the Life; among which those who surpassed the Life once and a half, were for Kings and Emperors; and those double the Life for Heroes.

The fourth Kind were those that exceeded the Life twice, thrice, and even more, and were called *Colossus*.

Every

Every *Statue* resembling the Person it is intended to represent, is called *statua iconica*.

There are also *Allegorical*, *Cyriatic*, *Curule*, *Equestrian*, *Greek*, *Hydraulick*, *Pedestrian*, *Persian*, and *Roman Statues*.

Allegorical STATUE, is that which under a human Figure, or other Symbol, represents something of another Kind, as a Part of the Earth, a Season, Age, Element, Temperament, Hour, &c.

Cyriatic STATUE, is the same with what we called in our Treatise of Architecture Caryatides.

Curule STATUES, are those which are represented in Chariots drawn by Rigæ, or Quadrigæ, that is, by two or four Horses; of which Kind there were several in the Circus's, Hippodromes, &c. Or in Cars, as we see some with triumphal Arches on antique Medals.

Equestrian STATUE, is that representing some illustrious Person on Horseback. As that famous one of *Marcus Aurelius* at *Rome*; that of King *Charles I.* at *Charing-Cross*; and that of *Henry IV.* King of *France*, on the new Bridge at *Paris*.

A *Greek* STATUE, is a Figure that is naked and antique; it being in this Manner the *Greeks* represented their Deities, Athletæ, of the olympick Games, and Heroes. The Reason of this Nudity, whereby the *Greek* Statues are distinguished, is, that those who exercised Wrestling, wherein the *Greek* Youths placed their chief Glory, always performed naked. The Statues of Heroes were particularly called *Achilleian Statues*, by reason of the great Number of Figures of that Prince, in most of the Cities of *Greece*.

Hydraulick STATUE, is any Figure placed as an Ornament of a Fountain, or Grotto; or that does the Office of a Jet d'Eau, a Cock, Spout, or the like, by any of its Parts, or by any Attribute it holds. The like is to be understood of any Animal serving for the same Use.

Pedestrian STATUE, is a Statue standing on Foot. As that of King *Charles II.* in the *Royal Exchange*, and that of King *James II.* in the *Privy Garden*.

Persian STATUES, are those taken Notice of in my Treatise of Architecture, under the Letter A.

Roman STATUES, is an Appellation given to such as are clothed, and which receives various Names from their various Dresses. Those of Emperors with long Gowns over their Armour, were called *statuæ paludatæ*; those of Captains and Chevaliers, with Coats of Arms, *thoracatæ*; those of Soldiers with Cuirasses, *loricatæ*; those of Senators and Augurs, *trabeatæ*; those of Magistrates with long Robes, *togatæ*; those of the People with a plain Tunica, *tunicatæ*; and lastly, those of Women with long Trains, *stolatæ*.

The *Romans* had another Division of Statues, into *divine*, which were those consecrated to the Gods; as *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, &c.—*Heroes*, which were those of the demi Gods, as *Hercules*, &c. And *Augusti*, which were those of the Emperors; as those two of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, under the Portico of the Capitol.

The Figure, or Portrait of a Person in *Relievo*, shewing only the Head, Shoulders, and Stomach; the Arms being lopped off, ordinarily placed on a Pedestal or Consol, is called *Bust* or *Busto*.

The *Bust*, is the same with what the *Latins* called *herma*, from the Greek *hermes*, *Mercury*; the Image of that God being frequently represented in this Manner among the *Athenians*. *Bust* is also used, especially among the *Italians*, for the Trunk of a human Body, from the Neck to the Hips.

The first Thing to be minded in carving Statues is to make a Model of Earth or Wax. For earthen Models they use but few Instruments; their Hands and Fingers do almost the whole. For waxen Models, to a Pound of Wax they put half a Pound of Colophony; some Oil of Turpentine, melting the whole with Oil of Olive: Some add a little Vermillion, or other Matter, to give it a Colour. It is worked and molded with the Fingers. But this supposes a Draught or Design of the Statue, previously made, on which the Model is formed.

The next Operation, if the Statue is to be of Wood, is to choose Wood proper for it. If it be any Thing large, and require a deal of Strength and Solidity, the hardest and most durable Wood is to be chosen, as Oak,

or Chesnut: For smaller Work they use Pear-tree, and Service-tree. But as these Woods are very hard, for little delicate Works they use softer Wood, only close, and of a fine Grain; such is the Linden-tree, which the Chissel is found to cut more easily, and cleanly, than any other Wood.

The Ancients have made their Statues of almost all Kinds of Wood; at *Sicyon* was an Image of *Apollo* in Box; at *Ephesus*, that of *Diana* was in Cedar. As these two Kinds of Wood are very hard, and even held incorruptible, especially Cedar; *Pliny* observes, they were judged particularly suitable for Representations of the Deities. In a Temple on Mount *Cylenus*, dedicated to *Mercury*, was an Image of that God formed of the Wood of the Lemon-tree: Others there were of the Palm-tree, Olive-tree, Ebony, and even of the Vine.

For large Works, if it be only single Figures, it is better they consist of several Pieces than of a single one, by reason of the Liableness of the latter to warp; for every large Piece may probably not be dried to the Heart, however it may appear without-fide. Observe that the Wood will not be fit for working, till after it has been cut at least ten Years.

The Sculptor has several Chissels, all different in Bigness and Fineness; which they change in Proportion as they go on with their Work; the largest are used to prime it, which the *French* call *Ebaucher*, before they lay their Design on the Block, whereof the Statue is to be made.

For Sculpture on Marble or Stone; the first Thing they do, is out of a great Block of Marble to saw another of the Size required, which is performed with a smooth Steel Saw without Teeth, casting Water and Sand thereon from Time to Time: Then they fashion it, by taking off what is superfluous with a stubbed Point, and a heavy Mallet; after this, bringing it near the Measure required, they reduce it still nearer with another finer Point. They now use a flat cutting Instrument, having two Notches in its Edge, or three Teeth; then a Chissel to take off the Scratches the former has left. This last Instrument they use with a deal of Delicacy, giving thereby a Softness and Tendernefs to their Figure; till at length taking Rasps of different Degrees of Fineness, by Degrees they bring their Work into a Condition for polishing.

To polish or make the Parts smooth and sleek, they use Pumice stone, and Smalt, then Tripoli; and when a still greater Lustre is required, a Skin of burnt Straw.

To proceed more regularly, on the Head of the Model, they place an immovable Circle, divided into Degrees, with a moveable Ruler; or Index, fastened in the Center of the Circle, and divided likewise into equal Parts; from the End of the Ruler hangs a Thread with a Plummert, which serves to take all the Points to be transferred thence to the Block of Marble, from whose Top hangs another Plummert like that of the Model. All which may be seen in our Table of Miscellany.

Indeed there are some excellent Sculptors, who disapprove of this Method; urging that the smallest Motion of the Model changes their Measures, for which Reason they rather chuse to take all their Measures with their Compasses.

There is as much Care required in making the Model, and rather more, if possible, as in making the Statue itself, since on the Beauty and Regularity of the Model depends entirely that of the Statue. Nay some of the Models of famous Artists, have been preferred to the Piece done after it.

The Perfection of a Statue, either in Wood, Marble, Stone, Iron, &c. consists chiefly in a fine Attitude, beautiful Parts imitating Nature as near as possible, without any Exaggeration either in the Features, or the Pronunciation of the Members. The Drapery, if there be any, well thrown, and with as few Plaits as possible; since it is not so easy to make them imitate the natural with the Chissel, as with the Pencil; and a too great Number of Plaits in Marble, Stone, or Plaster, appear rather as the Pipes of an Organ, or the like, than Plaits, never affecting to render the Muscles visible in the naked, but in Proportion as the Age, Sex, or Attitude of the Person the Figure is to represent, require it: For the Muscles are not to be so visible in a Woman as in a

Man

Man, nor in a Child, as in a Man grown, nor in a Figure supposed in an easy Posture, as in one supposed in a violent one: Which is a Fault several very good Sculptors are guilty of, pretending thereby to make Connoisseurs admire the Strokes of their Chissels, and the Knowledge they have of Anatomy.

The Artist must take particular Care that that Part of a Block of Marble or Stone, which is designed for the naked, especially the Face, should be sound and smooth; for if it was britly or gravelly, it would cause a Deformity in the Face, or other naked Parts, which is seldom or never so well repaired as not to be easily discerned by Connoisseurs, which lessens much the Value of the Figure. In the Drapery, such Imperfections can be easily rectified by some Strokes of the Chissels of a dexterous Hand. The Imperfections which may chance to be met with in Wood, Ivory, or the like, can be easily rectified in any Part of the Statue, by an ingenious Artist, by taking off the vitiated Part of the Wood, and having the vacant Place filled with a sound Piece, dexterously applied, working afterwards upon it.

Statues are said to be Figures also in *Relievo*.

There are three Kinds of *Relievo's*, viz. *Alto-Relievo*, *Basso-Relievo*, and *Demi-Relievo*. *Relievo* in general, or *Relief*, *Imbossment*, being applied to a Figure which projects or stands out, prominent from the Ground or Plain whereon it is formed; whether that Figure be cut with the Chissel, moulded, or cast.

Alto-RELIEVO, *haut relief*, or *high Relievo*, is when the Figure is formed after Nature, and projects as much as the Life.

Basso-RELIEVO, *bas relief*, or *low Relievo*, is when the Work is but raised a little from its Ground; as we see in Medals, and in the Frontispieces of Buildings, particularly Histories, Festoons, Foliages, and other Ornaments in the Frieze.

Demi-RELIEVO, is when one half the Figure rises from the Plain, *i. e.* when the Body of a Figure seems cut in two, and one Half is clapped on the Ground. When in a *Basso Relievo* there are some Parts that stand clear out, detached from the rest, the Work is called a *Demi-bosse*.

The Antiquity of Sculpture is past doubt; as the sacred Writings, the most antient and authentick Monument we have of the earliest Ages, mentions it in several Places; witness *Laban's* Idols stolen away by *Rachel*, and the golden Calf which the *Israelites* set up in the Desert, &c. but it is very difficult to fix the Original of the Art, and the first Artists from prophane Authors; what we read thereof being intermixed with Fables, after the Manner and Taste of those Ages.

Some make a Master of *Sicyon*, named *Dibutades*, the first Sculptor; others say, the Art had its Origin in the Isle of *Samos*, where one *Ideus* and *Theodorus* performed Works of this Kind, long before *Dibutades's* Time. It is added that *Demaratus*, Father of *Tarquin* the Elder, first brought it into *Italy* upon his retiring thither; and that by means of *Euciparus* and *Eutygrammus*, two excellent Workmen herein, who communicated it chiefly to the *Tuscans*, among whom it was afterwards cultivated with great Success. They add that *Tarquin* sent for *Taurianus*, one of the most eminent among them, to *Rome*, to make a Statue of *Jupiter*, &c. of baked Earth; for the Frontispiece of the Temple of that Deity.

About this Time, there were many Sculptors, both in *Greece* and *Italy*, who wrought altogether in Earth: Some of the most noted are *Chalcosthenes* an *Athenian*, who made himself and his House famous, by the great Number of earthen Figures he adorned it withal; and *Demophilus* and *Gorfamus*, two Painters, who enriched the Temple of *Ceres* with great Variety of Painting and earthen Images. In effect, all the first Statues of the heathen Deities, were either of Earth or Wood; and it was not so much any Frailty of the Matter, or Unfitness for the Purpose, as the Riches and Luxury of the People, that first induced them to make Images of Marble, and other more precious Stone.

Indeed how rich soever the Matter were whereon they wrought, yet they still used Earth, to form Models thereof: And to this Day, whether they be for cutting Marble Statues with the Chissel, as already observed, or for casting them in Metal: They never undertake

the one or the other, without first making a perfect Model thereof in Earth: Whence doubtless arose the Observation of *Praxiteles*, that the Art of moulding earthen Figures, was the natural Mother of that of making Marble, and metalline Figures; which last never appeared in Perfection, till about 300 Years after the building of *Rome*, though the first was at its Height long before.

Phidias of *Athens* who came next, surpassed all his Predecessors, both in Marble, in Ivory, and Metals: And about the same Time appeared several others, who carried Sculpture to the highest Perfection it ever arrived at, particularly *Policletus* at *Sicyon*; then *Asigron*; *Lyfippus*, who alone was allowed the Honour of casting *Alexander's* Image in Brass: *Praxiteles* and *Scopas*, who made those excellent Figures now before the Pope's Palace, at *Monte Cavallo*: *Briacus*, *Timotheus*, and *Leothares*, who with *Scopas* wrought the famous Tomb of *Alaujoleus* King of *Caria*; *Caphissodotus*, *Canachus*, *Dadalus*, *Bathicus*, *Niceratus*, *Euphranor*, *Theodorus*, *Xenarates*, *Pyremachus*, *Itratonicus*, *Antigonus*, who wrote on the Subject of his Art; the famous Authors of *Laocon*, viz. *Agessander*, *Polydore*, and *Athenodorus*, and infinite others, the Names of some whereof have passed to Posterity; those of others have perished with their Works: For though the Number of Statues in *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, was so immense, that in *Rome* alone, as we are informed, there were more than there were living Persons, yet we have but few now left, at least very few of the finest.

When *Marcus Scaurus* was *Ædile*, his Office obliging him to provide what was requisite towards the publick Rejoicings, he adorned the stately Theatre which he erected with 3000 Brass Statues; and though *L. Mummius* and *Lucullus*, brought away a great Number out of *Asia* and *Greece*, yet there were still above 3000 remaining in *Rhodes*, as many at *Athens*, and more at *Delphos*.

But what is more extraordinary was the Bigness of the Figures, which those antient Artists had the Courage to undertake: Among those *Lucullus* brought to *Rome*, there was one of *Apollo* 30 Cubits high; the *Colossus* of *Rhodes* made by *Cares* of *Lyndos*, the Disciple of *Lyfippus* far exceeding it; *Nero's* Statue, made by *Xenodorus*, after that of *Mercury*, was 110 Feet high.

Sculpture however did not continue above 150 Years, after *Phidias's* Time, till it began insensibly to decline; not but that there were still some fine Pieces of Workmanship both in *Greece* and *Italy*, though not performed with so good a Fancy, and such exquisite Beauty as those of the former Works. Besides that the *Greek* Statues are most esteemed for the Workmanship; there is a special Difference between them and those of the *Romans*, in that the greatest Part of the first are naked, like those who wrestle, or perform some other bodily Exercise, wherein the Youth of those Times placed all their Glory; whereas the others are clad or armed, and particularly have the Toga on, which was the greatest Mark of Honour among the *Romans*.

Statues were never more disregarded than they are at present, and *Statuary* shares the Fate of all other Arts, which flourished and were encouraged, when Merit and Virtue flourished and were encouraged. Like a Fire which had been long buried under Ashes, Sculpture, like all other Arts and Sciences, blazed, if I may be allowed to use that Expression, by the great Encouragement it met with under the glorious Reign of *Lewis XIV.* King of *France*; and as there were then in that Kingdom *Raphaels*, for Painting, there were likewise *Praxiteles's*, and *Phidias* for Sculpture, as the famous Bust seen a-top of *Prior's* Monument at *Westminster* witnesses it. The Figure on that of *Dr. Chamberlaine*, shews likewise, that there are yet in that Kingdom some good Artists of that Kind; though at present, if I be rightly informed, Arts and Sciences meet with as little Encouragement in *France* as any where else; which is owing to the narrow Capacity of the Ministers who have been at the Helm, since those great ones, viz. *Louvois*, *Colbert*, &c. who under the late King did all they could to cultivate the excellent natural Taste, their Prince had for all Kinds of Arts and Sciences.

I have been informed that *England* was once as rich in beautiful

beautiful Statues, as in fine Paintings; which I am very apt to believe, since several of their Kings had a grand Taste for those Arts, to which they gave a royal Encouragement. There are still in *England* some very good Sculptors, but they are scarce employed otherwise than in erecting Monuments to the Dead. The famous *Risbrach* is esteemed the best among them, and not undeservedly, for, in my Opinion, his Chissel is conducted with a great deal of Delicacy and Softness. Some of his Figures are of a grand Taste; which is a Mixture of the Antique, and of the Modern, judiciously imagined, and dexterously executed, and very well adapted to the Character of the Person they represent. I admire in particu-

lar that of the celebrated Sir *Isaac Newton*; but the Globe over it, which in my Opinion is too big for its Distance, from the Area, and the Attitude of the Figure a-top that Globe, which seems uneasy, robs it of some of its Merit. That of my Lord *Stanhope*, which is not thus shadowed, pleases me much better; because, perhaps, when I view it, my Imagination, inebriated with the Thoughts of so many christian, moral, and heroical Virtues, which adorned the illustrious Soul of the Original, while living, dim my Sight, and prejudices it in favour of the Copy. There are, besides, some other Sculptors in *England*, not much inferior to M. *Risbrach*, tho' not so much in Vogue.

S H A M O I S I N G.

SHAMOISING, is the Art of preparing Sheep, Goat, or Kid-Skin, in Oil, in Imitation of *Shammy*. Which *Shammy* is the Skin of the *Chamois*, or *Shamois*, a Kind of *Rupi-capra*, or wild Goat, called *Isard*, inhabiting the Mountains of *Dauphiné*, *Savoy*, and the *Pyreneans*.

Besides the Softness and Warmness of the Leather, it has the Faculty of bearing Soap without Damage, which renders it very useful on many Accounts.

To counterfeit this Sort of Leather, the Skins of any of the other Animals above-mentioned, being washed, drained, and smeared over with Quicklime on the fleshy Side, are folded in two, length-wise, the Wool outwards, and laid on Heaps; and so left to ferment 8 Days; or if they have been left to dry after flaying, 15 Days.

Then they are washed out, drained, and half dried, laid on a wooden Leg, or Horse, the Wool stripped off with a round Staff for the Purpose, and laid in a weak Pit, the Lime whereof had been used before, and had lost the greatest Part of its Force.

After twenty-four Hours they are taken out, and left to drain twenty-four more; then put in another stronger Pit. This done, they are taken out, drained, and put in again by Turns; which begins to dispose them to take Oil; and this Practice they continue for six Weeks in Summer, or three Months in Winter; at the End whereof they are washed out, laid on the wooden Leg, and the Surface of the Skin on the Wool-Side pulled off, to render them the softer; then made into Parcels, steeped a Night more in the River, in Winter; stretching six or seven over one another, on the wooden Leg; and the Knife passed strongly on the Flesh-Side, to take off any Thing superfluous, and render the Skin smooth.

Then they are stretched as before in the River; and the same Operation repeated on the Wool-Side; then thrown into a Tub of Water with Bran in it, which is brewed among the Skins, till the greatest Part stick to them; and then separated into distinct Tubs, till they swell, and rise of themselves above the Water.

By this Means the Remains of the Lines are cleared out: They are then wrung out, hung up to dry on Ropes, and sent to the Mill, with the Quantity of Oil necessary to sever them: The best Oil is that of Stock-Fish.

Here they are first thrown in Bundles into the River, for twelve Hours; then laid in the Mill-Trough, and lulled without Oil till they be well softened; then oiled with the Hand, one by one, and thus formed into Parcels of four Skins each, which are milled, and dried on Cords a second Time, then a third, then oiled again and dried.

This Process is repeated as often as Necessity requires: When done, if there be any Moisture remaining, they are dried in a Stove, and made up into Parcels wrapped up in Wool: After some Time they are opened to the Air, but wrapped up again as before, till such a Time as the Oil seems to have lost all its Force; which it ordinarily does in twenty-four Hours.

The Skins are then returned from the Mill to the *Shamoiser*, to be scoured, which is done by putting them in a Lixivium of Wood-Ashes, working and beating them in it with Poles; and leaving them to steep till the Lye has had its Effect; then they are wrung out, steeped in another Lixivium, wrung again, and this repeated till all the Grease and Oil be purged out. When this is done, they are half dried, and passed over a sharp-

edged Iron Instrument, placed perpendicular on a Block, which opens, softens, and makes them gentle: Lastly, they are thoroughly dried, and passed over the same Instrument again, which finishes the Preparation, and leaves them in form of *Shammy*.

Kid and Goat-Skins are *shamoised* in the same Manner as those of Sheep; excepting that the Hair is taken off, without the Use of any Lime; and that when brought from the Mill, they undergo a particular Preparation, called *Ramalling*; the most delicate and difficult of all others.

It consists in this, that as soon as brought from the Mill, they are steeped in a fit Lixivium; taken out, stretched on a round wooden Leg, and the Hair scraped off with the Knife; this makes them smooth, and in working, cast a Kind of fine Nap. The Difficulty is in scraping them even.

This Art of *Shamoising* is in great Vogue in *France*, particularly at *Orleans*, *Marseilles*, and *Tholouse*.

There is, likewise, an Art or Manner of preparing, or dressing Skins in white, to fit them for Use in divers Manufactures, particularly Gloves, Purfes, &c. which Art is called *Tawing*.

All Kinds of Skins may be *tawed*; but it is chiefly those of Sheep, Lambs, Kids, and Goats, that are used to be dressed this Way; as being those fittest for Gloves.

As to the *Method of Tawing, or drawing Skins in white*. The Wool or Hair being well got off the Skins by Means of Lime, &c. as above described, they are laid in a large Vat of Wood or Stone set in the Ground, full of Water, wherein Quick-lime has been slacked; wherein they continue a Month or six Weeks, as the Weather is more or less hot; or as the Skins are requir'd to be more or less soft and pliant.

While in the Vat, the Water and Lime is changed twice, and they are taken out, and put in again every Day. When taken out for the last Time, they are laid all Night to soak in a running Water, to get out the greatest Part of the Lime; and in the Morning, are laid six together, on the wooden Leg, to get off the Flesh, by scraping them stoutly, one after another, on the Flesh Side, with a cutting two-handed Instrument, called a Knife; and while this is in Hand, they cut off the Legs, and other superfluous Parts about the Extremes.

This done they are laid in a Vat or Pit, with a little Water; where being well lulled with wooden Pestles for a Quarter of an Hour, the Vat is filled up with Water, and the Skins rinsed therein. They are next thrown on a clean Pavement to drain; which done, they are cast into a fresh Pit of Water, where being well rinsed, they are taken out, and laid on the wooden Leg, six at once, with the Hair Side outermost, over which they rub a Kind of Whetstone very briskly, to soften and fit them to receive four or five more Preparations given them on the Leg, both on the Flesh Side and the Hair Side, with the Knife, after the Manner above-mentioned.

This over, they are put in a Pit with Water, and Wheat Bran, and stirred about therein, with wooden Poles, till the Bran is perceived to stick to them, and then they are left; as they raise of themselves to the Top of the Water by a Kind of Fermentation, they are plunged down again to the Bottom; and, at the same Time, Fire is set to the Liquor, which takes as easily as

if it was Brandy, but goes out the Moment the Skins are all cover'd.

This Operation is repeated as often as the Skins rise above Water; and when they rise no more they are taken out, laid on the wooden Leg, the Flesh Side outermost, and the Knife pass'd over it to scrape off the Bran. The Bran thus cleared, the Skins are laid in a large Basket, where they are loaden with huge Stones to promote their draining; and when sufficiently drained, their Feeding is given them, which is performed after the following Manner.

For a hundred large Sheep-skins, and for smaller in Proportion, they take eight Pounds of Allum, and three of Sea-Salt, and melt the whole with Water over the Fire; pouring the Dissolution out, while yet lukewarm, into a Kind of Trough, wherein is twenty Pounds of fine Wheat Flour, with eight Dozen Yolks of Eggs; of all which is formed a Kind of Paste, a little thicker than Children's Pap, which when done, is put into another Vessel, to be used in Manner following.

A Quantity of hot Water being poured into the Trough, wherein the Paste was prepared, two Spoonfuls of the Paste is mixed therewith; in order to which they use a wooden Spoon, which contains just what is required for a Dozen Skins: And when the whole is well diluted, two Dozen of the Skins are plunged therein: Care being taken, by the Way, that the Water be not too hot, which would spoil the Paste, and burn the Skins.

Having staid some Time in the Trough, they are taken out one after another with the Hand, and stretch'd out; which is repeated twice: When they have all had their Paste, they are put in Tubs, where they are fussed afresh with wooden Pestles.

Then they are put in a Vat, where they remain five or six Days or more; and are at last taken out in fair Weather, and hung out to dry on Cords or Racks; the quicker they dry, the better; for if they be too long a drying, the Salt and Allum within them are apt to make them rise into a Grain, which is an essential Fault in this Kind of Dressing.

When the Skins are dry, they are put up in Bundles, and just dipp'd in fair Water; from which being taken out and drained, they are thrown into an empty Tub; and after some Time, are taken out, and trampled under Foot.

They are then drawn over a flat Iron Instrument, the Top whereof is round like a Battledore, and the Bot-

tom fixed into a wooden Block, to stretch and open them: When open they are hung in the Air upon Cords to dry; and when dry are open a second Time by re-passing them over the same Instrument.

Lastly, they are laid on a Table pulled out, and laid smooth; and are thus in a Condition for Sale and Use. After the same Manner are dressed Horses, Cows, Calves Skins, &c. for Sadlers, Harness-makers, &c. as also Dogs, Wolves, Bears Skins, &c. excepting that in those the Use of the Paste is omitted; Salt and Alum-Water being sufficient.

It will not be improper to add here the Manner of preparing *Shagreen*, which is a Kind of Grain Leather, chiefly used on the Cover of Cases, Books, &c. it is very close and solid; and cover'd over with little roundish Grains or Papillæ.

As to the Preparation thereof. The Skin being just flayed off, is stretch'd out, cover'd over with Mustard-Seed, and the Seed bruised on it; and thus exposed to the Weather for some Days; then tanned.

The best is that brought from *Constantinople*, of a brownish Colour; the white is the worst. It is extremely hard, yet when steeped in Water, becomes very soft and pliable; whence it becomes of great Use among Case-makers. It takes any Colour that is given it; red, green, yellow, or black. It is frequently counterfeited by *Maroquin*, formed like *Shagreen*; but this last is distinguished by its peeling off, which the first does not.

There is also a Kind of *Shagreen*, made of the Skin of the *Squatina*; in *English*, the Monk or Angel Fish.

There is a Dispute among Authors, what the Animal is, whence the *Shagreen* is prepared. *Rauwolf* assures us, it is the Onager, which, according to him and *Bellonius*, is a Kind of wild Ass.

It is added, that it is only the hard Part of the Skin is used for this Purpose. *Boul* says it is a Sea-Calf; others a Kind of Fish, called by the *Turks* *Shagrain*, whose Skin is cover'd with Grains; and those so hard, that they will rasp and polish Wood.

Shagreen is brought from *Constantinople*, *Tauris*, *Tripoli*, *Algiers*, and some Parts of *Poland*. But I do not find, that it is much in Use at present; most of the Cases sold for *Shagreen* being counterfeited; because, perhaps, that those who deal in those Sorts of Commodities, have found that *Shagreen* Cases lasted too long.

S M I T H S.

SMITH, is an Appellation given to Artists, who forge, and prepare some Metal on the Anvil, particularly Gold, Silver, Iron, Copper, &c. therefore there are *Goldsmiths*, *Silversmiths*, *Blacksmiths*, *Coppersmiths*, &c.

There is no other Difference between a Goldsmith and a Silversmith, but in the Appellation, for commonly the same Artist works both Metals; the Reason is, that there are not enough Gold-Works done to employ wholly a Workman, because of the Scarcity and Dearthness of that Metal; there being, besides, but very little Difference in working Gold, or Silver, except that which consists in the Melting and Separation of the two Metals.

The Workshop of a Gold or Silversmith, must be fitted with a Forge, Crucibles of different Sizes, Anvils, Hammers, Moulds, Vices, Files, Polishers, Burnishers, &c. but the most essential Implement is to have a good Quantity of Metal.

Gold and Silver are never worked pure, but are always mixed with their proper Alloy, which for Gold, is Silver and Copper; and for Silver, Copper alone; but in mixing those Metals, they must be kept to the Standard.

The Standard of Gold in *England*, *France*, and *Flanders*, is 22 Carats of fine Gold, and a Carat of Alloy in the Pound Weight Troy. And the Standard of Silver, is 11 Ounces and two Penny Weights of Silver, and 18 Penny Weights of Alloy of Copper.

Very few Gold or Silversmiths keep to these Rules, and several of them mix with their Metals a greater Quantity of Alloy; tho' there be a very severe Punishment for those who are found guilty; which is never the Case of those among them who have any Honour and Conscience. They are even kept very much in Awe, by being obliged to have their Works assayed, and stamp'd with the Mark of the Hall, after it is quite finished. But those who deal in base Metal, have the Secret to counterfeit that Mark, the better to defraud the unwary Purchaser.

Gold and Silver, before they are forged, are reduced into Ingots; and the ingenious Artist, having took enough of it for the Piece of Work he intends to make, he heats it red-hot in his Forge, as a Blacksmith does his Iron, to render it more ductile, compact and more proper for farther Preparations. This first Operation is the Foundation, of the whole Beauty of the Work. For if the Metal be not well forged, at first, it remains brittle, and fragile, *i. e.* that it breaks easily under the Hands of the Artist, when he is giving the Form it must have; or of those who have bought it; whereas when well forged it bends all Manner of Ways, without breaking, which proceeds from that the Pores of the Metal, by forging and hammering, having been, as it were, concatenated together, *i. e.* forming an innumerable Multitude of small Chains, obey, and give Way when any Violence is offer'd to the Piece of Work; besides that the

marvel:

marvellous Mechanism, those Chains by their Texture, reflecting the Light in an infinite Number of different Manners, gives an extraordinary Lustre to the Work when finished, which is always much more beautiful when forged than when cast. But there is a great Art in forging it; for the Metal must neither be heated too much, nor too little, nor too often, nor hammered too hard; for if it be heated too hot, it scales by too great Abundance of the igneous Particles, which crowd into the Parts of the Metal with too much Impetuosity lacerating their Texture; and if not heated enough, it resists to the Hammer for want of a sufficient Quantity of igneous Particles to help by their Rotation, accelerated by the Motion of the Hammer, towards the Dilatation of the Pores: Therefore the Metal must never be left in the Fire till it emits a kind of Stars when taken out; neither is it to be taken out while it appears cloudy.

The Artist must likewise take a particular Care to hammer it evenly, *i. e.* without leaving Part of its Metal very prominent while he is flattening the other; nor do I understand thereby that he should not give the Form required for his Piece of Work; but that either the flat or prominent Part, should be without Prominences; for as those Prominences must be flattened at last, to render it level with the rest; they force by their Extension the adjacent Parts out of their Place, which crowd on the next to them, and those on the next, so as to disorder all their Symetry, and render it impossible at last to render the Work as perfect as otherwise it could have been done. In forging, the Hammer must not be let fall too heavy on the Metal, for dilating thereby its Pores with too much Violence, it makes them burst, whereby they run into one another, and prevents the Concatenation necessary, to render it pliable and manageable. Neither is any Form to be given to it till after it has been well forged, and the Heat to be given after that Form has been primed, must be no greater than is sufficient to keep the Metal ductile enough to give that Form the Perfection which it must acquire under the Hammer.

If it be a Piece of Work which must be planed cold, after it has been forged; that planing must be done with a steady and even Hand, with very little Violence, taking the Ridges successively, one after another: And if it be a round Piece of Work, planing round-wise; beginning next the Edges, and going on progressively towards the Middle.

When a Piece-work, after it has been forged, is to be filed, if it be a large Piece, the filing must be done with bold and long Strokes, which contributes much to the Beauty of the Work, and helps towards its being polished with much more Ease.

The Pieces of Works which are to be cast, are cast either in Sand, if they be large Pieces, or in the Bones of the Scuttle-fish, if they be small ones; which they do by pressing the Pattern between two Bones; and leaving a Jet or Hole to convey the Silver through after the Pattern has been taken out.

If the Work consists of several Pieces, they are soldered together, with a metalline Composition, called Solder.

Goldsmiths usually make four Kinds of Solder, *viz.* Solder of eight, where to seven Parts of Silver there is one of Brats or Copper. Solder of Six, where only a sixth Part is Copper. Solder of Four, and Solder of Three. It is the Mixture of Copper in the Solder that makes raised Plate always come cheaper than flat.

To solder the Pieces they fasten them tight together with a Piece of Iron Wire, and they cover with Pieces of Solder and some Borax, that Part where the Pieces are to be joined: Then if it be a small Piece of Work, they put it on a Piece of Charcoal, and having lighted a Lamp or a big Candle, and holding their Work in the Left-Hand, and as near the Flame as possible, they with the Right holding their Pipe, which in *French* we call *Chalumene*, blow through it into the Flame, which makes it spread over the Work, and melt the Solder, whereby the Pieces are solder'd together. When the Artist sees the Solder fusing, he takes his Work from the Lamp, and the Operation is done; taking off afterwards with a File the Superfluidity of the Solder; so dexterously, that the soldered Part may be as little dis-

cernable as possible; in which consists the great Secret of the Art of soldering.

The Work in this Condition is fit for polishing; which is done with a Piece of white Wood and Tripoli. When polished it is burnished with a round polished Piece of Steel; which last Operation gives a Lustre to the Metal. If it be Gold it is coloured in the same Manner we have explained in our Treatise of Gilding, under the Letter G.

As there is nothing to be thrown away of what comes out of Gold or Silver, all the Ashes of the Furnaces and Sweepings of the Work-shop, are carefully saved, in order to recover by Washing the Particles of Gold and Silver out of them; which is performed by simply washing them again and again, or by putting them in the Washing Mill.

To make one of those Washes, they not only gather together the Ashes of the Furnaces, and the Sweepings of the Work-houses; but they also pound and break the old earthen Crucibles, and the very Bricks whereof the Furnaces are built; little Particles of Gold, &c. being found to stick to them, by the crackling Nature of those Metals when in their vast Degree of Heat.

These Matters being all well ground and mixed together, are put in large wooden Basons, where they are washed several Times, and in several Waters, which run off by Inclination into Troughs underneath; carrying with them the Earth, and the insensible Particles of the Metals; and only leaving behind them the larger and more considerable ones, which are visible to the Eye, and taken out with the Hand, without any more Trouble.

To get out the finer Parts gone off with the Earth, they use Quicksilver, and a washing Mill. This Mill consists of a large wooden Trough, at the Bottom of which are two metalline Parts, serving like Mill-stones; the lower being convex, and the upper, which is in Form of a Cross, concave.

A-top is a Winch, placed horizontally, which turns the upper Piece round; and at the Bottom a Bung, to let out the Water and Earth when sufficiently ground.

To have a Wash then, the Trough is filled with common Water, into which they cast thirty or forty Pounds of Quicksilver; and two or three Gallons of the Matter remaining after the first Lotion. Then turning the Winch, they give Motion to the upper Mill-stone; which grinding the Matter and the Quicksilver violently together, the Particles of Gold and Silver become more easily amalgamated therewith: This Work they continue for two Hours; when opening the Bung, the Water and Earth run out, and a fresh Quantity is put in.

The Earths are usually passed thus through the Mill three Times; and the same Quantity of Mercury usually serves all the three Times. When there is nothing left in the Mill but the Mercury, united with the Gold and Silver which it has amalgamated, they take it out, and washing it in divers Waters, they put it in a thick Bag, and lay in a Press to squeeze out the Water and the loose Quicksilver: The remaining Quicksilver they evaporate by Fire in a Retort, or an Alembick. The Metal which remains they refine with Lead, or part it with Aqua fortis, as described in my Treatise of Refining, under the Letter R.

As for *Black-Smiths*, their Workshop must likewise be fitted with a Forge, Anvils, and Hammers, of different Sizes, Files, Vices, &c.

The Forge of a Blacksmith, as likewise of the several other Operators in Iron, is very simple.

The Hearth, or Fire-place, is a Mass of Bricks about two Feet six Inches high: The Back of the Forge is built upright to the Ceiling, and is inclosed over the Fire-place with a Hovel, which leads into a Chimney to carry away the Smoak. In the Back of the Forge, against the Fire-place, is a thick Iron Plate, with a Taper fixed therein, about five Inches long, called the *Tewel*, into which the Nose or Pipe of the Bellows is received: The Use of this Plate and Tewel is, to preserve the Pipe of the Bellows, and the Back of the Hearth from being burnt. Right before the Back, at about two Feet Distance, is the Trough filled with Water, to wet the Coals in, and thereby increase their Force; as also

punch the Iron in. Behind the Back of the Forge is placed the Bellows, one of whose Boards is fixed so that it moves not either upwards or downwards; and to the other is fitted a Rope, Chain, or even Rod; which rising perpendicularly, if fixed to a cross Piece, called the *Rocker*, which moving on a kind of Fulcrum near the Middle, serves as a Handle.

By drawing down this Handle, the moveable Board of the Bellows rises; and by a considerable Weight atop of its upper Board, sinks it down again; and by this alternate Agitation performs the Office of a Pair of Bellows.

Braziers and Copper-smiths Forge differs but little from that already described, unless that it is much less, and that nothing is burnt in it but Charcoal; the Metals used by these Operators not being able to sustain the Violence of Pit-coal.

Iron is hammered and forged two Ways, either by the Force of the Hand, in which there are usually several Persons employed, one of them turning the Iron, and

hammering likewise, and the rest only hammering.

Or by the Force of a Water-Mill; which rises, and works several huge Hammers beyond the Force of Man, under the Strokes whereof the Workmen present large Lumps, or Pieces of Iron, which are sustained at one End by the Anvils, and at the other by Iron Chains fastened to the Ceiling of the Forge.

This last Way of Forging is only used in the largest Works, as Anchors for Ships, &c. which usually weigh several thousand Pounds. For lighter Works, a single Man suffices to hold, heat, and turn with one Hand, while he strikes with the other. Each Purpose the Work is designed for requires its proper Heat. If it be too cold, it will not feel the Weight of the Hammer, as the *Smiths* call it (*i. e.* will not stretch or give Way) and if it be too hot, it will red-scar, *i. e.* break, or crackle under the Hammer.

The several Heats the *Smiths* give their Iron, are, 1. A blood-red Heat. 2. A white Flame-Heat. 3. A sparkling or welding Heat.

S O A P - M A K I N G.

SOAP-MAKING, is the Art of preparing a kind of Paste, sometimes hard and dry, and sometimes soft and liquid; much used in washing and whitening Linen; and for various other Purposes, by the Dyers, Perfumers, Hatters, Fullers, &c.

There are three principal Sorts of *Soap* manufactured in *England*, viz. the *soft*, the *hard*, and the *Ball-Soap*. The soft Soap again is either white or green.

The chief Ingredients used in making the green soft Soap, are Lyes drawn from Pot-ash and Lime, boiled up with Tallow and Oil. First, the Lye and Tallow are put into the Copper together; and when melted, the Oil is put to it, and the Copper made to boil; then the Fire is dampt or stopt up, while the Ingredients lie in the Copper to knit or incorporate; which done, the Copper is set on boiling, being fed or filled with Lyes, as it boils, till there be a sufficient Quantity put therein: Then it is boiled off with all convenient Speed, and put into Casks.

There are two Sorts of *white Soap*; one Sort thereof is made after the same Manner as *green soft Soap* is, Oil excepted, which is not used in White. The other Sort is made from Lyes of Ashes of Lime boiled up at twice with Tallow.

First, a Quantity of Lye and Tallow are put into the Copper together, and kept boiling; being fed with Lye as it boils, until it grains, or is boiled enough; then the Lyes are separated or discarded from the tallowish Part, which Part is removed into a Tub, and the Lyes thrown away: This is called the first half boiled. Then the Copper is charged again with fresh Tallow and Lyes, and the first half boil'd put out of the Tub into the Copper a second Time; where it is kept boiling with fresh Lyes and Tallow till it comes to Perfection. It is then put out of the Copper into the same sort of Casks, as are used in green soft Soap.

As to *hard Soap*.—It is made with Lyes from Ashes and Tallow, and most commonly boiled at twice: The first called a half boiling, has the same Operation as the first half boil'd of soft white Soap. Then the Copper is charged with fresh Lyes again, and the first half-boil'd put into it, where it is kept boiling, and fed with Lyes as it boils, till it grains, or is boiled enough; then the Lye is discharged from it, and the *Soap* put into a Frame to cool and harden. There is no certain Time for bringing off a boiling of any of these Sorts of *Soap*; it frequently takes up Part of two Days.

The *Ball Soap* is made with Lyes from Ashes and Tallow. The Lyes are put into the Copper, and boiled till the watery Part is quite gone, and there remains nothing in the Copper but a sort of nitrous Matter (the very Strength or Essence of the Lye;) to this the Tallow is put, and the Copper kept boiling, and stirring for about half an Hour, in which Time the *Soap* is made; and then it is put out of the Copper into Tubs or Baskets with Sheets in them; and immediately (while soft) made into Balls. It requires near twenty-four Hours to boil away the watery Part of the Lye.

Note, That there is a smooth unctuous Kind of Earth, found in the *Levant*, called *Soap-Earth*, *seapites*, and used as Soap. The Soap-Earth, Dr. *Smith* tells us, is only had in two Places near *Heraclea*, six Leagues to the East of *Smyrna*. It is in effect of itself a fine Soap, boiling and shooting up out of the Earth. It is gathered always before Sunrise, and in Mornings when there falls no Dew; so that a Stock must be laid up in the Summer Months, to serve all the Year. In some Places it comes up an Inch or two above the Surface of the Ground; but the Sun rising on it, makes it fall again. Every Morning there returns a fresh Crop.

The *soft Soap* is the most common in *England*, and the best; they having not found the Secret yet of making good hard Soap. In *France* they seldom use any other but hard Soap; some whereof is quite white, and others marbled blue; the white being accounted the best of the two. Soft Soap is an excellent Remedy to kill Crab lice, by rubbing the Part with it.

There is so great a Consumption of *Soap* in *England*, and it pays so considerable a Duty to the King, that it is one of the best Branches of the Revenue; therefore particular Care is taken by the Commissioners of the Excise, that no Fraud be committed on the Part of the Soap-Boilers, who have the Honour to have always their Coppers, while they are at Work, attended by one of his Majesty's Officers; who are pretty exact, actuated to it in Part by their own Probity, and in Part by their own private Interest, for when they are found negligent, they are desired to make Room for another; and when they find Soap-Boilers working in an unentered Place, they, on Conviction, are handsomely rewarded; which alone is capable to make them over-diligent.

SOCIETY.

SOCIETY, *societas*, is an Assemblage or Union of several Persons in the same Place, for their mutual Assistance, Interest, or Entertainment.

We have a great many Kinds of *Societies*, distinguished by the different Ends proposed by them, *viz.* *Civil Societies*, *Religious Societies*, *Litterary Societies*, and *Trading Societies*.

A *Trading Society*, is a Contract or Agreement between two or more Persons, whereby they bind themselves together for a certain Time, and agree to share equally in the Profits or Losses which shall accrue in the Affairs, for which the *Society* or Copartnership is contracted.

There are in *England* several very considerable *Societies* of this Kind, as the Merchant Adventurers, the *Turkey*, *East-India*, *Muscovy*, *Eastland*, *Greenland*, *Spanish*, *African*, *South-Sea*, and *Hudsons-Bay* Companies. The Institutions, Policies, &c. whereof I have related in my Treatise of Commerce under the Letter C.

By the *Roman Law*, the social Contract needs no other Solemnity but the sole Consent of Parties, without any Writing at all: But among us Articles of Copartnership are required. There is no Contract wherein Probity is more required than in *Society*; inasmuch as the Laws pronounce those null, that are made contrary to Equity, and with Design to deceive.

There is in my Opinion no greater Theft, and which can be more odious, both before God and Man, than that committed by a Copartner, who prefers his own private Interest to the common Good of the Society; or who being intrusted with the whole Stock, appropriates the greatest Part thereof to his own Use; these are enormous Frauds, much worse than those committed by publick Robbers; for these may be driven to it through mere Want; and if taken are punished with Death; but those through a Perfidy, which cannot be too much abominated, make use of the great Confidence others repose in them, to plunder them with Impunity, the Laws being deficient in this Point, and having not sufficiently provided against those perfidious Robbers.

The *French* distinguish three Kinds of mercantile *Society*; *ordinary Society*, called also *collective* and *general*; *Society in commendam*, or *Commandity*; and *anonymous Society*, called also *momentary*, and *incommue*.

Society in commendam, &c. is that between two Persons, one of whom only puts his Money into the Stock, without doing any other Office of a Co-Partner; the other, who is called the *Complementary* of the *Society*, dispatching all the Business under his own Name. This *Society* (if the *Complementary* be an honest Man) is very useful to the State; inasmuch as all Kinds of Persons, even Nobles, and Men of the Robe, may contract it; and thus make their Money of Service to the Publick: And those who have no Fortune of their own to trade withal, hereby find Means of establishing themselves in the World, and of making their Industry and Address serviceable.

Anonymous Society, is that where all the Members are employed, each particularly in the common Interest, and each accountable for Profits, &c. to the rest; but without the Publick's being informed thereof. So that the Seller has only an Action against the particular Buyer, no other Name appearing.

It is also called *momentary*, because frequently made on particular Occasions, and ceasing with them; as in the making a Purchase, the selling any Commodity, &c.

Of this they distinguish four Kinds: *Society by Participation*, which is usually formed by Letters from one City to another, where a Merchandise is to be bought or sold.—The second is when two or three Persons go together to Fairs to buy Goods. The third, when two or three Persons agree, to buy up the whole of some Commodity in any Country; to sell it again at their own Price.—And the fourth is, when three or four Persons make a Journey together, to buy and sell the same Commodity; beside Merchants, People of Quality, &c. are admitted into these *anonymous Societies*.

Religious Societies are Parties of Persons, formed either

to live regularly together; or to promote the Interest of Religion; or to cultivate it in themselves.

Of the first Kind are all Congregations of Religious; particularly the Jesuits, who are called the *Society of Jesus*; though they more usually call themselves the *Company of Jesus*. The *Society of Sorbonne*. The *Society of St. Thomas de Villeneuve*, instituted in 1660, by F. Ange le Proust. The *Society of St. Joseph*, instituted in 1038. The *Society of Bretagne*, a Reform of *Benedictines*, in 1606. And the *Society of Jesus*, a religious military Order, instituted by Pius II.

To this first Kind may likewise be referred all the *Societies* among the *Roman Catholics*, known under the Name of *Confreries*; who are a certain Number of Persons, who meet together at certain Times, in a particular Church, which they have chosen for the Purpose; to perform some particular Act of Devotion, or of Charity, or of both; for it is either to pray for those who are at the Point of Death, so soon as they are informed of it by the tolling of the Bell; and then no Matter at what Time of the Day or Night, all those that can possibly resort to the Church; or to accompany the Sacrament, when carried to a sick Person; or to assist at Funerals, &c. all which they do freely, and of their own Accord, without receiving the least Retribution for it.

Of the second Kind are, the

Societies for Reformation of Manners, and putting in Execution the Laws against Immorality and Prophaneness. It was set on foot, very near fifty Years ago, by five or six private Persons in *London*; but is since exceedingly increased, by a Number of Members of all Denominations: A particular Body of the most considerable hereof, bear the Expences of Prosecutions, &c. without any Contribution from the rest: These chiefly apply themselves to the prosecuting Persons for Swearing, Drunkenness, and prophaning the Sabbath. Another Body of about fifty Persons, apply themselves to the suppressing Lewdness; and by them above 500 lewd Houses have been once suppressed. A third Body consists of Constables. A fourth of Informers.

Besides these are eight other regular, mixed Bodies of House-keepers, and Officers, who inspect the Behaviour of Constables and other Officers, assist in searching disorderly Houses, &c. seizing Offenders, giving Information, &c. There are several *Societies* of this Kind at *London*, *Bristol*, *Canterbury*, *Nottingham*, &c.

The *Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts*, was instituted by King *William*, in 1701, for securing a Maintenance for an orthodox Clergy, and making other Provisions for the Propagation of the Gospel, in the Plantations, Colonies, Factories, &c. To that End he incorporated the Archbishops, several Bishops, and other of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, to the Number of 90, into a Body, with Privilege to purchase two thousand Pounds a Year Inheritance, and Estates for Lives or Years, with other Goods to any Value.

They meet yearly on the third *Friday* in *February*, to chuse a President, Vice-President, and other Officers; and the third *Friday* in every Month to transact Business, depute fit Persons to take Subscriptions for the said Uses; and of all Monies so received, to give Account to the Lord Chancellor, &c. They have a standing Committee at the Chapter-House to prepare Matters for the monthly Meeting, which is held at *St. Martin's Library*.

The *Society for propagating Christian Knowledge*, was begun in 1699, by Persons of Worth, &c. Its original Design was to propagate Religion in the Plantations, to secure the pious Education of the Poor at Home, and to reclaim those that err in the Fundamentals of Christianity.

In the Year 1701, they had procured considerable Charities, and had transmitted the same to the Plantations, in Libraries, Bibles, Catechisms, &c. with a voluntary Maintenance for several Ministers to be employed in the Plantations. But the *Society* for propagating the Gospel into foreign Parts, being then instituted,

tuted, they were incorporated, by Charter, into the same; and thus discharged, as a particular *Society*, from the further Pursuit of that Branch of their original Design: Whereupon they turned themselves to the other; and are now very considerable, by great Accessions from among the Clergy and Laity.

They meet weekly to concert Measures for raising Charity for the Education of poor Children, and setting up Schools for that Purpose; as also for the more regular Disposal of pious Books, and Catechisms; for Instruction of ignorant, erroneous, &c. By the Assistance of Members of other religious *Societies*, they have procured Subscriptions for the Education of above three thousand Children, who are placed out in Schools, about *London*, and taught Reading, Writing, Psalmody, &c. They have dispersed a great Number of Books among the Poor in the Fleet, Army, &c. and have procured several to be translated into *Welsh*, and other foreign Languages, and dispersed accordingly.

Of the third Kind are divers religious *Societies*, properly thus called; first set on Foot in *London*, about the Year 1678, by a few young Men, who agree to meet weekly for Prayer, Psalmody, and spiritual Conferences. They are now increased to forty distinct Bodies, who have set up publick Prayers in many Churches, where it was not; procure frequent Administrations of the Sacraments; and maintain Lectures on that Subject, in one Church or another, almost on every *Sunday Evening*.

I have been informed, that there are likewise some *Societies* of Criticks, in *London*; but as Criticism is very near a-kin to Malice, Jealousy, and Calumny; and when not directed by Equity, and Wisdom, degenerates always into some of these Vices; I have some Reason to suppose that some of those *Societies* are not free from them.

The *SOCIETY* I design to take a particular Notice of in this Place, is that for which Men were in Part created, and which is founded on mutual Love, and sincere Friendship. For it is very reasonable to suppose, that when the divine Creator said after he had formed *Adam*, that it is not good he should be left alone, but have a Companion like to himself; his sole View was not then the Propagation of the human Race, but likewise that every Individual having the same Origin, and the same End, the same Substance, and the same Form, the same intellectual Faculties, and the same Operations; they should all unite in the same Views, all consult the same Interest, and all seek the same moral Good, which he knew could not be effected but by a great Unanimity, and mutual and sincere Love. It was on that he had founded that beautiful Harmony, which had made of the whole Earth a terrestrial Paradise, and whence had resulted a just Subordination between the different Members of that numerous Society of *Adam's* Children, which had made them all act in their respective Stations, as being all inspired by the same Principles, all actuated by the same Motives, and as if they had all had between them but one Heart and one Soul. It was likewise, with that Design that Man was formed in God's Image, *i. e.* that as by the eternal and reciprocal Love which subsist between the first and second Person of the blessed Trinity, they produce a third; likewise by the temporal, and reciprocal Love, which should have subsisted between the human Creatures, had proceeded the temporal Felicity, which had been the great Accessory to their eternal one.

But alas, we do not find, that that reciprocal Love, so perfect as God had conceived it, had ever any Existence but in his divine Ideas, for even in the Garden, while *Adam* persevered in his Innocence, we do not find in the sacred Writings, that there was a reciprocal Love between him and *Eve*; indeed it is said that Love was so great, and so sincere, on *Adam's* Side, that he rather chose to disobey the Orders of his Creator, and therefore deserve Death, which was the Consequence thereof, than to run the Risk of vexing her, in refusing to eat of the forbidden Fruit; but the Heart of *Eve* was not so passionately affected; since she preferred the Persuasions of the Serpent to the Felicity of her loving Companion; having heard, as well as he, the frightful Anathema fulminated against the Offender. That first *Society*, of the human Race, which

consisted then but of two Persons, who were both equally great, equally perfect, who commanded with an equal absolute Power to all the other Creatures; whose Interests were entirely the same, there being no other then to pursue, which could even inspire either of them with the least Inclination to do it; that first *Society*, say I, seemingly so perfect, and so well established, could not notwithstanding remain long inaccessible to Perfidy and Deceit; for *Eve* used all the Means she should have employed to cultivate that Union which the Almighty had established between her and *Adam*, I mean the Power she had over his Affections, and her natural Charms, to break it; so that the Woman was the first false Friend in the World. The Serpent would not tempt *Adam* first; because conscious of his Gratitude for so many signal Favours God was continually heaping upon him; and of his sincere and unfeigned Love for *Eve*, he thought he could never be capable to persuade him to disobey his Creator's Orders, at the Risk of rendering his Wife eternally unhappy. Therefore he attempted *Eve*, whose Love he knew was not near so well rooted in her Heart, nor so sincere for *Adam*, as that of *Adam* was for her. He employed Ambition and Curiosity, two Passions he thought could make the greatest Impression on her Mind to supplant it; though, at the same Time, would make Use of it, or rather of the Shadow thereof, which *Eve* left for Inheritance to her Sex, to disguise those Passions to *Adam*, and make him swallow the Bait. So that the Want of Sincerity in Friendship, was the only Cause of *Adam's* Fall, which his Descendants attribute falsely to the Cunning of the Serpent, since the Serpent himself was so sensible of the Weakness of his Cunning, that he thought it was not capable to deceive *Adam* without the Assistance of the Artifices of a false Friend; therefore have I not Reason to say, that a reciprocal Love has never existed in the World; since in the very State of its Infancy, which we call a State of Innocence, by Way of Eminence, it was not even known.

It is true, that *Adam's* Love was real; that he was *Eve's* sincere Friend; but that alone could not be called Friendship, Friendship supposing always a reciprocal Love, otherwise it is no Friendship.

It had been deceiving one's self to believe that Friendship could have subsisted between *Adam's* Children, after their Mother had given them such an Example of Dissimulation and Deceit; and it is reasonable enough to attribute to that bad Example, the Jealousy which reigned afterwards between *Abel* and *Cain*, which ended at last in a Fratricide; hence all the Disorders, Impieties, Injustice, Violence, and all the other Crimes, which covered afterwards the Face of the Earth, so as to make God repent of having created the World, and form the Resolution of destroying entirely that wicked Generation who had inherited *Eve's* Deceit and Perfidy.

It is likely enough that a kind of Union and Friendship reigned among that *Society* which God was pleased to save in the Ark, from the universal Inundation; otherwise he had not long continued to them that divine Protection, which brought them safe on Land again, in order to people the Earth with a new Generation; for as a Disunion among them had soon bred Jealousy, Spite, Malice, Hatred, Jars, Contentions, and all the other Vices which are the necessary and fatal Consequences thereof, his omnipotent Hand which had saved them from the general Calamity, in Consideration of the Innocency of their Manners, and kept them suspended all the while, between Life and Death; had soon left them to the Fury of the Waves, and the Tempest, and suffered them to share the Fate of those they had imitated in their Perversity.

That Union, no doubt, though ever so imperfect, was brought from the Ark on Land; and which God beheld with so much Complaisance and Satisfaction, when *Noah* at his coming out of the Ark, and kneeling on the Shore with all his Family to thank him for their Preservation, they all with Unanimity and Concord send their Vows and Prayers to his Throne, that he swore he would never drown the World any more: So great was the Power of mutual and reciprocal Love among his Creatures, as to be capable to disarm his Hands, which were yet smoking with the Thunder, which he had so lately

lately launched against the criminal Effects of Treachery and Deceit.

Tho' *Noah's* Descendants deviated soon from their former Innocence, and Division, and Broils were soon introduced among them, so as to oblige them to be separated; we have some Reason to believe that they did not all renounce their former Union, but, on the contrary, that it was preserved and cultivated among some of them, since the Antients mention often the Felicity of the Reign of *Saturn*, or golden Age, which could never have been so perfect as they represent it, if domestick Divisions, Broils, and Controversies had subsisted among the Subjects; but as they represent it as an extraordinary or uncommon Thing, or rather as a kind of Miracle, to give us to understand that it did not continue long; hence we may easily conclude that losing Ground by Degrees, it was daily confined within narrow Limits; first from a whole Kingdom within few Provinces; from Provinces within the scanty Compass of Cities; and degenerating still more and more, was reduced in Time from Cities to publick Associations, from publick Associations to private Families, and to few Friends, so as to be entirely banished at last from among Mankind; which must have been long ago their unhappy Fate; otherwise Authors would not represent a *sincere Friend*, as a kind of Prodigy, worthy the Admiration, not only of the Age he lived in, but of Posterity; the more, because this Phænomenon is seldom seen than the other natural ones, its being not subject to a periodical Revolution, several Ages passing without producing a *sincere Friend*.

None but generous Souls, and Persons educated in noble Sentiments, are capable of Friendship; for those dirty, base, sneaking Souls who mind nothing but their own private Interest, which is at present the Master-spring of all our Actions, from the Prince to the meanest of his Subjects, cannot familiarize themselves with that excellent Virtue; on the contrary they glory in their Perfidy and Deceit; and feel such an inward Satisfaction, when they have made those two Vices subservient to their infamous Ends, to the Oppression or entire Ruin of their Friends, that they cannot help shewing that Satisfaction outwardly, by applauding themselves in the Company of other Scoundrels like themselves, on their oppressive Successes. I know at this present Time Wretches of that infamous Character, and when I cannot possibly avoid seeing them, they seldom miss making me think, that it is impossible that those rebellious Spirits, or rather that roaring Lion mentioned by the Apostle, who is always seeking whom he can devour, should be worse than they. Like Vipers, they tear the very Bosom that gives them Birth; like Basilisks, they kill with their own Sight; like those Sea Monsters of the Fable, they decoy by their treacherous Voice their Friends into Precipices; and like the most dangerous of all Serpents, they infect the Air they breathe. But how could they act otherwise? sprung from a Dunghil, and educated in the Dust, at least most of them, could they have nobler Sentiments? Which should caution noble and generous Souls, against contracting Friendship with Persons of that Stamp; for though it is very possible, and we have often seen it, that the Disadvantages of Birth, are repaired by the Advantages of Education, as good Education seldom accompanies a mean Birth, one should be very sure of a good Education before he trusts to a mean Birth; unless Probity supplies the Wants of one, and rectifies the Disadvantages of the other.

Avarice, Hypocrisy, Bigottism, Ignorance, Cowardice, Adulation, Self-conceit, are likewise all a Bar to Friendship, and one should never choose for his Friend a Person addicted to any of those Vices; for an avaricious Person will always not only prefer his own Interests to those of his Friends, but even sacrifice his whole Fortune, and perhaps his Life, to the least Appearance of Lucre. How could it be expected that a Wretch who worships no other Divinity but Mammon, should prefer it to a Friend? How could we imagine that he who sacrifices his own domestick Peace, and all the lawful Pleasures of this Life, to the Toils of amassing Riches, and to the Inquietude of keeping them safe in his own Hands, shall forget them a Moment to enjoy his Friends? How could we flatter ourselves that he'll have any Inclination to relieve us in our Distress, while

he has not the Heart to relieve himself? Shall a Wretch who suffers himself to perish near his own Treasure, for fear of diminishing it, be willing to put his Hand to it to save even our Life? No, no, an Avaricious, who is not even a Friend to himself, is not capable of those Marks of Friendship to another; since a sincere Friend must consider Riches no other than as a necessary Dirt, and should value it no further than they render them capable to be serviceable to all Mankind in general, and to his Friends in particular, wishing to enjoy them no longer than they can answer those noble and generous Ends.

Not Money only, but likewise Preferments, Honours, Dignities, and all that's the more capable to flatter our Vanity or Ambition, are sacrificed to Friendship by a sincere Friend, when he knows that he cannot enjoy them without abandoning his Friend; with what inward Satisfaction he receives that pretended Disgrace, when he reflects that it is a new Mark he gives his Friends of the Sincerity of his Love, and that nothing more is to hinder him from giving himself up entirely to the Pleasure of enjoying his Friend without Obstacle or Controul! which to a sincere one is an anticipated Felicity; with what Contempt he considers what he has left, when he compares it with what he enjoys! And if any Thing can be capable to cause him then some Inquietude, it would be the Fear of losing too soon what he thinks he has acquired too late, a Tranquility of Mind which can be found no where but in a mutual Friendship. Princes themselves have descended from their Throne to have a Taste of that Felicity; and, without having Recourse to Antiquity for Examples of that Kind, it is said of *George I. King of Great Britain*, of glorious Memory, that he never appeared better pleased than when he could find an Opportunity of forgetting what he was, a great Prince, to appear in the Company of few Friends, of whom he had always a select Number, such as he had always been, and would always be, a noble, generous, and sincere Friend; and where he would not suffer to be distinguished from the rest otherwise than by signaling himself by greater Marks of Friendship. He preferred those happy Moments to all the Pomp and Magnificence his Throne was adorned with; and it was easy to judge at the indubitable Satisfaction he seemed to enjoy then that he thought a Court had no Pleasure comparable to that of enjoying a sincere Friend; for himself Heaven had took Pleasure to form him one, by adorning his noble Soul with all the excellent Qualities requisite for it. For he was generous, affable, brave, impartial, just, and had a great deal of Humanity and Compassion, in a Word, all in him spoke a sincere Friend, and claimed one, for I really believe that it was impossible to see him without loving him. Even his Enemies, who were prejudiced against him on other Accounts, could not help doing him that Justice.

We must be as cautious of chusing an Hypocrite, or a Tartuf for a Friend, as an Avaricious, and I dare say, that the Hypocrite is the most dangerous of the two; for how could we expect that he who is continually attempting to deceive Heaven itself, will deal sincerely with us? His whole Life is nothing but a Texture of Perfidy, Falshoods and Impostures, the more dangerous, because disguised under the Mask of Religion. Pretending to be infatuated with his own Perfections and Virtues, though in fact he is sensible of his own Wretchedness, he is a perpetual and very bitter Censor of our Conduct; the least Irregularities thereof he condemns with the same Severity as if they were the most atrocious Crimes; let us act with the greatest Circumspection and Prudence human Understanding is capable of, he always finds that we act wrong, because if he was to find otherwise, he would lose the Opportunity of exercising his malicious Talent, and of boasting of his own Perfections, which he would have the World think are not to be parallell'd; and if we are weak enough to desire being accounted his Friends, we must at the same Time submit ourselves to the Disagreement of hearing him insinuate sometimes even to ourselves, that we are unworthy of his Friendship, and that none but his excessive Compassion, could engage him to bear our Imperfections and Infirmities, whereof he makes use on all Occasions, to give a new Lustre to his own pretended Perfections; so that in his

Opinion

Opinion our Friendship is to him what an ugly waiting Woman is to a beautiful Lady. Fly, fly, such Monsters, who are rather born for a Plague to a civil Society, than to maintain it with a sincere Friendship, which they are not capable of. To call such Wretches Friends, is to profane that sacred Name, and render it despicable. For to expect that by our Complaisance and Condescensions, we shall inspire them at last with the Sentiments of a true Friendship, is to flatter oneself with vain Hopes, and to attempt it is to attempt that which is impossible. Chuse rather the greatest Reprobate for your Friend than an Hypocrite; for as a Reprobate is almost always sensible of his own Demerit, he is capable of admiring, and even approving within himself the Regularity of your Conduct, your Probity, and good Manners, and that Approbation may be a Means, after you have contracted a strict Friendship with him, to engage him to imitate them; but such a Change cannot be expected from an Hypocrite, who thinks that his Reputation would suffer, if he was to alter in the least his Conduct or Manners.

Ignorance is also a great Obstacle to Friendship, for a Person bred in it is not susceptible of the least Sentiments of Generosity, Sincerity and Gratitude; all that is said to him on that Subject, even supported by the most persuasive Argument, is not capable to dissipate the Clouds his Understanding is darkened with; he'll never be persuaded, that there is any other Love than the imperfect one he feels within himself, and which proceeds from natural Sentiments only; imagining falsely that all that is said of another Kind far preferable to it, and much more perfect, is nothing but a Fiction of Persons who want to refine on all Things. He thinks that it is enough if he does not wrong his Friends; but that it is an Imposition to attempt to persuade him to prefer his own Interest to his; since we are ourselves the Friends we must love first, and preferable to all others; and that to sacrifice all we have to Friendship, is to silence the Sentiments of Nature which are contrary to it.

A Coward was never a sincere Friend, for his Pusillanimity is alarmed at the least Difficulty, as if it was an unconquerable Obstacle; as his whole Study is, how to avoid all the Dangers which he could be exposed to; it cannot be reasonably expected that he would run any to serve his Friend. He may be sensible of his Misfortunes, but it is rather by a Motive of Cowardice, than of Generosity, for fear the same Thing should one Time or other happen to him. He trembles, he turns pale at the Recital thereof, he sighs, he lifts up his Eyes to Heaven, his whole Frame seems in Convulsions, not for the Calamities of his Friend, but because his Imagination is so seized with a panick Fear, that while the Recital lasts, he thinks himself affected with the same. To ask such a Man to appear for his Friend, in any Difficulty, is to put him in mortal Agonies; and rather than do it, he'll deny having ever been acquainted with him. But a brave Man affronts all the greatest Dangers to serve his Friends, and is never better pleas'd, but when he finds some particular Occasion of signalizing his Friendship. He thinks it is in the most difficult Encounters, that a Friend has Occasion to shew himself such, and that there is no other Means to distinguish a true from a false Friendship. The Old Testament gives us the Example of a brave and generous Friend in the Person of *Jonathan*, who exposed himself daily to incur the Indignation of *Saul* his Father, to save *David* his Friend from all the Snares which were laid for him; though he knew, at the same Time, that *David* was designed to supplant him in the Succession to the Throne of *Israel*. But that Example, which had no Precedent, has had no Imitators. For where is the Prince who would consult the Preservation of his Rival to the Crown. And who is that, on the contrary, who would refuse to accelerate his Destruction if he could? I cannot even find that the Friendship of *David* for *Jonathan* was reciprocal; for though he mourned for *Jonathan*'s Death, in an extraordinary Manner; it is easy to judge by the Sequel, that his Tears were rather of a great Politician, than of a sincere Friend.

Adulation or Flattery, and true Friendship, are incompatible; for as Adulation is most commonly accompanied with Deceit, and calculated to disguise Vice and

Imperfections, so far as to give them but too often the Name of Perfections and Virtues, it cannot be agreeable to a Virtue, which abhors Dissimulation and Imposture. For a sincere Friend knows how to make a just Difference between the Imperfections and Perfections of his Friend, and how to blame the one, and approve the other; and would think himself guilty of the greatest Perfidy, and unworthy the Name of a Friend, if he was to approve publicly, what he cannot help condemning inwardly; but then, what he disapproves, he does it in a friendly Manner, between his Friend and himself, without publick Invectives and Reproaches; and contents himself with being silent in publick, on what he disapproves in secret, and approves then what is worthy every Body's Approbation. For it is no Mark of Friendship to condemn publicly our Friends; for we authorize thereby the Invectives of his Enemies, discourage the few other Friends he may have, and occasions a certain Coldness between him and us, which may chance to degenerate afterwards into Hatred. Fear always a Scoundrel, who flatters you because he wants you; for a generous Soul, though perhaps at the same Time, he wants your Assistance, will never attempt to gain your Friendship by those low and despicable Means.

A Man, who like another *Narcissus* is enamoured with his own Image, will never love another; he is too much taken up with himself, to have any Time to spare for a Friend.

But what is then a *sincere Friend*, that it is so difficult to find one. A *sincere Friend* is a Person who loves another for his personal Merit only; without any other View, or under any other Consideration whatever; who loves him in all the different States and Conditions of Life a capricious Fortune can be pleased to place him; rather more, if possible, in Adversity than in Prosperity, since it is in Adversity that Friendship appears in its greatest Lustre; for as we are not all born with the same Constancy and Resolution, to bear with Indifference, the great Calamities our Lives are exposed to; some of us are but too subject to stoop under their Burthen, and to lose entirely at last that little Courage, which the Favours of Fortune alone were capable to keep up; then it is that Friendship must exert itself; that a sincere Friend must not wait that his unhappy Friend, conscious of his wretched Condition, and of the Abhorrence a vicious World has for it, meets him trembling and dejected, half-way; but, on the contrary, go and seek him in those dark Corners, or Retreats, where he entertains his melancholly Thoughts, which border much on Despair, and hide his unhappy Condition from a censorious, malicious and unjust World, whom he knows too ready to laugh at it, or attribute his Misfortunes either to a Want of Merit, or of Conduct; then a Friend appearing with that becoming and unaffected Complaisance and Affability, which are inseparable from a true Friendship, is sole capable to dissipate that thick Cloud which darkens his Understanding, and keep all the other Faculties of the Soul unactive. Raised from his profound Lethargy, he can scarce believe his Senses, when he sees a Person before him, whose Face is free from the Frowns and scornful Looks, the Unfortunate are almost always accosted with; and with that Serenity Fortune causes when it smiles. And instead of tedious Exhortations larded with malicious Reproaches, hears friendly Intreaties, rendered persuasive by present Succours, far beyond his Expectations, and exceeding perhaps the Forces of his Friend; who all the while is deaf to false and malicious Reports, unjust Reflections and Calumnies, which most commonly assail a Man in Distress, to render his Condition still more wretched. He is sensible that those who are guilty of such Barbarity, are either declared Enemies of the Person in Affliction, who use those indirect Means to accelerate his total Ruin, by dissuading every body from assisting him; or false Friends who have recourse to them to excuse themselves from doing it; which is the common Practice of the pretended Friends of this vicious Age, and who are much more dangerous than the most mortal Foes who declare themselves such. For those perfidious Friends, to distil their Poison with more Art, begin by chiming with those, who being susceptible

ceptible of Sentiments of Humanity and Compassion, pity the Person in Affliction, and with whom they are not particularly acquainted, for no other Reason than because he is miserable; larding their Discourse with Abundance of *but*, and *if*, which at last bring those truly compassionate Persons to the Point they would have them, *i. e.* that the poor Wretch is not so worthy of Compassion as they had thought him at first, since his own Friends give him so wretched a Character; which must be true, since those who give it him, having had his Confidence, and studied him long, cannot be mistaken. The Perfidy of those Monsters, under a human Form, works with a still greater Efficacy, if they have the Artifice to disguise it, as most of them do, under that useful Mask Hypocrisy; and revile their unhappy Friend among Persons who are truly religious; for as none but God can fathom our Hearts, and discover the Secrets thereof; how is it possible that those Persons of Probity and Virtue could suspect another, whom they almost always find besieging the Altars of a God of Mercy and Compassion? How can they imagine that he, who they suppose is continually claiming that Mercy and Compassion for himself, has none for others? But they are mistaken when they suppose that the Hypocrite is intreating God's Mercy; for as he has his Mind full of nothing else but the entire Ruin of his Friends, he is only meditating how he can procure it sooner and more effectually; I myself have heard Men of that infamous Character, who by their Hypocrisy had acquired a sort of Right to impose on weak Minds, concerting Measures at the Feet of the Altars to that Purpose.

There is another Kind of false Friends, who having not quite renounced all Sentiments of Honour and Humanity, would be loth to contribute towards their Friend's Ruin; but are either ashamed, or afraid of appearing his Friend while he is in Distress; so that they will neither oppress, nor assist him, but abandon him entirely to his unhappy Fate; though, for my Part, I make but very little Difference between this Sort of Friends and those above-mentioned, and think them both equally guilty of a Breach of Friendship, and almost in the same cruel Manner; since he who refuses to assist his Friend in his Distress, is as much accessory to it, as he that has procured it. But he is afraid, perhaps, was he to assist his unhappy Friend, either to disoblige other Friends whom it is his Interest to manage, or to incur the Displeasure of Men in Authority; then if those human Considerations are capable to deter him from appearing a Friend, he boasts in vain of his Friendship; for a real one is daring, courageous, intrepid; meets with no human Consideration, which it cannot silence; no Obstacles, let them be ever so great, or difficult, which it cannot conquer; Majesty, Power, Favour, Interest, all give way to it; for a Friend may respect the Hand which oppresses his Friend, and at the same Time relieve him under that Hand, and even wrest him from it, if he can do it without violating the Laws of God and Man; for the Oppressor, let him be ever so potent or so great, must have a very mean Soul who will refuse to admire and commend the courageous Sincerity of such a Friendship.

But where can we find at present Friends of that Character? in the Sanctuary? Alas it is the Place where Dissimulation, Deceit and Inconstancy make their chief Residence; there appears sometimes perhaps as every where else, a certain Shadow of Friendship, but which vanishes at the single Appearance of private Interest, when both in Competition. Though no body seems to be more obliged to a strict Friendship than the Clergy, since they pretend both to practise and preach in a stricter Manner the Gospel of Christ, which is in Part founded on Friendship, since our divine Saviour puts the Love of our Neighbour on a Level with that of God, when he says to the Person who ask'd him, what he must do to be saved? *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and thy Neighbour as thyself.* Do they observe that Precept, when they put all in Use, even Calumnies, Falshoods and Invectives, to foment Jealousy and Dissension among us? And if they don't, can they expect to be saved? Is that to follow the Example of the beloved Disciple, who having learned the Rules of Christian Friendship, in the very Bosom of his divine Master, preached scarce any Thing else afterwards? How scan-

dalous it is to hear nothing else in our Assemblies, which were calculated to entertain Friendship among us, but uncharitable Declamations founded on false Prejudices; that alone will always be an Obstacle to a perfect Reconciliation between us, which, if once removed, would soon be accomplished. Though it is easy to find in the Gospel, if we would renounce our false Prejudices, that such uncharitable Declamations are entirely contrary to it. What would we think of a Person, who instead of composing the Differences which subsist in a private Family, when it is in his Power to do it, would, on the contrary, foment them, and widen the Breach? would not such a Monster excite our Indignation, and be considered as a Plague in the Civil Society? What must we think then of those, who are continually sowing the Seed of Discord and Animosity in the Family of Christ? What would a Jew, or an honest Pagan, think of it that was to hear it, and was shewn afterwards in the Gospel, that formal Command of loving one another? Could he be persuaded then, that that Person does not preach a Religion quite different from that of *Jesus Christ*? If there be some Disputes between us in Points of Belief; Calumnies, Invectives, and Sophisms, will never decide or terminate them; such Means are never used in civil Differences, but by those who are conscious that they have not the Right on their Side; and Counsellors at the Bar have never Recourse to them, but when they know that the Cause they plead is as good as lost. Truth is the best Argument we can use, to persuade and confound our Enemies; and calling them Names, and loading them with Invectives, make them triumph before the most sensible Part of Mankind. Such a scandalous Conduct is very good to amuse an ignorant Rabble, which delights in Disorders and Confusion; but it is despised, and even abhorred by those of a sound Understanding, and who have been inspired by noble Sentiments. How can we expect to establish Friendship among us, when we are taught to hate one another, and cut one another's Throats by a Motive of Religion? If we think that our Brethren have deviated from the Truth, let us endeavour to bring them to the Sheep-fold on our Shoulders, at the Example of the good Shepherd, and not with the Whip as a Beast to the Slaughter; and if our friendly Endeavours prove unsuccessful, let us address our most ardent Vows to Heaven for their Conversion. What! must I hate a Person because he is a *Roman* Catholick, or a *Presbyterian*, or a *Quaker*, or even a Jew or an Infidel? What is his Religion to me, if he has all the Qualities that deserves my Friendship?

As Friendship is of all Religions, it is also of all Nations and Countries, though the Difference of Nation or Country, like that of Religion, is but too often a Bar to it. If there have been Time out of Mind, a certain Jealousy between different Nations, perhaps rival in Glory, must I hate a particular Person of that Nation? What has he to do with the general Concerns of that Nation? Is he called in the Council of the Sovereign or Republick, under whose Government he is born? Has he opinated for the Devastation of my Country? Has he done me any private Injury? Does not the Laws of Nations entitle him to the Right of Hospitality among us, as they do those of us who are among them? He is an *Englishman*, an *Hanoverian*, an *Italian*, a *Spaniard*, a *Frenchman*, &c. *ergo*, we must hate him. Does not Nature itself revolt against that Conclusion, which is condemned by all Laws divine and human? It is true, that all Nations are not equally guilty of that Barbarity; and I can flatter myself that I am born in a Country which is entirely free from it; as it can be vouched by all other Nations, who are not blinded by false and unjust Prejudices; we never see there Foreigners insulted publicly, either in Print or in the Street; the Rabble itself is ready to lend them their Assistance when they want it. And when I have made that Observation before Persons who could not deny it, because they had been Eye-witnesses to it, they have replied ungenerously, that those Demonstrations of Friendship did not proceed from the Heart; thus assuming to themselves a Power, which is reserved to God alone of searching the Heart. But how can they know that those Marks of Friendship do not proceed from their Heart? Can we know that a Person loves us otherwise than by his Actions; and if his Actions denote that Love, how can we be so unjust

to say that he don't love us? What could engage me but a Motive of Generosity, to treat kindly a Person whom I had never seen before, when I do not know whence he comes, who he is, and if ever I shall see him again afterwards? What could induce me to dissemble with him? Could any body force me to be kind to him if I would not? Is it not at my Option to take or not to take Notice of him, when no body could find fault with it, not even himself, since he does not know me? Even supposed, which is a scandalous false Supposition, that his Actions are different from the Sentiments of his Heart; what's that to me, since it is his Actions I want in my Necessity, and not his Heart, which must be left to God to examine? Of what Service would it be to me, if it was possible that a Man should love me, and at the same Time do me some great Injury, and perhaps cut my Throat? For it is equally impossible for me to do all Sorts of good Offices to a Foreigner, and hate him in my Heart, as for me to maltreat him and love him at the same Time in my Heart. Such unjust Reflections proceed from a natural Jealousy and Antipathy, which Brutes themselves are not guilty of; for when they have received some good Offices from us, they fawn upon us, to let us know their Gratitude. For my Part, I have been the unhappy Victim of that original Sin of being a *Frenchman*, and more so, since the War in which I have no Hand, has broke out between the two Nations; though in those Cases the Subjects should follow the Example of their Princes, who while they are at War, have seldom any private Animosity against one another; but on the contrary are as much Friends then, as they are in the most profound Peace.

In answer to this, it may be asked, why Foreigners should come among us, when they know that we hate them? I must confess, that as I suppose few do it by Choice, I cannot but pity the Unhappiness of those who are necessitated to it; but as they know nothing of that Hatred when they first take that Party, and imagine that the same Law of Nations that protects Foreigners in their own Country, and obliges them to do to them all Sorts of kind Offices, has the same Force in another, and pleads there as much in their Favour, they are excusable for that first Mistake; but not if they were to commit a second of the same Kind.

Shall we find Friendship at Court? There in fact, if Friendship consisted in publick Demonstrations, and Protestations, bound sometimes by the most solemn Oaths, we could expect to find Friends; but are they once put to the Test, and called upon to fulfil their Engagements, or accomplish their Promises; we are soon convinced, though too late, that all those Promises, those Protestations, those Oaths, even the most solemn, were nothing but a mere Farce, to trifle with Heaven and amuse Men; a vain Sound, which perishes immediately after it has struck the Ears, so absolutely, as not to leave sometimes the Memory of its Existence. The Prince himself cannot fix those Protestations to any Thing else; even those whom he is continually loading with his most signal Favours, and whom he receives into his most secret Confidence, are his Friends no longer than he keeps them engaged to him by those mercenary Means, or to speak better, are no Friends at all; so that there is no Monarch at present who can say of his Favourite, that *Ephesion* is *Alexander*. Nay, it has been for several Ages past a kind of Heresy to believe, that it was possible to find a sincere Friend at the Court of Princes; and a Man there who is really such, must have retired from it long before he can expect to be trusted to. As another who has given several repeated Instances of his Sincerity, is mistrusted as soon as he begins to frequent a Court; as if the Air breathed there was always infected with Perfidy and Dissimulation. In fact, Perfidy and Dissimulation, which every where are considered as two scandalous Vices, and as such a Bane to Civil Society, are seen in a quite different Light at the Court of Princes, and in the Palaces of the Great; and are considered by the most impartial and less prejudiced against a Court, as two Qualities essential to the Character of a Courtier or Favourite. Courtiers and Favourites themselves seem to be convinced of it, since the first Maxims they learn are those of dissembling and deceiving well. And such among them who excel in that

Art, think themselves worthy of the greatest Employments; and the great Habit they have contracted of it, do that they practise it, even in the most indifferent Things, so that one can scarce even depend on what they say, or understand what they mean. They have brought that Art of late to such a Perfection, as to have made certain general Rules which are common, and expressed in the same Terms at all Courts: They all speak in the same Dialect, and all write in the same Style; and I have very great Reason to believe, that Ministers, or Secretaries of State, for Example, have Models of Letters in their Offices, which they copy when they want to write to certain Persons; which are full of Protestations of Friendship, and of their Readiness to serve one; but if they be put to the Test, those Protestations have no other Effect, than that of procuring other Protestations; and thus Protestations *in infinitum*, and nothing else; Ecclesiasticks themselves in those Posts, and even those who affect much Religion, are guilty of those scandalous Dissimulations, and perfidious Deceits; which would render a Man odious in a civil Society, and procure him to be shamefully kicked out of it as a dangerous Scoundrel. But as Men in great Posts are sometimes suffered to rob with Impunity, they must also be suffered to deceive with Impunity. Princes themselves have been the unhappy Victims of the perfidious Deceits of their Favourites, and have harboured Snakes in their Bosoms, who have stung them to Death: Vipers who have tore the very Bosom that gave them Birth; Monsters who have devoured the very Substance which supported them; Sacrilegious Kidnappers, who have persuaded their Sovereign to enter into Measures which they knew would prove his entire Ruin; which makes me deplore the unhappy Fate of Princes, who have the weak Complaisance to trust too much to their Favourites.

We might have antiently searched sincere Friends in the Armies, and have been sure to find several; for as none marched then under *Mars's* Standards, especially in those Posts where they had Occasion to signalize themselves in a particular Manner, but Persons of a particular Merit, and known Courage, who abhorred all that was mean and scandalous, no doubt but such Persons were capable of a sincere Friendship; but at present, as most of the Sons of *Mars* have been nursed in the Maxims of a Court, and lulled to sleep at the Ditties of Ministers and Favourites, who promote them as their Children, not as they deserve, they carry those Maxims into the Field, so that for some Years past there has been as much Friendship found there as Courage; and they have loved in the same modern Manner as they have fought: For as they most commonly fight for Lucre, not for Reputation or Glory; they also most commonly love for Lucre, not by mere Friendship; and there are as many vain Protestations made in the Tent of a General, as there are in the Antichamber of a Minister; a brave Soldier who has served gallantly his King and Country, but comes empty-handed, is promised Preferments; but he who is introduced by *Plutus*, though perhaps accompanied by Cowardice, carries it. The General may profess himself all the while the brave Man's Friend; but the *Craesus* is really the General's Friend, at least in his Manner of thinking. And this I know by Experience, for could I have persuaded Mammon to stand my Friend in some Occasions, where I had nothing to plead for me but my Services, I should not be reduced at present to the indigent State of an Author.

The Bar is as foreign to Friendship as any other Place, and there's no Friends to be gained among *Affra's* Ministers, but by means of the Offerings which are carried to that Goddess's Altar. He among them who professes the greatest Friendship to us, will become a Foe for Gain; though he be persuaded at the same Time, that we have all the Justice imaginable on our Side: This I know also by Experience.

Friendship in Commerce is made a trading Commodity, and is sold like the rest; for as Profit or Gain is the Master-spring of that great Machine, all is rejected which has the least Appearance of Liberality and Disinterestedness.

Even in private Families, where Friendship should be found, if any where in the World; there is none; Jealousy, Ambition, private Interest, very often Spite and

and Malice, set a whole Family at Variance; even the Son endeavours to supplant his Father, and the Father his Son. A Brother is jealous that his Brother is more favoured by Fortune than he is, and for that Reason hates him; and a Sister envies her Sister because she is better settled, and makes a greater Figure in the World than she.

Are there then no sincere Friends to be found in the World? Yes there are, even in all the different States above-mentioned; but they are so few, that it is very difficult to find them; not that I speak by Experience, for I can safely protest, that I have never found any. As for those who are Friends while Fortune smiles, and no longer, there is an infinite Number of them, if one is not ashamed to prostitute the Name of Friendship to the most atrocious Perfidy. It is true they are Friends, but it is to themselves; for in worshipping your Fortune, they only consult the Advantages which they can reap from it; either for Honour or Profit, or for both; which is clearly seen at their deserting you so soon as

Fortune turns her Back; according to this judicious Sentence of Ovid:

*Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos;
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.*

Which Sentence is thus paraphrased by M. Mangard:
*Tant que vous regorgez d'Honneurs & de Richesses,
Ce ne sont qu'Amities & que vives Tendresses:
Vous êtes recherché des moyens & des grands,
Au dixieme degré vous avez des parens.
Quoi qu'un sang roturier coule en vôtre famille,
La Noblesse s'y joint quand la Richesse y brille.
D'une foule d'amis vos côtes sont pressées,
Qui tous a vous servir se montrent empressés.
Mais vous arrive t'il quelque affreuse disgrâce,
La Fortune vient elle a prendre une autre face;
Nos jours se changent, ils en une triste nuit
Chacun dans ce moment vous abandonne & fuit.
L'on voit autour de vous ces ombres disparoitre.
Et vos meilleurs amis souvent vous méconnoître.*

STARCH-MAKING.

STARCH-MAKING, is the Art of procuring a Fecula or Sediment from Wheat which had been steeped in Water; of which Fecula, after separating the Bran from it, by passing it through Sieves, are formed a Kind of Loaves, which being dried in the Sun, or an Oven, is afterwards broke into little Pieces, and so sold. The Process is as follows:

The Grain being well cleaned, is put to ferment in Vessels full of Water, which they expose to the Sun, when in its greatest Heat; changing the Water twice a Day for the Space of eight or twelve Days, according to the Season. When the Grain bursts easily under the Finger, they judge it sufficiently fermented. The Fermentation perfected, and the Grain thus softened; it is put, Handful by Handful, in a Canvas Bag, to separate the Flour from the Husks, which is done by rubbing and beating it on a Plank, laid across the Mouth of the empty Vessel, that is to receive the Flour.

As the Vessels are filled with this liquid Flour, there is seen swimming a-top, a reddish Water, which is to be carefully scum off from Time to Time, and clean Water put in its Place; which, after stirring the whole together, is all to be strained through a Cloth or Sieve,

and what is left behind, put into the Vessel with new Water, and exposed to the Sun for some Time; and as the Sediment thickens at the Bottom, they drain off the Water four or five Times, by inclining the Vessel, but without passing it through the Sieve. What remains at the Bottom, is the *Starch*, which they cut in Pieces to get out, and leave it to dry in the Sun. When dry it is laid up for Use.

The best *Starch* is white, soft, and friable, easily broke into Powder. Such as require very fine *Starch*, do not content themselves like the Starch-Men, with refuse Wheat, but use the finest Grain.

To use *Starch*, they take as much as is needed, and steep it in Water over Night, changing the Water four or five Times. The Starch-Men using the Refuse of Wheat, only observe a Part of all these Things in their Process; but their *Starch* falls far short of this.

Starch is used along with Smalt, or Stone Blue, to stiffen and clear Linen. The Powder thereof is also used to whiten and powder the Hair.

It is also used by the Dyers to dispose their Stuffs to take Colours the better.

STEREOMETRY.

STEREOMETRY, is the Art of measuring solid Bodies, *i. e.* of finding the Solidity or solid Contents of Bodies, as Globes, Cylinders, Cubes, Vessels, Ships, &c.

Solidity, as understood here, is the Quantity of Space, contained in a solid Body; called also the solid Content, and the Cube thereof.

To Measure, the Surface, and Solidity of a Prism; find the Area of the Base, and multiply it by 2; find the Areas of the Planes, or Parallelograms, that include or circumscribe it, and add their Sum to the former Product. The Sum is the whole Surface of the Prism.

Multiply then the Base by the Altitude; the Product is the Solidity of the Cube.

All Prisms are in a Ratio compounded of their Bases and Attitudes: If then their Bases be equal, they are to each other as their Heights; and *vice versa*. Similar Prisms, &c. are in a triplicate Ratio of their homologous Sides, as also of their Altitudes.

To measure the Surface and Solidity of a Pyramid. — Find the Solidity of a Prism, that has the same Base with the given Pyramid; and divide this by three; the Quotient will be the Solidity of the Pyramid.

Suppose, *v. gr.* the Solidity of the Prism be found 6701328, the Solidity of the Pyramid will be thus found 22336770.

The Surface of a Pyramid is had by finding the Areas both of the Base, and of the lateral Triangles. The Sum of these is the Area of the Pyramid.

The external Surface of a right Pyramid, standing on a regular polygonal Base, is equal to the Altitude of one of the Triangles which compose it, multiplied by the whole Circumference of the Base of the Pyramid.

A Sphere is equal to a Pyramid, whose Base is equal to the Surface, and its Height to the Radius of the Sphere.

Hence a Sphere being esteemed such a Pyramid, its Cube or solid Content is found like that of a Pyramid.

2. A Sphere is to a Cylinder, standing on an equal Basis, and of the same Height, as 2 to 3. Hence also may the Cube or Content of the Sphere be found.

3. The Cube of the Diameter of a Sphere, is to the solid Content of the Sphere, nearly as 300 to 157; and thus also may the Content of the Sphere be measured.

4. The Surface of a Sphere is Quadruple the Area of a Circle described with the Radius of the Sphere. For since a Sphere is equal to a Pyramid, whose Base is the Surface, and its Altitude the Radius of the Sphere: The Surface of the Sphere is had by dividing its Solidity by a third Part of its Diameter. If now the Diameter of the Circle be 100, the Area will be 7850; consequently the Solidity 1570000; which divided by a Third of the

Semi-

Semi-Diameter, 100, the Quotient is the Surface of the *Sphere* 31400, which is manifestly Quadruple the Area of the Circle.

The *Diameter of a Sphere being given to find its Surface and Solidity*. Find the Periphery of the Circle described by the Radius of the *Sphere*. Multiply this, found, into the Diameter; the Product is the Surface of the *Sphere*. Multiply the Surface by a sixth Part of the Diameter, the Product is the Solidity of the *Sphere*.

Thus supposing the Diameter of the *Sphere* 56, the Periphery will be found 175; which multiplied by the Diameter, the Product 9800 is the Surface of the *Sphere*; which multiplied by one sixth Part of the Diameter, gives the Solidity 919057, or thus;

Find the Cube of the Diameter 175616; then to 300157, and the Cube found, find a fourth Proportional 919057. This is the Solidity of the *Sphere* required.

A Gentleman was pleased to favour me with the following Method, which he says he used for the Mensuration of a Globe, whose Axis is 21 Inches.

A GLOBE, whose Axis is 21 Inches.

21. Circumference.	21
66	21
126	21
126	42
1386	441
35 $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Axis.	21
6930	441
4158	882
1728) 48510 (2 Feet 1395 Inch.	9261
3456	11
1395.	9261
	9261
F. In.	21) 101871 (1728
4851 2. 1395	84
3456	178
1395	168
	107
	105
	21
	21
	00
F. In.	
1.75	
1.75	
875	
1225	
175	
3.0625	
1.75	9261 Cube of 21
153125	5236
214375	55566
30625	27783
	18522
5.359375	46305
5236	
1728) 48490596 (2. 1393	
32156250	3456
16078125	
10718750	1393
26796875	
1393	
806	
0507	
	2.8061687500

Before we attempt to give the Method of measuring a *Cylinder*, we must remember, that a *Cylinder* is a solid Body contained under three Surfaces; supposed to be generated by the Rotation of a Parallelogram, about one of its Sides.

If the generating Parallelogram be rectangular, the *Cylinder* introduced will be a right *Cylinder*, i. e. a *Cylinder*, whose Axis is perpendicular to its Base.

If the Parallelogram be a *Rhombus* or *Rhomboides*, the *Cylinder* will be *oblique* or *scabrous*.

The Surface of a right *Cylinder*, exclusive of its Bases, is demonstrated to be equal to a Rectangle contained under the Periphery, and the Altitude of the *Cylinder*.

The Periphery, therefore, of the Base, and thence the Base itself, being found, and multiplied by two, and the Product added to the Rectangle of the Height, and Periphery of the *Cylinder*; the Sum will be the Area or Superficies of the *Cylinder*: Multiply this by the Area of the Base, and the Product will be the Solidity of the *Cylinder*.

For it is demonstrated, that a Circle is equal to a Triangle, whose Base is equal to a Periphery, and Height to the Radius; and also that a *Cylinder* is equal to a triangular Prism, having the same Base and Altitude with itself; its Solidity, therefore, must be had by multiplying the Superficies into the Base.

Again, since a *Cone* may be esteemed an infinite angular Pyramid; and a *Cylinder* an infinite angular Prism; a *Cone* is one third Part of a *Cylinder*, upon an equal Base, and of the same Height.

Further, a *Cylinder* is to a *Sphere* of the same Base and Altitude, as 3 to 2.

Lastly, it being demonstrated in Mechanics, that every Figure, whether superficial or solid, generated either by the Motion of a Line, or of a Figure, is equal to the Factum of the generative Magnitude into the Way of its Center of Gravity, or the Line its Center of Gravity describes: Hence, if a Rectangle revolves about its Axis, it will describe a *Cylinder*, and its Side the Surface of the *Cylinder*. But the Center of Gravity of the right Line is in the Middle; and the Center of Gravity of the generating Plane in the Middle of the right Line. The Way of this, therefore, is the Periphery of a Circle described by the Radius, i. e. into the Base: But the Solidity of the *Cylinder* is the Factum of the generating Rectangle, into the Periphery of the Circle described by the other Radius, which is subduple of the Semi-diameter of the *Cylinder*.

Suppose, *v. gr.* the Latitude of the describing Plane, and therefore of the *Cylinder* $BC = a$, the Semi-diameter of the Base $DC = r$; then will $EG = \frac{1}{2}r$; and supposing the Ratio of the Semi-diameter to the Periphery $= 1 : m$; the Periphery described by the Radius $\frac{1}{2}r$ will be equal to $\frac{1}{2}mr$. Therefore multiplying $\frac{1}{2}mr$ into the Area of the Rectangle $AC = ar$; the Solidity of the *Cylinder* $= \frac{1}{2}mar$; but $\frac{1}{2}mar = \frac{1}{2}rma$, and $\frac{1}{2}rma$ and $\frac{1}{2}rma$, the Area of the Circle described by the Radius DG , the Solidity of the *Cylinder*, therefore, is equal to the Factum of the Base and the Altitude.

To determine the Surface and Solidity of a *Cube*. As the Surface of a *Cube* consists of six equal Squares, a Side multiplied by itself, and the Product by six, will give the Superficies; and the same Product again multiplied by the Side, the Solidity.

Hence if the Side of a *Cube* be 10, the Solidity will be 1000; if that be 12, this will be 1728: Wherefore the geometrical Perch being 10 Foot, and the geometrical Foot 10 Digits, &c. the cubick Perch is 1000 cubick Feet; and a cubick Foot is 1000 cubick Digits, &c.

Hence also *Cubes* are in a triplicate Ratio of their Sides, and are equal if their Sides be so.

To measure the Solidity of a *Cone*; find the Solidity of a Prism or *Cylinder*, having the same Base with the *Cone*: Which found divided by 3; the Quotient will be the Solidity of a *Cone*. Thus, *v. gr.* if the Solidity of a *Cylinder* be 605592960, the Solidity of the *Cone* will be found 201864320.

As to the Measure of the Solidity of a truncated *Cone*: As the Difference of the Semi-diameter is to the Altitude of the truncated *Cone*, so is the greater Semi-diameter to the Altitude of the entire *Cone*. This found, subtract the Altitude of the truncated *Cone*; which will leave that of the *Cone* taken off. Find the Solidity of the two *Cones*, subtract one from the other; the Remainder,

mainder will be the Solidity of the truncated Cone.

To find the Solidity of a hollow Body.—If the Body be comprized in the Number of regular Bodies; the Solidity first of the whole Body, including the Cavity, then that of the Cavity, which is supposed to have the same Figure with the Body itself, is to be found; and the latter being subtracted from the former, the Remainder is the Solidity of the hollow Body required.

As to the measuring of TIMBER.—Timber is usually measured and estimated by the Load or Ton, which is a solid Measure containing 40 Feet of round Timber, or 50 of hewn Timber. The Denomination of Load, &c. we suppose arises hence, that 40 or 50 solid Feet of such Timber weighs about a Ton, i. e. twenty hundred Weight, which is usually accounted a Cart-Load.

1. For the measuring of round Timber: The Practice is to gird the Tree about in the Middle of the Length; and folding the Line twice, to take one Length or Quarter of the Whole, and account that for the true Side of the Square: Then for the Length it is counted from the But-end of the Tree, so far up as the Tree will hold half a Foot Girt, as they call it, i. e. so long as the Line twice folded is half a Foot.

The Dimensions thus taken, the Quantity of Timber is had, either by multiplying the Side of the Square into itself, and that Product by the Length, by the Method of Cross-Multiplication.

Or more easily and speedily on Gunter's Line, by extending the Compasses from 12 to the Side of the Square in Inches; for that Extent turned twice (the same Way) from the Length in Feet, will reach to the Content in Feet.

Or the better still, on Coggeshal's Sliding-Rule, by setting 12 on the Girt-Line D, to the Length in Feet on the Line C. Then against the Side of the Square, on the Girt-Line D, taken in Inches, you have on the Line C the Content of the Timber in Feet.

Note, 1. This Method of measuring round Timber, tho' common, is yet erroneous, and the Contents found hereby, it is demonstrated is less than the true Contents or Measure in the Ratio of 11 to 14. How to avoid this Error, and measure it justly, I have shewn under the Use of Coggeshal's Sliding-Rule.

2. If the Tree have any great Boughs that are Timber, as the Phrase is, i. e. which will hold Feet Girt, they are commonly measured, and added to the rest: The Solidity of the whole being thus found, they divide it by 40, which brings it into Loads.

3. In measuring round Timber for Sale, they usually cast away an Inch out of the Square for the Bark, if Oak; so that a Tree 10 Inches square, they only account as if 9; but for Ash, Elm, Beech, &c. an Inch is too much.

4. For the measuring hewn or square Timber; the Practice is to find the Middle of the Length of the Tree, and there to measure its Breadth, by clapping two Rules, or other strait Things to the Sides of the

Tree, and measuring the Distance between them: In the like Manner they measure the Breadth the other Way. If the two be found unequal, they add them together, and take half the Sum for the true Side of the Square.

The Dimensions thus taken, the Content is found, either by Cross-Multiplication, Gunter's Scale, or the Sliding Rule, after the Manner already directed.

The Contents divided by 50, gives the Number of Loads.

If the Timber be unequally sided, this Method of measuring is erroneous, always giving the Content more than the Truth; and the more so, as the Difference of the Sides is greater; yet Custom has authorized it.

To measure such Timber justly, a mean Proportion should be found between the unequal Sides, and this mean be accounted the Side of the Square.

What we understand in this Treatise by Solidity, is a Property of Matter or Body, whereby it excludes every other Body from the Place itself possesses.

Solidity is a Property common to all Bodies, whether solid or fluid: It is usually called *Impenetrability*; but Solidity expresses it best; as carrying somewhat more of positive with it than the other, which is a negative Idea.

The Idea of Solidity, Mr. Locke observes, arises from the Resistance we find one Body makes to the Entrance of another into its own Place. Solidity, he adds, seems the most extensive Property of Bodies; and being that whereby we conceive it to fill Space: It is distinguished from mere Space, by this latter being not capable of Resistance or Motion. It is distinguished from *Hardness*, which is only a firm Cohesion of the solid Parts, so as they may not easily change their Situation.

The Difficulty of changing Situation gives no more Solidity to the hardest Bodies than the softest; nor is a Diamond a Jot more solid than Water. By this we distinguish the Idea of the Extension of Bodies, from that of the Extension of Space: That of Body, is the Continuity or Cohesion of solid, separable, moveable Parts; that of Space the Continuity of unsolid, inseparable, immoveable Parts.

The Cartesians however, will, by all Means deduce Solidity, or as they call it, *Impenetrability* from the Nature of Extension; and contend that the Idea of the former, is contained in that of the latter; and hence argue against a Vacuum. Thus, say they, one cubick Foot of Extension cannot be added to another, without having two cubick Feet of Extension; for each has in itself all that is required to constitute that Magnitude. And hence they conclude, that every Part of Space is solid or impenetrable, inasmuch as of its own Nature it excludes all others.

But Solidity, abstracted from this general and physical Idea, is more properly taken here, for the Quantity of Space contained in a solid Body, called also the solid Content and the Cube thereof, as already explained.

STOCKING-MAKING.

STOCKING-MAKING, is the forming a Kind of Cloathing of the Leg and Foot, which immediately covers their Nudity, and screens them from the Rigour of the Cold.

Stockings are either knit or wove.

Knit Stockings, are wrought with Needles made of polished Iron, or Brass Wire. There must be five of them, four to hold the Mashers the Stocking consists of, and one to work with.

The first Process in knitting Stockings, whether they be of Silk, Wool, Cotton, Thread, &c. is to twist loosely three Threads together, the Stockings made of two Threads only being very slight, and of very little Service. Then you form on each of the four Needles a certain Number of Mashers, greater or less, according to the Size the Stocking must be of; observing that there must be an equal Number of Mashers on each Needle;

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which Number is to be diminished or increased in the Process of the Work, according as the Shape of the Stocking requires it. To diminish the Number, they work two or three Mashers together at once.

The Invention of this Operation it were difficult to fix precisely, though it is commonly attributed to the Scots, on this Ground, that the first Works of this Kind came from thence. It is added, that it was on this Account, that the Company of Stocking Knitters established at Paris in 1527, took for their Patron St. Fiacre, who is said to have been the Son of a King of Scotland.

Knit Stockings, are far preferable for Service to the woven ones; though they be not so beautiful to the Sight.

The Islands of Jersey and Guernsey are famous for this Sort of Work; and it is almost their sole Commerce, and the sole Occupation of the female Inhabitants; who

are so much used to it from their Infancy, that they work with an incredible Quickness, whether they be sitting or walking, and whether in the Dark or in the Light; for they seldom look on their Work. They also knit Breeches, Waistcoats, Petticoats, and the like.

Woven Stockings, are ordinarily very fine; they are manufactured on a Frame or Machine made of polished Iron; the Structure whereof is exceedingly ingenious, but withal exceeding complex, so that it were very difficult to describe it well, by reason of the Diversity and Number of its Parts; nor is it even conceived, without a deal of Difficulty, when working before the Face.

The *English* and *French* have greatly contested the Honour of the Invention of the *Stocking Loom*; but the Matter of Fact (says an *English* Author) waving all national Prejudices, seems to be this, that it was a *Frenchman* first invented this useful and surprizing Machine; who finding some Difficulties in procuring an exclusive Privilege, which he required to settle himself at *Paris*,

went over into *England*, where his Machine was admired, and the Workman rewarded according to his Merit.

The Invention thus imparted to the *English*, they became so jealous hereof, that for a long Time it was forbid, under Pain of Death, to carry any of the Machines out of the Island, or communicate a Model thereof to Foreigners. But as it was a *Frenchman* first enriched the *English* Nation with it, so it was a *Frenchman* first carried it abroad; and by an extraordinary Effort of Memory and Imagination, made a Loom at *Paris* on the Idea he had formed thereof, in a Voyage he made to *England*. This Loom, first set up in the Year 1636, has served for the Model of all those since made in *France*, *Holland*, &c.

Antiently the only *Stockings* in Use, were made of Cloth, or milled Stuffs sewed together; but since the Invention of knitting and weaving *Stockings* of Silk, Wool, Cotton, Thread, &c. the Use of Cloth *Stockings* is quite out of Doors.

SUGAR-REFINING.

SUGAR-REFINING, is the Art of purifying it of all its coarser Particles, and render it drier, more compact, more agreeable to the Palate, and more beautiful.

The first Preparation the Sugar-Canes undergo after they are cut, and their Leaves cleared off, is to be carried in Bundles to the Mills; which Mills consist of three wooden Rollers, covered with Steel Plates; and have their Motion either from the Water, the Wind, Cattle, or even the Hands of Slaves.

The Juice coming out of the Canes when pressed and broke between the Rollers, runs through a little Canal into the Sugar-House, which is near the Mill; where it falls into a Vessel, whence it is conveyed into a Copper or Cauldron, to receive its first Preparation, only heated by a slow Fire to make it simmer. With the Liquor is here mixed a Quantity of Ashes and Quick-lime; the Effect of which Mixture, assisted by the Action of the Fire, is, that the unctuous Parts are separated from the rest, and raised to the Top, in Form of a thick Scum, which is kept constantly skimming off, and serves to feed the Poultry, &c. withal.

The Juice, in the next Place, is purified in a second Copper; where a brisker Fire makes it boil; and all the Time the casting up of its Scum is promoted by means of a strong Lye, composed of Lime-water, and other Ingredients.

This done, it is purified and skimm'd in a third Boiler, wherein is cast a kind of Lye, that assists in purging it, collects together its Impurities, and makes them rise to the Surface; whence they are taken with a Skimmer.

From the third it is removed to a fourth Boiler, where the Juice is farther purified by a more violent Fire: And hence to a fifth, where it is brought to the Consistence of a Syrup.

In the sixth Boiler the Syrup receives its full Coction; and here all the Impurities left from the former Lyes, are taken away by a new Lye, and a Water of Lime and Allum cast into it. In this last Copper there is scarce found one Third of what was in the first; the rest being wasted in Scum.

By thus passing successively a Number of Coppers, the Sugar-Juice is purified, thickened, and rendered fit to be converted into any of the Kinds of *Sugar* hereafter mentioned. The Size of the several Coppers always diminishes from the first to the last; each being furnished with a Furnace to give a Heat proportionable to the Degree of Coction the Juice has received. In some large Sugar-works there are also particular Coppers for the boiling and preparing the Scum.

F. Labat mentions several Kinds of *Sugars*, prepared in the *Caribbee Islands*, viz. *Crude Sugar*, or *Muscovado*; *Strained*, or *brown Sugar*; *earthen*, or *white Sugar* in Powder; *refined Sugar*, either in Powder or Loaves; *royal Sugar*, *candid Sugar*, *Sugar of fine Syrup*, *Sugar of coarse Syrup*; *Sugar of the Scum*.

Crude Sugar, or *Muscovado*, is that first drawn from the Juice of the Cane, and whereof all the rest are composed. The Method of making it, is that already described for *Sugar* in general. We need only add, that when taken out of the sixth Copper, it is put in a Cooler, where stirring it briskly together, it is let stand to settle, till a Crust of the Thickness of a Crown-piece be formed thereon. The Crust being formed, they stir it up again, then put it into Vessels, where it stands to settle till it be fit to barrel.

Strained, or *brown Sugar*, though whiter and harder, does not differ much from the *Crude Sugar*: Tho' it is held a Medium between this last, and the earthen *Sugar*; which is the white Powder *Sugar*. The Preparation of this is the same of that of the *Muscovado*, with this Difference, that to whiten it they strain the Liquor through Blankets, as it comes out of the first Copper. The Invention of *Strained Sugar* is owing to the *English*, who are more careful than their Neighbours in the Preparation thereof; for they not only strain it, but when boiled put it in square wooden Forms, or Moulds, of a pyramidal Figure; and when it has purified itself well, they cut it in Pieces, dry it in the Sun, and barrel it up.

As to the Preparation of *earthen Sugar*, (which is that *Sugar* whitened by means of Earth laid on the Top of the Form it is put in, to purge itself) they begin it after the same Manner as that of *Crude Sugar*, except that they only use the best that comes in it; that they work with more Care and Nicety; that when the Liquor is in the first Copper, the Ashes they put in are little or nothing mixt with Lime, for fear of reddening it; and that they strain it through a Blanket, from the first to the second Copper.

Having passed all the six Coppers, it is laden out into a Cooler; whence it is put into conical Moulds or Forms, the Tops whereof are perforated, but now stopped with Linen, or other Stuff; and this ranged even before the Furnace. When it has been a quarter of an Hour in the Forms, it is cut with a Sugar-Knife, then it is stirred briskly this Way, and that for half an Hour.

This serves not only to promote the forming of the Grain, and the diffusing it equally throughout; but also to determine the unctuous Parts of the *Sugar* to mount to the Top, that they may be skimmed off.

They leave the Forms to stand fifteen Hours in this State, and unstop the Holes at the Bottom to give a Passage to the Syrup, and to determine it to take that Way. When enough of these Forms are filled, to fill a Stove, which usually contains five or six hundred Forms; they visit the *Sugar* in all the Forms to examine the Quality thereof, and to see if it quits the Form easily; that it may either have the Earth given it, as the Refiner who assists it judges proper; or be melted over again, if it does not prove well.

This done, the Forms are planted each on its Pot, with the Tip of the Cone downwards; the Top is taken off,

off, and in lieu thereof they put in some *Sugar* in Grain, to within an Inch of the Edge; which Space is left for the Earth prepared for it.

The Earths here used are of various Kinds, the good Qualities of each whereof are, that they do not tinge the Water, that they let it filtrate easily through, and that they do not imbibe the fatty Part of the *Sugar*. Before put in the Forms, the Earth is steeped in Water twenty-four Hours; and at length applied in the Consistence of a Pulp.

As soon as the Earth is on the *Sugar*, all the Windows of the refining Room are shut, that the Air and Heat may not dry the Earth. When it is quite dry, which usually happens in nine or ten Days Time, it is taken off; and after cleaning the Surface of the *Sugar* with Brushes, and racking it up an Inch deep, and laying it level as before, they give it a second Earth.

The Whiteness of the *Sugar* of each Form is seen from the first Earth, Experience shewing that a second or third Earth do not make the *Sugar* any whiter, but only whitens the Head of the Loaf. When the second Earth is taken off, they clean the Surface of the *Sugar* with a Brush, and with a Knife loosen the Edge of it, where it sticks to the Form, that neither Form nor the *Sugar*-loaf be damaged in taking out the latter. The Windows are now opened, and the Form left to stand eight or ten Days to dry. While the *Sugar* is draining in its Forms a Stove is prepared to receive them.

The Stove being sufficiently heated by means of the Furnace therein; the Loaves are taken out of the Forms one after another; and such as are white from one End to the other, are carried to the Stove, as are also the rest, after cutting off what is not white, to be further refined.

When the Loaves are all ranged in the Stove, a moderate Fire is made for about two Days, during which Time they visit every Part of the Stove very carefully, to see that every Thing is in good Order, and to repair every Thing that may go amiss. After these two Days they shut the Trap-door a-top of the Building, and increase the Fire. Eight or ten Days and Nights continued violent Fire usually suffice to dry a Stove of *Sugar*.

When they judge it sufficiently done, they open the Trap-door, and chuse a hot dry Day to pound the *Sugar*, which is performed with huge, hard, heavy wooden Pestles; when pounded it is put up in Barrels, and well trodden down as it is put in, that the Barrels may hold the more.

Sugar of the Scum, is all made of the Scum of the two last Coppers; that of the former being reserved for making of Rum.

The Scum designed to make *Sugar* is kept in a Vessel for that Purpose, and boiled every Morning in a Copper set apart for that Use. With the Scum is put into the Copper a fourth Part of Water, to retard the Boiling, and give Time for its purging; when it begins to boil, the usual Lye is put in, and it is carefully skimmed: When almost enough boiled, Lime and Allum-water are thrown in. And when it is ready to be taken out, they sprinkle it with a little powder'd Allum.

There are three Kinds of Syrup that run from *Sugar*. The first from the Barrels of raw *Sugar*, which is the coarsest of all: The second from the Forms or Moulds after they are perforated, and before they receive their Earth: The third, that coming from the Forms after they have had their Earth, which last is the best.

The coarse Syrups should only be used for Rum; but *Sugar* being grown dear, Endeavours have been used to make some hereof, and that with tolerable Success. They are first clarified with Lime-water, and when boiled are put up in Barrels, with a *Sugar*-Cane in the Middle to make them purify themselves. After twenty Days a Quantity of coarse Earth is thrown in, to make them cast the Remainder of their Syrup, and fit them to be returned into a crude *Sugar*. The Dutch and German Refiners first taught the Islanders how to make this *Sugar*

of Treacle.

The second Syrup is wrought somewhat differently; after the Copper it is to be boiled in is half full, eight or ten Quarts of Lime-water are cast in: It is then boiled with a brisk Fire, and carefully skimmed: Some add a Lye, and others none. Father *Labat* takes the former Method to be the better, though it requires more Trouble and Attention. This *Sugar* may be earthed alone, or at least with the Heads of Loaves, the dried Tops, and such other Kinds of *Sugars*, as may not be mixed with the true earthed *Sugar*, nor yet with the crude *Sugar*.

For the third Syrup, after boiling and skimming it as the former, they put it instantly into Coolers, the Bottoms whereof are covered, half an Inch thick, with white *Sugar* very dry, and well pounded; and the whole is well stirred, to incorporate the two together. This done, they strew the Surface over with the same pounded *Sugar*, to the Thickness of one Fifth of an Inch, this assisting the *Sugar* in forming its Grain. When settled, and the Crust gathered at the Top, a Hole is made in the Crust five or six Inches Diameter.

By this Aperture they fill the Cooler, with a new Syrup poured gently in, which insensibly raises up the former Crust. When all the Syrups are boiled, and the Cooler is full, they break all the Crusts; and after mixing them well put it up in Forms or Moulds.

The rest is performed in the same Manner as for the earthed *Sugar*, from which it only differs in that it falls short of its Gloss and Brightness; being in Reality sometimes whiter and finer, though of a flatter and duller White.

Crude *Sugar*, strained *Sugar*, and the Tops, or Heads of Loaves that have not whitened well, are the Basis or Ground of refined *Sugar*.

In a Refinery are usually two Coppers, the one serving to clarify, the other to boil the clarified Liquor; tho' sometimes they clarify in both, and boil afterwards.

For the Operation of Refining, the same Weight of Lime-water, and of *Sugar*, are put in the Copper; and as the Scum is raised by the Heat it is taken off, and when it ceases to raise any more, the Syrup is strained through a Cloth. After this it is clarified, that is, a Dozen of Eggs is thrown in, White, Yolks, Shells and all; after having first broke and beaten them well in Lime-water. When the Fat and other Impurities of the *Sugar*, which this Composition gathers together on the Surface of the Syrup, have been skimmed off; a few more Eggs are thrown in, and it is skimmed afresh. This they repeat till the *Sugar* be sufficiently clarified; which done it is again strained thro' the Cloth.

When taken out of this Copper it is boiled in the second; which done, it is put out into Coolers, the Bottoms whereof are first covered half an Inch thick with fine white powdered *Sugar*. As soon as it is there it is briskly stirred about, and the Surface strewed over with pounded *Sugar*. The rest is performed as in *Sugars* of fine Syrups, or in earthed *Sugar*; only more Care and Exactness is used.

For royal *Sugar*, the Basis hereof ought to be the finest refined *Sugar* to be found. This they melt with a weak Lime-water; and sometimes, to make it the whiter, and prevent the Lime from reddening it, they use Allum-water.

This they clarify three Times, and pass as often thro' a close Cloth, using the very best Earth, when prepared with those Precautions it is whiter than Snow, and so transparent, that we see a Finger touching it, even thro' the thickest Part of the Loaf.

Sugar makes a very great Article in Commerce, by reason of the large Consumption thereof; all the Compositions Honey used to enter into, before the Discovery of America; and the most Importation of that Commodity from thence, being at present wholly made of *Sugar*, besides what is used in Tea, Coffee, Chocolate, and other like Liquors.

SURVEYING.

SURVEYING, is the Art, or Act of measuring Lands, *i. e.* of taking the Dimensions of any Tract of Ground, laying down the same in a Map or Draught; and finding the Content or Area thereof.

Surveying consists of three Parts of Measures; the first is the taking of the necessary Measures, and making the necessary Observations on the Ground itself: The second, is the laying down of these Measures, and Observations on Paper: And the third, the finding the Area or Quantity of the Ground thus laid down.

The first is what we properly call *Surveying*: The second we call *Plotting*, or *Protacting*, or *Inapping*; and the third *casting up*.

The first again consists of two Parts, *viz.* the making of Observations for the Angles, and the taking of Measures for the Distances.

The former of these is performed by some one or other of the following Instruments, *viz.* the *Theodolite*, *Circumferentor*, *Semicircle*, *Plain Table*, or *Compass*.

The **THEODOLITE** is a mathematical Instrument, made variously; several Persons having their several Ways of contriving it; each more simple and portable, more accurate, and expeditious than others. The following one is not inferior to any. It consists of a Brass Circle, about a Foot Diameter, cut in Form of *Fig. 25.* having its Limb divided into 360 Degrees, and each Degree divided, either diagonally, or otherwise into Minutes.

Underneath, at *c c*, are fixed two little Pillars, *b b*, *Fig. 25. N. 2.* which support an Axis, whereon is fixed a Telescope, consisting of two Glasses, in a square Brass Tube; for the viewing of remote Objects.

On the Center of the Circle, moves the Index *C*, which is a circular Plate, having a Compass in the Middle, whose Meridian answers to the fiducial Line *a a*: At *b b*, are fixed two Pillars to support an Axis, which bears a Telescope like the former, whose Line of Collimation, answers the fiducial Line *a a*. At each End of either Telescope is fixed a plain Sight for the viewing nearer Objects.

The Ends of the Index *a a*, are cut circularly to fit the Divisions of the Limb *B*; and when that Limb is diagonally divided, the fiducial Line at one End of the Index, shews the Degrees and Minutes upon the Limb. The whole Instrument is mounted with a Ball and a Socket, upon a three-legged Staff.

Most *Theodolites* have no Telescopes, but only four plain Sights, two of them fastened on the Limb, and two on the Ends of the Index.

The **SEMICIRCLE**, called also *Graphometer*, consists of a semicircular Limb, as *F I G*, *fig. 16.* divided into 180 Degrees, and sometimes subdivided diagonally, or otherwise, into Minutes. This Limb is subtended by a Diameter *F G*, at the Extremities whereof are erected two Sights. In the Center of the *Semicircle*, or the Middle of the Diameter, is fixed a Box, and on the same Center is fitted an Alidade or moveable Index, carrying two other Sights, as *H I*. The whole is mounted on a Staff, with a Ball and Socket.

The *Semicircle*, then, is nothing else but half a *Theodolite*, with this only Difference, that whereas the Limb of the *Theodolite* being an entire Circle, takes in all the 360° successively; in the *Semicircle*, the Degrees only going from 1 to 180°, it is usual to have the remaining 180°, or those from 180° to 360°, graduated in another Line on the Limb, within the former.

An Angle is taken with a Semicircle; by placing the Instrument in such Manner, as that the Radius *C G* may hang over one Leg of the Angle to be measured, and the Center *C* over the Vertex of the same. The first is done by looking through the Sights *F* and *G*, at the Extremities of the Diameter, to a Mark fixed up in one Extremity of the Leg: The latter is had by letting fall a Plumbet from the Centre of the Instrument. This done, turn the moveable Index *H I* on its Center, towards the other Leg of the *Semicircle*, till through the Sights fixed on it, you see a Mark in the Extremity of

the Leg. Then the Degree, which the Index cuts on the Limb, is the Quantity of the Angle.

The **Plain-Table** is an Instrument, *fig. 31. N. 1.* consisting of a Parallelogram of Wood, about 15 Inches long, and 12 broad; round which goes a boxen jointed Frame, by Means whereof a Sheet of Paper is fastened tight to the Table, so as Lines may be conveniently drawn upon it.

On each Side the Frame, which may be put on either Side upwards, towards the inward Edge, are Scales of Inches, subdivided, for the ready drawing of parallel Lines. Besides which, on one Side are projected the 360 Degrees of a Circle, from a Brass Centre in the Middle of the Table (each Degree halved) with two Numbers to every tenth Degree, the one expressing the Degree, the other its Complement to 36°, to save Subtraction on the other Side, are projected the 180° of a Semicircle, from a Brass Center in the Middle of the Table's Length, and at $\frac{1}{4}$ of its Breadth; each Degree halved, and every Tenth noted with two Numbers, *viz.* the Degree, and its Complement to 180°.

To one Side of the Table is fitted a Compass, for placing the Instrument by; and the whole is fixed by a Socket, upon a three-legg'd Staff for a Stand, on which it is turned round, or fastened by a Screw, as Occasion requires. Lastly, to the Table belongs an Index, which is a Ruler, at least sixteen Inches long, and two broad; usually graduated with Scales, &c. and having two Sights perpendicularly placed on its Extremities.

Note, That we understand here by Sights two thin Pieces of Brass, raised perpendicularly on the two Extremities of an Alidade, or Index of a *Theodolite*, *Circumferentor*, or other like Instrument, each whereof has an Aperture or Slit up the Middle, through which the visual Rays pass to the Eye, and distant Objects are seen. Their Use is for the just Direction of the Index to the Line of the Object. Sometimes the Slits or Apertures have Glasses or Lens's fitted into them; in which Case they are called *Telescopic Sights*, by Way of Distinction from the former, which in Respect hereof are denominated *plain Sights*.

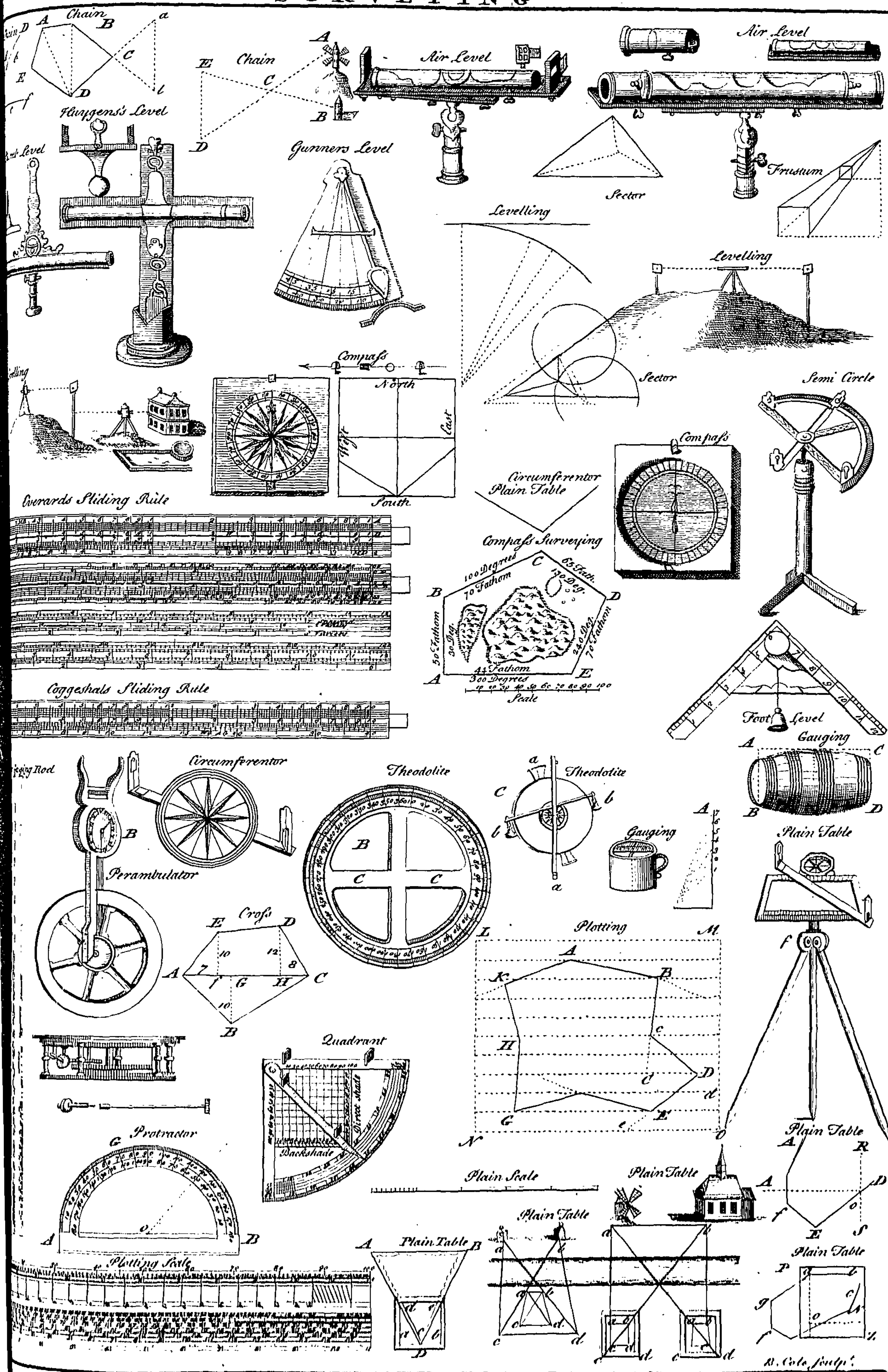
Staff, in Surveying, is a Kind of Stand, whereon to mount a *Theodolite*, *Circumferentor*, plain Table, or the like, for Use. It consists of three Legs of Wood joined together at one End, whereon the Instrument is placed; and made peaked at the other, to enter the Ground. Its upper End is usually fitted with a Ball and Socket.

Ball and Socket, is a Machine, contrived to give an Instrument full Play and Motion every Way. It consists of a Ball or Sphere of Brass, fitted within a concave Semi-Globe, so as to be moveable every Way, both horizontally, vertically, and obliquely. It is carried by an endless Screw, and is principally used for the managing of surveying Instruments; to which it is a very necessary Appendage. The ancient *Balls and Sockets*, had two Concaves or Channels, the one for the horizontal, the other for the vertical Direction. But to proceed to the Use of the plain Tables, after we have given the Description thereof.

To take an Angle by the *plain Table*, or to find the Distance of two Places accessible by the same Third.—Supposing *D A*, *D B*, *fig. 32. N. 2.* the Sides of the Angle required; we'll place the Instrument horizontally, as near the Angle as possible; and assume a Point in the Paper on the Table, *v. gr.* to this Point we'll apply the Edge of the Index, turning it about this and that Way, till through the Sights we see the Point *B*, and in this Situation of the Ruler, we'll draw by its Edge the Line *c e*, indefinitely. Turning about the Index, after the same Manner, on the same Point, till thro' the Lights we see the Point *A*; and drawing the right Line *c d* indefinitely.—Thus we have the Quantity of the Angle laid down.

We'll next measure the Lines *D A*, *D B*, with a Chain, and from a Scale set off the Measures thus found, on the respective

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respective Lines; which we suppose to reach from c to b , and from c to a .—Thus will cb and ca be proportional to DB and DA .

We'll transfer the Distance ab to the same Scale, and find its Length; the Length thus found, will be the Length or Distance of AB requir'd.

If we want to find the Distance of two Places, one whereof is inaccessible, by the plain Table: We'll suppose AB , fig. 33. the Distance requir'd, and A the accessible Point. Then we'll place, 1. The plain Table in C , looking through the Sights till we see A and B , and drawing ac and cb , we'll measure the Distance from our Station to A ; and set it off from the Scale, upon ca . 2. We'll remove the Table to A , placing it so as that the Point a representing A , and the Index laid along the Line ac , we'll see backward the former Station C .

Note, That in this fixing the Instrument, lies the Use of the Compass; for the Needle will hang over the same Degree of the Card in the first and the second Case; so that some set the Instrument by the Needle alone; others only use it, to shorten the Trouble, by bringing the Instrument nearly to its due Position by Means thereof; and then fixing for good by the back Sight.

3. The Instrument fixed, we'll turn the Sights to B ; and draw the Line ab .

4. On the Scale we'll measure the Interval ab ; which will be the Distance of AB required.

But if we should want to find the Distance of two inaccessible Places by the plain Table; we would suppose AB , fig. 34. the Distance requir'd. Then chusing, 1. Two Stations in C and D ; we would place the plain Table in the first C ; and through the Sights look to D , B , and A , drawing by the Edge of the Index, the Lines cd , cb , ca . We would, 2. Measure the Distance of the Stations CD ; and set this off from a Scale on cd . 3. Removing the Table from C , we would fix it in D ; so as the Point d hanging over the Place D , and the Index laying along the Line cd , through the Sights, we should see the former Station C . The Instrument thus fixed, we would direct the Sights to A and B ; and drawing right Lines da and db . Lastly we would find the Distance of ab on the Scale; this would be the Distance of AB required.

After the same Manner may the Distance of any Number of Places be found from two Stations; and thus may a Field, Part of a Country, &c. be surveyed.

To take the Plot of a Field from one Station, whence all the Angles may be seen with the plain Table.—Placing the Instrument on the Station, assume a Point in the Paper, to represent the same, *v. gr.* C , fig. 21. laying the Edge of the Index to this Point, direct it to the several Angles of the Field, $ABCDE$, &c. and drawing indefinite Lines by its Edge, towards every Angle, *viz.* Ca , Cb , Cc , &c. measure the Distance of each Angle from the Station, *viz.* CA , CB , CC , CD , &c. and from a Scale set these off from C on their corresponding Lines; the Extremities thereof will give Points, which being connected by Lines, will represent the Field.

The Plot of a Field, Wood, or the like, is taken by going round the same, on the plain Table, by placing the Instrument horizontally at the first Angle, *v. gr.* A , the Needle on the Meridian of the Card; assuming a Point on the Paper to represent it; laying the Index to that Point, and directing it till through the Sights you see a Mark in the Angle B , and drawing an indefinite Line along it; measure the Distance of A and B , and from a Scale set it off on the Line thus drawn; the Extremity of this Distance will represent the Point B . Remove the Instrument to B , where set it so as that the Needle hang over the Meridian of the Card; and so as the Index laying along the Line last drawn, you see the former Station A through the Sights: Here fasten it, lay the Index to the Point B , and turn it, till through the Sights you see the next Angle C ; in this Situation draw a Line as before, measure the Distance BC , and set it off from a Scale on the Line. Remove the Instrument to C , where fixing it by the Needle, and the back Sight, as before, turn the Index on the Point C , till you see the next Angle D ; draw the Line, measure, and set off the Distance CD , as before, and remove the plain Table to E , where fix

it as before, look to the next Angle F , draw the Line, measure, and set off the Distance, &c.

In this Manner having compassed the whole Field, you will have its whole Perimeter plotted on the Table; which may be now cast up, and its Contents found.

When in large Parcels of Ground, the Plot is found to exceed the Dimensions of the plain Table, and to run off from the Paper; the Sheet must be taken off the Table, and a fresh one put on; the Way of managing which Shifting is as follows. Suppose H, K, M, Z , fig. 35. the Limits of the plain Table; so that having having laid down the Field from A to B , thence to C and D ; you want Room, the Line DE , running off the Paper: Draw as much of the Line DE , as the Paper will well hold, *viz.* DO , and by Means of the Divisions on the Edge of the Frame, draw the Line PQ through G , parallel to the Edge of the Table HM ; and through the Point of Intersection O , draw ON parallel to MZ . This done, take off the Frame, remove the Sheet; and clap a fresh one, fig. 36. in its Stead; drawing on it a Line RS , near the other Edge parallel thereto. Then lay the first Sheet on the Table, so as the Line PQ lye exactly on the Line RS , to the best Advantage, as at O . Lastly, draw as much of the Line OD , on the fresh Sheet, as the Table will hold; and from O continue the Remainder of the Line D to E ; from E proceed with the Walk as before to F, G , and A .

The great Inconveniency of the plain Table is, that its Paper renders it impracticable in moist Weather. Even the Dew of the Morning and Evening is found to swell the Paper considerably, and of Consequence to stretch and distort the Work. To avoid this Inconvenience, and render the Instrument useful in all Weathers; by leaving off the Paper, and setting up a Pin in the Center, it becomes a Theodolite, a Semicircle, or a Circumferentor, and applicable like them.

The plain Table stripped of its Paper, becomes either a Theodolite, or a Semicircle, as that Side of the Frame which has the Projection of the Degrees of a Circle, or a Semicircle, is turned upwards. If it be to serve for a Theodolite; the Index, which as a plain Table, turns on any Point as a Center, is constantly to turn about the Brass Center Hole, in the Middle of the Table.

If for a Semicircle, it must turn on the other Brass Center Hole; in both Cases it is done by Means of a Pin raised in the Holes.

When the plain Table is to serve as a Circumferentor, screw the Compass to the Index, and both of them to the Head of the Staff, with a Brass Screw Pin fitted for the Purpose; so as the Staff and Table standing fixed, the Index, Sights, &c. may be turn'd about, and *vice versa*.

To take an Angle by the plain Table considered as a Theodolite.—Suppose the Quantity of the Angle EKG , fig. 20. is required. Place the Instrument, or K , the Theodolite Side of the Frame upwards, laying the Index on the Diameter. Turn the whole Instrument about, the Index remaining on the Diameter, till through the Sights you spy E . Screw the Instrument fast there, and run the Index on its Center, till through the Sight you spy G . The Degree here cut on the Frame by the Index, is the Quantity of the Angle sought; which may be laid down on Paper by the Rules of common Protraction.

Thus may you proceed to do every Thing with the plain Table, as with the common Theodolite.

If we want to make an Angle with a plain Table, consider'd as a Semicircle. We must proceed in the same Manner with the Instrument, consider'd as a Semicircle, as when consider'd as a Theodolite; only laying the Semicircular Side upwards, and turning the Index on the other Center-Hole in the Middle of the Length, and at about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Breadth of the Table.

If you want to take an Angle with the plain Table considered as a Circumferentor. Suppose the former Angle EKG , requir'd. Place the Instrument in K , the Flower-de-luce towards you. Direct the Sights to E , and observe the Degree cut by the South End of the Needle, which suppose 296, turn the Instrument about, the Flower-de-luce still towards you. Direct the Sights to G , noting the Degree cut by the other End of the Needle, which suppose 182. Subtract the less from the greater, the

the Remainder 114° is the Quantity of the Angle sought. If the Remainder chance to be more than 180° , then it must be again subtracted from 360. This second Remainder will be the Angle required; which may be protracted, &c.

Thus you may proceed to do every Thing with the plain Table, as with the common *Circumferentor*.

The *CIRCUMFERENTOR*, is an Instrument used in *Surveying* to take Angles by.

The *Circumferentor* is very simple, yet expeditious in the Practice; it consists of a Brass Circle, and an Index, all of a Piece (fig. 19.) On the Circle is a Card or Compass divided into 360 Degrees; the meridian Lines whereof answers to the Middle of the Breadth of the Index. On the Limb, or Circumference of the Circle is soldered a Brass Ring; which, with another fitted in a Glass, make a kind of Box for the Needle, which is suspended on a Pivot in the Center of the Circle. To each Extreme of the Index is fitted a Sight.

The whole is mounted on a Staff; with a Ball and Socket for the Conveniency of its Motion.

If we want to take an Angle by the *Circumferentor*. Suppose E K G (fig. 20.) the Angle required, we'll place the Instrument, *v. gr.* at K, with the Flower de luce on the Card towards us; then direct the Sights, till thro' them we spy E; and observe what Degree is pointed at by the South End of the Needle, which suppose 296, then turn the Instrument, the Flower de luce still towards us, and direct the Sights to G; noting the Degree, at which the South End of the Needle points, which suppose 182.

This done, subtracting the lesser Number 182, from the greater 296, the Remainder 114, is the Number of Degrees of the Angle E K G.

If the Remainder chance to be more than 180 Degrees, it must be again subtracted from 360 Degrees; the last Remainder is the Quantity of the Angle sought.

To take the Plot of a Field, Wood, &c. by the *Circumferentor*; suppose ABCDEFGK (fig. 21.) an Inclosure to be surveyed by the *Circumferentor*.

1. Placing the Instrument at A, the Flower de luce towards you, direct the Sights to B; where, suppose the South End of the Needle to cut 191° ; and the Ditch, Wall, or Hedge, measured with the Chain, to contain 10 Chains, 75 Links, which enter down.

2. Placing the Instrument at B, direct the Sight as before to C; the South End of the Needle, *v. gr.* will cut 279° ; and the Line B C contains six Chains, 83 Links, to be noted as before. Then move the Instrument to C; turn the Sights to D, and measure CD as before.

In the same Manner proceed to D, E, F, G, H, and lastly to K; still noting down the Degrees of every Bearing or Angle, and the Distances of every Side.

Having thus gone round the Field, you will have a Table in the following Form.

Stations.	Degrees.	Min.	Chains.	Links.
A	191	00	10	75
B	279	00	6	83
C	216	30	7	82.

From this Table the Field is to be plotted or protracted; the Manner whereof we'll see hereafter.

Note, That where Security is to be consulted rather than Dispatch, it may be convenient to take Back sights, *i. e.* to place the Instrument so at each Station, as that looking backwards through the Sights to the last Station, the North End of the Needle may point to the same Degree, as the South End did in looking forwards from the last Station to this.

The *Compass* used in *Surveying*, is in the main much like the Mariner's *Compass*; consisting, like that of a Box and Needle: The principal Difference consist in this, that instead of the Needle being fitted into the Card, and playing with it on a Pivot, it here plays alone; the Card being drawn on the Bottom of the Box, and a Circle divided into 360 Degrees on the Limb (fig. 15.) This Instrument is of obvious Use to Travellers, to direct them in their Road; and to Miners, to shew them what Way to dig, &c. but it has other Uses, though less easy, yet more considerable, *viz.*

1. To take the Declination of a Wall by the *Compass*. Apply that Side of the *Compass* whereon the North is marked along the Side of the Wall; the Number of Degrees over which the North End of the Needle fixes, will be the Declination of the Wall, and on that Side, *v. gr.* if the North Point of the Needle tends towards the Wall, that Wall may be shone on by the Sun at Noon; if it fixes over 50 Degrees, counting from the North towards the East, the Declination is so many Degrees from the North towards the East.

But since the Needle itself declines from the North towards the West with us, 13° ; it must be noted that to retrieve the Irregularity, 13° are always to be added to the Degrees shewn by the Needle, when the Declination of the Wall is towards the East; on the contrary, when the Declination is towards the West, the Declination of the Needle to be subtracted.

2. If we want to take an Angle with the *Compass*. Suppose the Angle required be D A E (fig. 11.) we'll apply the Side of the *Compass* whereon the North is marked, to one of the Lines A D, observing, when the Needle rests, the Degrees at which its North Point stands, which suppose 80: So many Degrees does the Line decline from the Meridian.

In the same Manner take the Declination of the Line A E, which suppose 215° ; subtract 80° from 215, the Remainder is 135; which subtracted from 188, there will remain 75° , the Quantity of the Angle required.

But if the Difference between the Declination of the two Lines exceed 180° ; in that Case 180° must be subtracted from that Difference: The Remainder is the Angle required. We'll see the Method of laying this on Paper, when I'll speak of Plotting.

Note, That in measuring Angles by the *Compass*, there needs not any Regard to be had to the Variation; that being supposed the same in all the Lines of the Angles.

3. If it be wanted to take the Plot of a Field by the *Compass*. Suppose A, B, C, D, E, (fig. 12.) to be the Field. For the greater Accuracy let there be two Sights fitted to the meridian Line of the *Compass*, place it horizontally, and through the Sights look along the Side A B, or a Line parallel to it; applying the Eye to the Sight at the South Point of the *Compass*, draw a rough Sketch of the Field by the Eye, and on the corresponding Line enter down the Degree to which the Needle points, which suppose 90; measure the Length of the Side, and enter that too, which suppose 10 Chains.

In this Manner proceed with all the rest of the Sides and Angles of the Field; the Sides which suppose 70, 65, 70, 50, 94 Chains; and the Angle which suppose 30, 100, 130, 240, 300 Degrees.

To protract the Field, set down the several Angles observed one after another, and subtract the lesser from the next greater: Thus will you have the Quantity of the several Angles, and the Length of the Lines that will include them. More of this under the Article Plotting.

Note, That all the Angles of the Figure taken together, must make twice as many right Angles, abating two.

Note, also, That we have thus far given the Description of the Instruments used in the former Part of the first Branch of *Surveying*; and of the different Uses thereof; therefore we proceed to the Explication of the latter Part of our first Division.

The latter Part is performed by means either of the *Chain*, or the *Perambulator*.

The *PERAMBULATOR*, is an Instrument for the measuring of Distances, called also *Pedameter*, *Way wiser*, and *Surveying Wheel*. Its Advantages are its Handiness and Expedition: Its Contrivance is such, that it may be fitted to the Wheel of a Coach; in which it performs its Office, and measure the Road without any Trouble at all. There is some Difference in its Make: That now most in Use as most convenient, is as follows.

The *Perambulator* (fig. 23.) consists of a Wheel two Feet seven Inches and a half in Diameter; consequently half a Pole, or eight Foot and three Inches in Circumference. On one End of the Axis is a Nut three Quar-

ters of an Inch in Diameter, divided into eight Teeth, which upon moving the Wheel round, falls into the eight Teeth of another Nut *c*, fixed on one End of an Iron Rod *Q*, and thus turn the Rod once round, in the Time the Wheel makes one Revolution. This Rod laying along a Groove in the Side of the Carriage of the Instrument, has at its other End a square Hole, into which fixes the End *b*, of the little Cylinder *P*. This Cylinder is disposed under the Dial-plate of a Movement, at the End of the Carriage *B*, in such Manner as to be moveable about its Axis. Its End *a* is cut into a perpetual Screw, which falling into the thirty two Teeth of a Wheel perpendicular thereto; upon driving the Instrument forward, that Wheel makes a Revolution, each sixteen Poles. On the Axis of this Wheel is a Pinion with six Teeth, which falling into the Teeth of another Wheel of sixty Teeth, carries it round every hundred and sixtieth Pole, or half a Mile.

This last Wheel then carrying a Hand or Index round with it, over the Divisions of the Dial-plate whose outer Limb is divided into one hundred and sixty Parts, corresponding to the one hundred and sixty Poles; points out the Number of Poles passed over. Again, on the Axis of this last Wheel is a Pinion containing twenty Teeth, which falling into the Teeth of a third Wheel that has forty Teeth, drives once round in three hundred and twenty Poles, or a Mile. On the Axis of this Wheel is a Pinion of twelve Teeth, which falling into the Teeth of a fourth Wheel that has seventy-two Teeth, drives it once round in twelve Miles.

This fourth Wheel carrying another Index, over the inner Limb of the Dial-plate, divided into twelve, for Miles, and each Mile subdivided into Halves, Quarters, and Furlongs, serves to register the Revolutions of the other Hand; and to keep Account of the half Miles and Miles passed over, as far as twelve Miles.

The *Application* of this Instrument is obvious from its Construction. Its proper Office is in the surveying of Roads, and large Distances, where a great deal of Expedition, and not much Accuracy is required. It is evident that driving it along, and observing the Hands, has the same Effect as dragging the *Chain*, and taking Account of the Chains and Links.

The *CHAIN*, in *Surveying*, is a Measure consisting of a certain Number of Links of Iron Wire, usually 100; serving to take the Dimensions of Fields, &c. by. This is what *Mersene* takes to be the *Arvpendium* of the Antients.

The *Chain* is of various Dimensions, as the Length or Number of Links varies: That commonly used in measuring Land, called *Gunter's Chain*, is in Length four Poles or Perches, or sixty-six Foot, or a hundred Links, each Link being seven Inches $\frac{7}{8}$.

That ordinarily used for large Distances, is in Length 100 Feet; each Link one Foot.

For small Parcels, as Gardens, &c. is sometimes used a small *Chain* of one Pole, or sixteen Feet and a half in Length; each Link one Inch $\frac{9}{16}$.

Some in lieu of *Chains* use Ropes; but these are liable to several Irregularities; both from the different Degrees of Moisture, and of the Force which stretches them. *Schwenkerus*, in his practical Geometry, tells us, he has observed a Rope sixteen Foot long, reduced to fifteen in one Hour's Time, by the mere falling of a hoar Frost. To obviate these Inconveniencies, *Wolffius* directs, that the little Strands whereof the Rope consists, be twisted contrary Ways, and the Rope dipped in boiling-hot Oil, and when dry drawn through melted Wax. A Rope thus prepared will not get or lose any Thing in Length, even though kept under Water all Day.

The Manner of applying the *Chain* in measuring Lengths is too popular to need Description. In entering down the Dimensions taken by the *Chain*, the Chains and Links are separated by a Dot: Thus a Line sixty-three *Chains* fifty-five Links long, is wrote 63. 55. If the Links be short of 10, a Cypher is prefixed, thus 10 Chains, 8 Links, are wrote 10. 08.

If we want to find the Area of a Field, &c. the Dimensions whereof are given in Chains and Links. 1. We multiply the Lines by one another, and from the Product we cut off five Figures towards the Right; those remaining on the Left will be Acres. 2. We multiply

the five Figures cut off by four; and cutting off five again from the Product on the Right, those remaining on the Left will be Roods. Lastly, we multiply the five thus cut off by forty; and cutting off five as before on the Right, those remaining at the Left are square Perches.

To take an Angle *D A E* (fig. 1.) by the Chain: measure a small Distance from the Vertex *A* along each Leg, *v. gr.* to *d* and *c*; then measure the Distance *dc*: To lay this down, draw *A E* at Pleasure, and from your Scale set off the Distance measured on it. Then taking in your Compasses the Length measured on the other Side, on the Vertex *A*, as a Center, describe an Arch *dc*; and on the Point *c*, as a Center, with the measured Distance of *c d*, describe another Arch *ab*; through the Point where this intersects the former Arch, draw a Line *A D*. So is the Angle plotted; and its Quantity, if required, may be measured on a Line of Chords.

If we want to take the Plane or Plot of any Place, as *A B C D E* (fig. 2.) by the Chain. We'll draw a rough Sketch of the Place by the Eye; and measuring the several Sides *A B*, *B C*, *C D*, *D E*, we'll enter down the Lengths on the respective Lines: Then if the Plan be to be taken within-side of the Place, instead of measuring the Angles, as before, measure the Diagonals *A D*, *B D*. Thus will the Figure be reduced into three Triangles, whose Sides are all known, as in the former Case; and may be laid down on Paper, according to the Method above.

If the Plan be to be taken without-side the Place, the Angles must be taken thus, *v. gr.* for the Angle *B C D*, produce the Lines *B C* and *C D*, to any certain equal Distance, *v. gr.* to *a* and *b*, five Chains; and measure the Distance of *a b*. Thus have you an Isosceles Triangle *c a b*, wherein the Angle *a c b* = *B C D*, its opposite one is had. Thus is the Quantity of *B C D* found, and the Angle laid down as before.

To find, by the Chain the Distance between two Objects inaccessible in respect of each other. From some Place, as *C* (fig. 3.) whence the common Distance to each Object *A* and *B*, is accessible in right Line; measure the Distance *C A*, which suppose fifty Chains, and continue the Line to *D*, *viz.* fifty more: Measure also *B C*, which suppose thirty Chains; and produce the Line to *E*, *viz.* thirty more. Thus will be formed the Triangle *C D E*, equal and similar to the Triangle *A B C*; consequently the Distance *D E* being measured, will give the inaccessible Distance required.

By the Chain to find the Distance of an inaccessible Object, *v. gr.* the Breadth of a River. On one Side place a Pole, four or five Foot high, perpendicularly, having a Slit a-top, with a strait Piece of Wire, or the like, two or three Inches long; put through the same. This is to be slipped up or down, till looking along it, you find it point full on the other Side of the River; then turning the Pole with the Wire in the same Direction, observe the Point on the dry Land, to which it points when looked along as before: Measure the Distance from the Pole to this last Point; it is the same with that of the first required. Thus far we have done with the *first Branch of Surveying*, properly so called.

The *second Branch of Surveying* is performed by Means of the *Protractor* and *Plotting Scale*.

The *PROTRACTOR*, in *Surveying*, is an Instrument, whereby the Angles taken in the Field with a *Theodolite*, *Circumferentor*, or the like, are plotted, or laid down on Paper.

The *Protractor* consists of a semicircular Limb *B A G*, fig. 29. of Brass, Silver, Horn, or the like, divided into 180° , and subtended by a Diameter *B A*; in the Middle whereof is a little Notch or Lip *o*, called the *Centre of the Protractor*.

On the Limb of the *Protractor* are sometimes also placed Numbers, denoting the Angles at the Centers of regular Polygons: Thus, against the Number 5, denoting the Sides of a Pentagon, is found 72, the Angle at the Center of a Pentagon.

As to the Use of the *Protractor*.—1. To lay down an Angle of any given Quantity or Number of Degrees. Suppose, *e. gr.* an Angle of 50° , with the Line *A o B*, required on the Point *o*, lay the Center of the *Protractor* on the given Line. Make a Mark against the given De-

gree 5° , on the Limb of the *Protractor*; through which from the given Point, draw a Line op ; this gives the Angle requir'd.

2. To find the Quantity of a given Angle, v. gr. the Angle $p o A$, lay the Center of the *Protractor* on the Point of the Angle o , and the Diameter on the Line. The Degree of the Limb cut by the other Line op , viz. 5° , is the Number of Degrees of the Angle requir'd.

3. To inscribe any given regular Polygon, e. gr. a Pentagon in a Circle. Lay the Center and Diameter of the *Protractor* on the Center and Diameter of the Circle; and make a Dot against the Number of Degrees of the Angle at the Centre, viz. 72 . Through this Dot, and the Center of the Circle, draw a Line, cutting the Circumference of the Circle. To the Point of Intersection, from the Point where the Diameter cuts the Circumference, draw a right Line. This Line will be a Side of the Pentagon, which being taken in the Compasses, and set off, as often as it will go in the Circumference, will give Points, which being connected by the Lines, will form the Pentagon requir'd.

4. To describe any regular Polygon, e. gr. an Octagon, on a given Line. Subtract the Angle at the Center, which the *Protractor* gives, 45° from 180° , the Remainder 135° is the Angle included between two Sides of the Octagon; one half whereof, is $67\frac{1}{2}$, applying then the Diameter of the *Protractor* over the given Line, with the Center over one Extreme; make a Dot against $67\frac{1}{2}$, to which from the Center draw a Line. Apply the *Protractor* to the other End of the Line, so as the Center be over the Extreme, and there set off another Angle of $67\frac{1}{2}$. From the Point where the two Lines, thus drawn, intersect as a Center, describe a Circle with the Interval of the given Line. The given Line will be one Side of the Octagon, which being set off as often as it will go in the Circumference thus drawn, will give Points, which being connected, will form the Octagon requir'd.

The *PROTRACTOR improved*, is an Instrument much like the former, only furnished with a little more Apparatus, whereby we are enabled to set off an Angle to a Minute; which is impracticable in the other.

The chief Addition is an Index fitted on the Center, and moveable thereon; so as to play freely and steadily over the Limb. Beyond the Limb, the Index is divided on both Edges, into 60 equal Parts of the Portions of Circles, intercepted by two other right Lines drawn from the Center; so as each makes an Angle of one Degree, with Lines drawn to the assumed Points from the Center.

To set off an Angle of any Number of Degrees and Minutes, with this *Protractor*. Move the Index so that one of the Lines drawn on the Limb, from one of the fore-mentioned Points, may fall upon the Number of Degrees given; and pick off as many of the equal Parts on the proper Edge of the Index, as there are Minutes given; thus drawing a Line from the Center to that Point so pricked off, you have an Angle with the Diameter of the *Protractor* of the proposed Number of Degrees and Minutes.

Indeed it may be of good Use to lay down an Angle to a Minute, when we are able to take it to a Minute: But till we have other Sort of Needles, and juster Theodolites, than are yet made, the old *Protractor* may serve very well.

The *PLOTTING Scale* is an Instrument usually made of Wood, sometimes of Brass, or other Matter; and either a Foot, or half a Foot long. On one Side of the Instrument, fig. 32. are seven several Scales or Lines, divided into equal Parts. The first Division of the first Scale is sub-divided into ten equal Parts, to which is prefixed the Number 10, signifying that 10 of those Sub-divisions make an Inch; or that the Divisions of that Scale are Decimals of Inches.

The first Division of the second Scale is likewise subdivided into 10, to which is prefixed the Number 16, denoting that 16 of those Divisions make an Inch. The first Division of the third Scale is subdivided in like Manner into 10, to which is prefixed the Number 20. To that of the fourth Scale is prefixed the Number 24: To that of the fifth 32; that of the sixth 40; that of the se-

venth 48; denoting the Number of Subdivisions equal to an Inch, in each respectively.

The two last Scales are broken off before the End, to give Room for two Hours of Chords marked by the Letter $c c$.

On the Back-side of the Instrument is a diagonal Scale, the first of whose Divisions, which is an Inch long, if the Scale be a Foot, is subdivided, diagonally, into 100 equal Parts. At the other End of the Scale is another diagonal Subdivision, of half the Length of the former, into the same Number of Parts, viz. 100.

Next the Scales is a Line divided into a hundredth Part of a Foot, number'd 10, 20, 30, &c. and a Line of Inches divided into tenth Parts, marked 1, 2, 3, &c.

The *Plotting-Scale* is used in the following Manner.—

1. Any Distance being measured with the Chain, to lay it down on a Paper.—Suppose the Distance to be 6 Chains, 50 Links, draw an indefinite Line; set one Foot of the Compasses at Figure 6, on the Scale, e. gr. the Scale of 20 in an Inch, and extend the other to 5 of the Subdivisions, for the 50 Links: This Distance being transferred to the Line, will exhibit the 6 Chains, 50 Links, requir'd.

If it be desired to have 6 Chains, 50 Links, take up more or less Space, take them off from a greater or lesser Scale, i. e. from a Scale that has more or less Divisions in an Inch.

To find the Chains and Links contained in a right Line, e. gr. that just drawn, according to any Scale, e. gr. that of 20 in an Inch.—Take the Length of the Line in the Compasses, and applying it to the given Scale, you will find it extend from the Number 6 of the great Divisions, to 5 of the small ones: Hence the given Line contains 6 Chains, 50 Links.

From this *Plotting Scale*, this second Branch of *Surveying*, borrows its Name of *Plotting*.

In *Surveying* with the *plain Table*, the *Plotting* is saved; the several Angles and Distances being laid down on the Spot, as fast as they are taken, as we have observed in the first Branch of *Surveying*.

But in working with the *Theodolite*, *Semicircle*, or *Circumferentor*, as the Angles are taken in Degrees; and the Distances in Chains, and Links; there remains an After-Operation, to reduce those Numbers into Lines, and so to form a Draught, Plan, or Map; which Operation is called *Plotting*.

Plotting, then, is performed by Means of two Instruments, the *Protractor*, and *Plotting Scale*. By the former, as already observed, the several Angles observed in the Field with a *Theodolite*, or the like, and enter'd down in Degrees in the *Field-Book*, are protracted on Paper, in their just Quantity.

By the latter, the several Distances, measured with the Chain, and enter'd down in like Manner in the *Field-Book*, are laid down in their just Proportion.

Therefore having given already severally the Use of those respective Instruments, in the laying down of Angles and Distances; I shall here give their Use conjointly, in the *Plotting* of a Field, surveyed either with the *Circumferentor* or *Theodolite*.

The *Method of Plotting from the Circumferentor*, is thus. Suppose an Inclosure, e. gr. A B C D E F G H K, fig. 21. to have been surveyed; and the several Angles; as taken by a *Circumferentor* in going round the Field, and the Distances as measured by a Chain, to be found enter'd in the *Field-Book*, as in the following Table:

	Deg.	Min.	Chains.	Links.
A	191	00	10	75
B	197	00	6	83
C	260	30	7	82
D	325	00	6	96
E	12	24	9	71
F	324	30	7	54
G	98	30	7	54
H	71	00	7	78
K	161	30	8	22.

1. On a Paper of the proper Dimensions, as L M N O, fig. 31. draw a Number of parallel and equi-distant Lines, representing Meridians, expressed in dotted Lines. Their Use is to direct the Position of the *Protractor*; the

the Diameter whereof must always be laid, either upon one of them, or parallel thereto; the semi-circular Lines downwards for Angles greater than 180° , and upwards for those less than 180° .

The Paper thus prepared; assume a Point on some Meridian, as A, whereon lay the Center of the Protractor, and the Diameter along the Line. Consult the Field-Book for the first Angle, *i. e.* for the Degree cut by the Needle at A, which the Table gives you, 191° .

Now, since 191° is more than a Semicircle or 180° , the Semicircle of the Protractor is to be laid downwards; where keeping it to the Point, with the *Protracting Pin*, make a Mark against 191; through which Mark, from A, draw an indefinite Line A b.

The first Angle thus protracted, again consult the Book, for the Length of the first Line A B, this you find 10 Chains, 75 Links. From a convenient Scale, therefore, on the *Plotting Scale*, take the Extent of 10 Chains, 75 Links, between the Compasses; and setting one Point in A, mark where the other falls in the Line A b, which suppose in B; draw therefore the full Line A B, for the first Side of the Inclosure.

Proceed then to the second Angle; and laying the Side of the Protractor on the Point B, with the Diameter, as before directed, make a Mark, as c, against 297° , the Degrees cut at B, and draw the indefinite Line B c. On this Line, from the *Plotting Scale*, as before, set off the Length of your second Line, *viz.* 6 Chains, 83 Links; which extending from B to the Point C, draw the Line B C, for the second Side.

Proceed now to the third Angle or Station: Lay then the Center of the Protractor, as before, on the Point C; make a Mark, as d, against the Number of Degrees, cut at C, *viz.* 216° ; draw the indefinite Line C d, and thereon set off the third Distance, *viz.* 7 Chains, 82 Links; which terminating, *e. gr.* at D, draw the full Line C D, for the third Side.

Proceed now to the fourth Angle D, and laying the Center of the Protractor over the Point D, against 325° , the Degree cut by the Needle, make a Mark e; draw the dry Line D e, and thereon set off the Distance 6 Chains, 96 Links, which terminating in E, draw D E for the fourth Line: And proceed to the fifth Angle, *viz.* E.

Here the Degrees, cut by the Needle, being $10^\circ 24'$, (which is less than a Semicircle) the Center of the Protractor must be laid on the Point E, and the Diameter on the Meridian, with the semicircular Line turned upwards. In this Situation make a Mark, as before, against the Number of Degrees, *viz.* $12^\circ 24'$ cut by the Needle at E; draw the dry Line E f, on which set off the fifth Distance, *viz.* 9 Chains, 71 Links; which extending from E to f, draw the full Line E F for the fifth Side of the Inclosure.

After the same Manner proceeding orderly to the Angles F, G, H, and K; placing the Protractor, making Marks against the respective Degrees, drawing indefinite dry Lines, and setting off the respective Distances, as above, you will have the *Plot* of the whole Inclosure A B C, &c.

Such is the general Method of *Plotting* from this Instrument; but it must be observed, that in this Process, the stationary Lines, *i. e.* the Lines wherein the Circumferentor is placed to take the Angles, and wherein the Chain is run to measure the Distances, are properly, the Lines here *plotted*. When, therefore, in *Surveying*, the stationary Lines are at any Distance from the Fence or Boundaries of the Field, &c. Off-sets are taken, *i. e.* the Distance of the Fence from the stationary Line, is measured at each Station; and even at intermediate Places, if there prove any considerable Bends in the Fence.

In *Plotting*, therefore, the stationary Lines being laid down as above; the Off-sets must be laid down from them, *i. e.* perpendicular of the proper Length, let fall at the proper Places from the stationary Lines. The Extremes of which Perpendiculars being connected by Lines, give the *Plot* desired.

If instead of going round the Field, the Angles, and Distances have been all taken from one Station; the Process of *Plotting* is obvious from the Example above: All here required, being to protract, after the Manner already described, the several Angles and Distances, taken from the same stationary Pin in the Field; from the same Point or Center on the Paper. The Extremities of the Lines thus determined, being then connected by Lines, will give the *Plot* requir'd.

The Method of *Plotting*, where the Angles are taken by the Theodolite, *i. e.* by Back-sight, and Fore-sight, as it is called, is somewhat different.

To prepare the Angles for *Plotting*, the Quantity of each must first be found, by subtracting the Degree of Back-sight, and Fore-sight from each other: The Remainder is the Angle to be protracted.

The Use of parallel Lines is here excluded, and instead of laying the Protractor constantly on, or parallel to Meridians; its Direction is varied at every Angle. The Practice is thus:

Suppose the former Inclosure to have been surveyed with the Theodolite, after the Manner of Back-sight and Fore-sight, and suppose the Quantity of each Angle to be found by Subtraction. An indefinite Line is drawn at Random, as A K, fig. 31. and on this the measured Distance, *e. gr.* 8 Chains, 22 Links, set off, as in the former Example: If now the Quantity of the Angle A have been found 140° , the Diameter of the Protractor is to be laid on the Line A K, with the Center over A, and against the Number of Degrees, *viz.* 140, a Mark made, an indeterminate dry Line drawn through it, and the Distance of the Line A B laid down from the Scale thereupon.

Thus we gain the Point B; upon which laying the Center of the Protractor, the Diameter, along with the Line A B, the Angle B is protracted, by making a Mark against its Number of Degrees, drawing a dry Line, and setting off the Distance B C as before.

Thus proceed to C; laying the Diameter of the Protractor on B C, the Center on C, protract the Angle C, and draw the Line C D: Thus proceeding, orderly, to all the Angles and Sides, you will have the *Plot* of the whole Inclosure A B C, &c. as before.

The *third Branch* of *SURVEYING*, is performed, by reducing the several Divisions, Inclosures, &c. into Triangles, Squares, Trapeziums, Parallelograms, &c. but especially Triangles; and finding the Areas or Contents of these several Figures, by the following Rules; which I'll begin by those relating to *Areas*.

An AREA is the superficial Content of any Figure.— Thus if a Figure, *e. gr.* a Field be in Form of a Square, and its Side 40 Foot long; its Area is said to be 1600 square Feet, or contain 1600 little Squares, each a Foot every Way.

Hence to find the Area of a Triangle, Square, Parallelogram, Rectangle, Trapezium, Rhombus, Polygon, Circle, or other Figure, is to find the Magnitude, or Capacity thereof in square Measure.

To find the Area of Fields, and other Inclosures; they first survey or take the Angles thereof, then plot them on Paper, and thus cast up their Contents, Acres, Roods, &c. after the usual Manner of other plain Figures.

This last Branch of *Surveying*, belongs more properly to *Trigonometry*: Therefore I'll refer to that Treatise, all that can be said relating to it.

S W I M M I N G.

SWIMMING, is the Art of sustaining the Body in Water, and advancing therein by the Motion of the Arms, Legs, &c.

This Art consists principally in keeping the Head a-

bove Water, so that the Mouth and Nose being at Liberty, Respiration may be carried on: For as to the Feet and Hands, it is enough to stir them, and to use them as Oars to conduct the Vessel. This is so very true, that

hat he that learns to swim, is commonly attended by a perfect *Swimmer*, who does nothing else but hold the Head of his Pupil by the Chin, above the Water, while the Pupil stirs his Legs and Hands as he judges proper; though he must take particular Care to stir both Legs and Arms at the same Time, and keep them well extended.

Fishes have an Advantage to sustain themselves at any Depth of Water, which all other Animals are deprived of; and that is a Vesicle of Air inclosed in their Bodies, called a *Swimming-Bladder*; for the Air in that Bladder being more or less compressed, according to the Depth the Fish swims at, and take more or less Space; and consequently the Body of the Fish, Part of whose Bulk this Bladder is, is greater or lesser, according to the several Depths; and yet retains the same absolute Weight.

Now the Rule *de insidentibus humido* is, that a Body heavier than so much Water, as is equal in Quantity to the Bulk of it, will necessarily sink; a Body that is lighter will swim; and a Body of equal Weight will rest in any Part of the Water.

By this Rule, if the Fish in the middle Region of the Water be of equal Weight with Water, Bulk for Bulk; the Fish will rest there without any natural Tendency either upwards or downwards.

And if the Fish be deeper in the Water, its Bulk becoming less, by the greater Compression of the Bladder; it will still remain commensurate to the Gravity of the Water in that Part.

If the Fish be higher than the middle Region, the Air dilating itself, and the Bulk of the Fish consequently increasing, but not the Weight; the Fish will rise upwards, and rest a-top of the Water.

It is probable the Fish, by some Action, can emit Air out of its Bladder, and take fresh in. Mr. Ray observes, that in most Fishes there is a manifest Channel leading from the Gullet to the *Swimming-Bladder*, which doubtless serves for the Conveyance; and that there is a muscular Power in the Coat of the Bladder, whereby the Fish can contract it when it will. The same Author adds, in Confirmation of this Doctrine, that it is found, if the *Swimming Bladder* of any Fish be pricked or broke, the Fish immediately sinks to the Bottom, and can neither support nor raise itself. And that in flat Fishes, as Soles, Plaice, &c. which lie always groveling at the Bottom, there is no *Swimming-Bladder* at all.

Men borrow likewise the Assistance of blown Bladders, by means whereof they are supported on the Water, when they begin to learn to swim; and Men alone learn to swim; all other perfect Animals seeming to take it na-

turally, though several of the Imperfect swim not at all.

M. Thevenot has published a curious Piece in French, called *l'Art de Nager*, the Art of *Swimming*, demonstrated by Figures; wherein he maintains, that Men would swim naturally like other Animals, were they not prevented by Fear, which magnifies their Danger: But some are of Opinion that his Sentiment is contrary to Experience; for throw, say they, a Brute newly born, into a River, and it swims: Throw an Infant in, before he is yet capable of Fear, and he swims not, but is drowned. The Reason of this, continue they, is, that the human Machine differs very notably in its Structure and Configuration from that of Brutes; and particularly, which is very extraordinary, in the Situation of its Center of Gravity. In Man the Head is exceeding heavy, with regard to the rest of the Body; by reason the Head is furnished with a very great Quantity of Brain, and has besides a deal of Flesh and Bones, and no Cavities, only filled with Air: So that the Head immersing under Water by its own Gravity, the Nose and Ears are soon filled: Thus the heavy carrying down the light, the Man soon drowns, and is lost.

But in Brutes it is otherwise: For the Head here having but little Brains, and there being Abundance of Sinus's therein; its Weight, with regard to the rest of the Body, is much less considerable; so that they are easily able to keep their Nose above Water, and thus respire freely, are out of Danger of drowning on the Principles of Statics.

In Fishes, it is the Tail that is the grand Instrument of *Swimming*, not the Fins, as is generally imagined: For this Reason Fishes are more strong and muscular in that Part than in all the rest of their Body; according as we find it in all other Animals; the motive Parts whereof are still the strongest, as the Thighs of Men for walking, the pectoral Muscles of Birds for Flight, &c. Therefore the Fins serve only to keep the Body well poised and ballanced, and prevent Vacillation.

Among the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, *Swimming* made so essential a Part of the Discipline of their Youth, that to represent a Man perfectly rude and uneducated, they used to say proverbially, he had neither learned to read, nor to swim; which is much better learned by Exercise, than by any Rules which could be prescribed for it; since those Rules contribute only towards making a Man drown himself sooner; for the great Attention he would have to those Rules, and the Fear of transgressing them, joined to that of drowning, would be capable enough to precipitate him the sooner to the Bottom.

TANNING.

TANNING, is the Art of preparing of Skins or Hides in a Pit, with *Tan* and Water.

What we call *Tan*, in this Preparation (from which the Art borrows its Name) is the Bark of Oak, chapped and ground, by a Tanning-Mill, into a coarse Powder.

Not only the Bark, but every Part of the Oak-Tree, of what Age or Growth soever, all oaken Coppice, &c. cut in barking Time, makes good *Tan*; as good at least as the best Bark.

This when got is to be well dried in the Sun, house-dry'd, and kept so. To use it, the greater Wood may be shav'd small, or cleft, fit to be cut small by a tanning Engine for the Purpose; which done it is well dried again on a Kiln, and then ground by the Mill. Where Oak is scarce, Thorns may supply the Defect.

New Tan is the most esteemed; when old and stale, it loses a deal of its Effect, which consists in condensing, or closing the Pores of the Skin; so that the longer the Skins are kept in *Tan*, the greater Strength and Fineness they acquire.

The Operation of *Tanning* regards only Bullocks, Cows, Calves, and Horse-Hides; the Method thereof for Bullocks or Oxen Hides, is as follows.

The Skin being sead off the Carcass, if it is intended to be kept, it is salted with Sea-Salt and Allum, or with

a kind of Saltpetre called *Natron*, if it is not for keeping, the Salting is saved, as being of no Use, but to prevent the Hide from corrupting before it can be conveniently carried to the Tan-house.

Whether the Hides have been salted or not, the *Tanner* begins with taking off the Horns, the Ears, and the Tail; after which it is thrown into a running Water for about thirty Hours, to wash off the Blood, and other Impurities adhering to the Inside.

This done, it is laid Over-night in a Lime-pit, already used; whence it is taken, and left to drain three or four Days on the Edge of the Pit.

This first and slightest Preparation over, it is returned into a strong Lime-pit for two Days, then taken out for four more; and thus for six Weeks alternately, taken out and put in twice a Week.

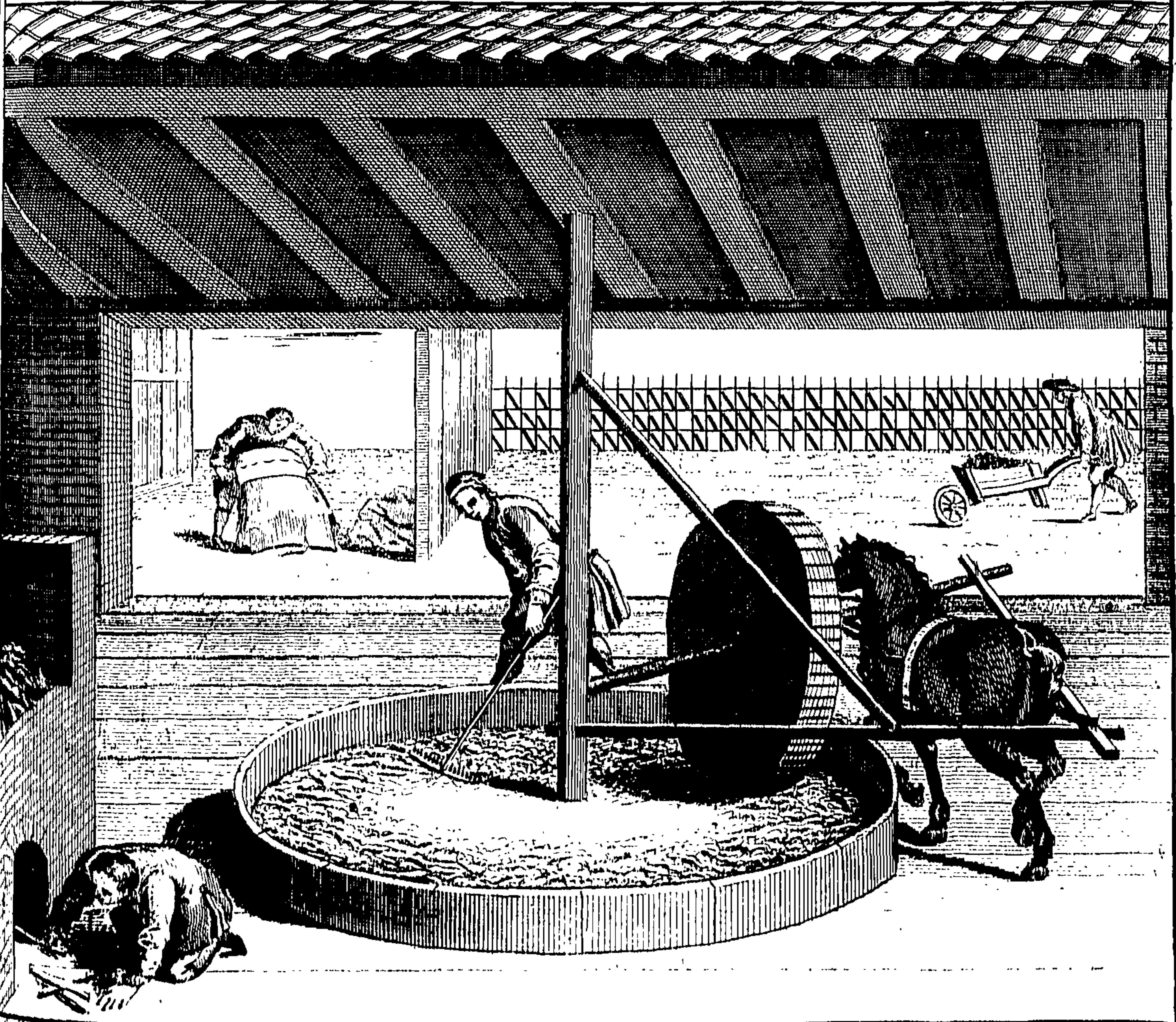
At the six Weeks End it is put into a fresh Pit, where it continues eight Days, and is taken out for so many; and this alternately for a Year or eighteen Months, according to the Strength of the Leather, or the Weather. For in great Heat they put in fresh Lime twice a Week; and in Frost they sometimes do not touch them for three Months. Every fresh Lime-pit they throw them into is stronger and stronger.

At four, five, or six Weeks End, the *Tanner* scrapes off

CURRIERS AND TANNERS.



TANNER'S WORK-SHOP.



off the Hair on a wooden Leg or Horse, with a kind of Knife for that Purpose. And after a Year or eighteen Months, when the Hair is perfectly gone, he carries it to a River to wash, pares off the Flesh on the Leg with a Kind of cutting Knife, and rubs it briskly with a Kind of Whet-stone, to take off any Remains of Flesh or Filth on the Side of the Hair.

The Skin is now put into *tan*; that is, cover'd over with *Tan*, as it is stretched in the Pit; and Water let in upon it: If the Skin be strong, five Coverings of *Tan* will be required; for weaker, three or four may suffice. When the Skin has not been kept long enough in Lime, or the *Tan-pit* is upon clearing it, in the Middle is seen a whitish Streak, called the Horn, or Crudity of the Skin; and this is the Reason why the Soles of Shoes, Boots, &c. stretch so easily, and take Water.

When the Hides are sufficiently tanned, they are taken out of the Pit to be dried, by hanging in the Air. Then the *Tan* is cleaned off them, and they are put in a Place neither too dry, nor too moist; they are well stretched over one another, with Weights a-top to keep them tight and straight; and under this Condition are sold under the Denomination of *Bind Leather*.

Cows, Calves, and Horses Skins are tanned much after the same Manner as those of Oxen, except that the former are only kept four Months in the Lime-Pit; and that before they be put in the *Tan*, there is a Preparation required thus: Cold Water is poured into a wooden Fat or Tub, wherein the Skins are put, which are kept stirring, while some other Water is warming in a Kettle; and as soon as that Water is a little more than lukewarm, it is poured gently into the Fat, and upon this is cast a Basket of *Tan*; during which Time, the Skins are still kept turning, that the Water and *Tan* may not scorch them.

After an Hour, they are taken out, and cast for a Day in cold Water, then returned into the former Fat, and the same Water they had been in before; and here they are left eight Days; which expired they are put in the *Tan-Pit*, and three Coverings of *Tan* given them, the first of which lasts five Weeks, the second six, and the third two Months.

The rest of the Process is in all Respects the same as that above deliver'd. In some Countries, as *Champagne*, &c. the Tanners give the first Preparation with Barley instead of Lime.

THEOLOGICAL

THEOLOGY (from Θεός, God, and λογία, Discourse) is, according to this Etymology, a Discourse, or Ratiocination relating to God. For according to *Isidorus*, *Lib. 8. Etymol. c. 6.* and *St. Augustin*, *Lib. 8. de civit. Dei. c. 1.* every Doctrine which treats of God, is commonly called *Theology*. Whence *St. Augustin*, *Lib. de civit. Dei, c. 14.* says, that those Poets were called *Theologians*, who composed the Verses which were to be sung in Honour of the Gods.

The *Theology* we mean here, is not that *Theology Patrie*, which is the *Theology* of the Blessed only, and is commonly defined a clear and intuitive Knowledge of God, and of divine Things, acquired by the Light of Glory. But is that *Theology via*, acquired by us Mortals, while we are in this transitory World; not all such *Theology* indifferently, not, *v. gr.* that which is acquired by the natural Light, such as those Philosophers had, mentioned by the Apostle *Rom. 1.* nor that which can be acquir'd, without Reasoning, by the sole supernatural Light of Faith, and regards the Propositions which God has immediately revealed, and is the same with Faith itself: But it is that supernatural *Theology* which regards the Conclusions deduced by Reasoning from the Principle or Propositions which God has reveal'd.

Therefore this Sort of *Theology* is divided into *positive* and *scholastick*; and both subdivided again into *practical* and *speculative*.

Positive THEOLOGY, is that which proves its Conclusions by positive Arguments; or, which is the same Thing, by those Principles which are not proved; such are those quoted from the Scripture, Councils, and ancient Fathers, for those Principles are rather laid down than proved. *Tertullian* takes Notice of this *Theology*, *Lib. de Prescrip. c. 14.*

Scholastick THEOLOGY, thus called because taught and learned in the Schools; is that which makes Use of the Dialectick or Logick, and Discourses from revealed Principles or Propositions, not only on God and the divine Things, but likewise of all that has Report to God. As when one, *v. gr.* proves that there are two Wills in *Christ*, because there are two Natures, each intellectual, Nature having its own proper Will. Which is an excellent Manner of proving; since, according to *St. Augustin*, *Lib. 14. de civit. Dei, c. 14.* it breeds Truth in the Infidels, feeds, and strengthens it in the Faithful, and defends it against the Impious and Hereticks.

Speculative THEOLOGY, is that which relates to the Knowledge and Contemplation of those Things, which are not to be reduced into Practice, *viz.* what we are to do, and what we are to avoid.

Polemical THEOLOGY, is that which regards the

Things controverted; and is thus called, because it encounters both against the Infidels and the Faithful.

But the chief Question here, is, if there be, and has always been in the Church, such a Thing as a *discursive* and *supernatural Theology*? Which I answer in the Affirmative, because there is a *Theology* which deduces its Conclusions from revealed Principles or Propositions, from the Gospel, the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles, and from the Writings of the Fathers: Which *Theology* has always subsisted in the Church. For does not *Christ* himself, *Matt. xxii.* deduce the Resurrection of the Dead, from that God is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living? Does not the Apostle conclude, *2 Cor. v.* that all are dead, because *Christ* died for all? Have not the ancient Fathers made use often of a discursive *Theology*? *St. Jerom*, in the Catalogue of the ecclesiastical Writers, says, that in the Time of *St. Mark* the Evangelist, there were Schools of *Theology* at *Alexandria*; in which *Origen* succeeded the Priest *Clement*, as Professor? And *Eusebius*, in the fifth Book of his ecclesiastical History, says, that those Schools continued to his Time.

This *Theology*, whose Existence we have thus proved, is very properly called *Wisdom*; since it is a Knowledge of excellent Things, by an excellent Cause, having God for its primary Object, and considers him not only as cognoscible by the Creatures, but likewise as he is known to himself, and made known to others by Revelation.

To it belongs Reasoning and Argumenting; since it draws Conclusions from its Premises; and agrees in that with the other Sciences, that it does not Argument to prove its Principles, but something else from them; as the Apostle proceeds to prove the common Resurrection, from the Resurrection of *Christ*.

There are three principal Places or Sources, from which the Principles of theological Conclusions are drawn, *viz.* the Scripture, Traditions, and the Authority of the Church.

I have said three principal Sources, for there are others besides those, which, though they be not of the same Authority, are notwithstanding of a great Weight; such is the Authority of the Fathers, that of scholastick Authors, and Orators in the Canon Law; natural Reason, the Authority of Philosophers and Civilians; and Histories written by grave and judicious Authors, free from Puerilities and Superstition.

That these latter Authorities are not of the same Authority with the three former, is evident from that none of them is certain of a Certitude of Faith, nor produce an Article of Faith, not even that of the ancient Fathers; according to *St. Augustin*, who says, *Epist. 11. ad Fortunat.* *That we are not to consider the Sentiments*
of

Authors, let them be ever so much valued, as the canonical Scriptures, so that it should not be lawful for us, to reject or condemn, with all the Respect due to them, what we could find in their Writings contrary to Truth.

With Regard to the Scripture, which is one of the three principal Places, there can be some Difficulty, when it makes Use of Metaphors, and when one and the same Text can be understood in two different Senses; which Difficulty I must endeavour to elucidate; beginning by the *Metaphors*; observing previously to it, that we understand here by *Metaphor*, the Translation of a Term for the Thing which it signifies properly, to the Signification of another, by Reason of some Similitude, as St. *Augustin* expresses it, *Lib. 2. de Doctrin. Christ. c. 10. In these Terms; thus Laughter, which belongs properly to Men, and signifies a Dilatation of the Mouth, in Witness of Joy, is transferred to signify the Amenity of green Fields, which delight the Sight of the Spectators, and from which it is commonly said, that the Fields smile.* These pre-observ'd,

I say, that the Scripture can very well use *Metaphors*, because *Metaphors* make a great Impression, and please better, than proper Terms: According to St. *Augustin*, *Lib. 1. de Trinit. c. 1.* and in the *Epist. 119.* which is to *Januarius*, where he uses these Words: *Things which are insinuated to us figuratively, make a greater Impression, and excite more Love, than if they were set before us naked.* Either because Man being composed of Body and Soul, and understands by Means of his Senses, it is convenient he should be brought to the Knowledge of spiritual Things, by Similitudes of the corporal, according to the Sentiment of St. *Denis*, *Lib. de celesti Hierarch. c. 1.* or because the divine Mysteries are thus deliver'd to us with more Reverence, and are not discovered to the Unworthy; and because, likewise, they exercise more the Study and Humility of the Reader.

The Expressions of the Scripture must be consider'd as figurative, when what is expressed thereby, is either repugnant to Honesty or to Truth, or, which is the same, when they cannot be properly referred either to Truth or to Honesty, because it is the Sentiment of St. *Augustin*, *Lib. 3. de Doctrin. Christ. c. 10.* and following. For a greater Elucidation of these Propositions, it will not be improper to mention here three Rules delivered by the same Author, to understand and judge with a greater Security of the Places of the Scriptures; which Rules are these. 1. That the Scripture be expounded, as much as possible, *ad literam*. 2. That a proper Expression, be not mistaken, for a metaphorical one, *Lib. 3. de Doctrin. Christ. c. 10.* 3. That a metaphorical Expression be not understood *ad literam*.

Theological Arguments cannot be deduced from the metaphorical Expressions of the Scripture, unless their Sense be evident from some other Place of the Scripture, or from the divine Tradition: Because a metaphorical Expression of the Scripture cannot give a *theological* Conclusion, that Certainty, which it must have to be a true *theological* Conclusion; the Reason is, because a metaphorical Expression cannot have that Certainty, and consequently cannot give it, unless it be evident from some other Place of the Scripture. Whence St. *Jerom*, *Lib. 2. in Matt. c. 10.* says very well, that never a Parable, nor the dubious Intelligence of Enigma's, can contribute towards the Authority of Dogma's.

We'll ask next, if the Scripture can have under one and the same Letter, several Senses, and which, and if from it, taken in every Sense, can be deduced a *theological* Argument?

Which to understand, we must observe, 1. That by the Name *Scripture* is understood here the Context of the Words and Sentences, which God has dictated, and which the Author has reduced into Writing: For there are two Authors of the Scripture, *viz.* a chief one, who is the Holy Ghost; and a secondary, which is he who has related the Things inspired by the Holy Ghost. — 2. That in general we distinguish two Senses of the Scripture, *viz.* a literal one, and the other mystical. The literal one, can be again subdivided into proper or simple, and translatitious or metaphorical. And the mystical Sense, is also subdivided into tropologick or moral, and allegorical and anagogick. The literal, proper, and simple Sense, is that which is expressed by simple and

proper Words. Such is the Sense of these Words, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart.*

The literal, translatitious, and metaphorical Terms; such is the Sense of these Words, *Psal. xxxiv. The Eyes of the Lord are upon the Righteous, and his Ears are open unto their Cry.* These Words cannot signify that God sees them with corporal Eyes, and hears them with corporal Ears, since he has neither Eyes nor Ears, but signify rather that he takes Care of the Righteous, and is intent on their Prayers.

The spiritual Sense is that which is neither properly nor metaphorically signified by the Words, but by Things signified by the Words. Therefore that Sense is reckoned mystical and spiritual, which is hid under Things, as the Soul is hid under the Body.

The tropologick or moral Sense, is that whereby Things signified by the Words, signify something besides, belonging to Manners, *v. gr.* belonging to the Instruction or Reformation of Life. Let it be for an Example of what I advance here, the Command of the Circumcision made to *Abraham*, and his Posterity, which signified the Circumcision of all Vices.

The allegorick Sense, is that whereby the Things expressed in Words, in the Old Testament, shadowed those which have been accomplished in the New, according to *Cassian's* Sentiment. Thus the Sacrifice of *Abraham*, and the Ram fasten'd by its Horns, which *Abraham* sacrificed, represented *Christ* fasten'd to the Cross. These pre-observ'd,

I say, 1. That the Scripture has several Senses, either mystical or literal under the same Expressions.

That it has several Senses, is proved by the Book of the Scripture, being said, *Ezek. ii.* and *Apocap. v.* written *Inside* and *Outside*; *Outside*, according to St. *Jerom*, on the same Passage of *Ezekiel*, by the literal Sense; and *Inside* by the spiritual one. Therefore it is not surprising if St. *Gregory*, *Lib. 20. moral. c. 1.* says of the sacred Scripture, *that while it relates a Deed, it signifies a Mystery.*

That it has several literal Senses, under the same Words, is proved by several Passages of the same Scripture, admitting several literal Senses; for, *v. gr.* is not this Passage of *Isaiah liii. Who shall recount his Generation?* Understood literally both of the eternal Generation of the Word, *ad intra*, and of his temporal Generation, *ad extra*, by the Incarnation? Is not likewise this Passage of *Isaiah xi. I have called my Son from Egypt*, understood both of the People of *Israel*, whom God brought from *Egypt* by the Ministry of *Moses*; and of *Jesus Christ*, who after *Herod's* Death was brought back from *Egypt*?

That the Scripture can have a literal and spiritual Sense together under the same Word is evident, 1. As to a literal Sense, together with an allegorical one, from *Genes. xxii.* where *Isaac* carrying on his own Shoulders the Wood to the Place of the Sacrifice, represented *Christ* carrying his Cross on his own Shoulders. Likewise *Genes. xvii.* and *xxi.* when it is said of *Abraham*, *that he had two Sons, one of a Bond-woman, and the other of a free Woman*; two Testaments were allegorically signified, *viz.* the Old and the New, as interpreted by the Apostle, *Galat. iv.*

As to the tropologick and moral Sense, it is also evident; for when the Leprous were ordered, *Levit. xiii.* to shew themselves to the Priests, the Precepts given to Sinners in the new Laws, to shew themselves to Priests in order to be absolved of their Sins, was thereby signified.

As to the anagogic Sense, it is easily shewn; for is not the celestial Beatitude, signified by the old *Jerusalem*, in these Words of the *Apocap. 22. And I have seen the holy City, the new Jerusalem, coming down from Heaven, &c.*

I say, 2. That we can very well deduce a *theological* Argument from the Scripture understood in a literal Sense; but not when understood in a mystical one; unless that Sense be evident from some other Place of the Scripture; or by divine Tradition. Because, 1. The literal Sense is always intended by the Holy Ghost; whence it is never subject to Falshood. 2. Because the mystical Sense has not a sufficient Certitude, its being the Production of a human Understanding, which is different in different Men. Add, that it is uncertain, if that Sense which is human be from the Holy Ghost? Whence it is that a

Theologian cannot efficaciously argument from it.

It can be easily inferred from what I have said, that *Theology* is a Science, which treats of God, of divine Things, and of all that has any Relation to them; but as I have already treated under their respective Articles, of several of those Things, which are commonly brought under the general Title, *Theology*, and which compose in Part what we call a Course of *Theology*; I'll confine myself in this Place, to some particular Articles which have not been mentioned yet, and particularly to the Virtues called *theological*, viz. *Faith*, *Hope* and *Charity*, beginning by *Faith*, as that which has caused, and causes yet so much Trouble and Division in the Church of Christ, for want of being well understood; observing previously to it, 1. That it is not a Question here of a human Faith, whereby we believe Man's Words in virtue of the great Authority they have acquired among us, but of a divine Faith, as taken for an Argument or Conviction of Things invisible, according to this Definition of *Faith*, by St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews xi. 1. *Faith is the Substance of Things hoped for, the Evidence of Things not seen.*—2. That *divine Faith* is taken in three Manners in the Scripture, 1. For the Object of Faith, *Ephes. iv. One God, one Faith, &c.* 2. For the Act, *Matt. ix. Let it be done to you according to your Faith.* And *Rom. i. Your Faith is manifested throughout the whole World.* 3. For an Habit, *1 Cor. xiii. And now abideth Faith, Hope, Charity, these three.*

3. That Faith is not defined here as taken for the Object of Faith, for I'll treat of it as such when I speak of that Object; nor as taken for the Act of Faith, of which I'll speak, when I'll divide *Faith* into actual and habitual; but is defined as taken for an Habit. These pre-observed,

I say, that *Faith is a theological and supernatural Virtue, infused by itself, whereby we believe all that God was pleased to reveal, and the Church has proposed us to believe, whether they be written or not written.*

It is called *Virtue*, because the Nature or Definition of Virtue becomes it; for it is a good operative Habit of the Mind, which renders its Subject and Act good. If I be asked in what Subject that Virtue resides? I'll answer, that it resides both in the Understanding and Will. For Faith is reckoned among those Habits which require both an imperative, and an executing Faculty. For the Understanding could not assent to obscure Things, unless it was determined to it by the Power of the Will, in Obedience to Faith.

2. It is called *theological*, to distinguish it from Virtues purely moral, which having not God for an immediate and primary Object, cannot be called *theological*.

3. It is called *supernatural*, and *infused by itself*; because it is a Gift of God, which of its Nature requires to be infused; it being impossible to acquire it by our natural Strength. Which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *John vi. 44. No Man can come to me, except the Father which has sent me, draw him.*

By the Councils, particularly that of Trent, *Seff. 6. c. 3. If any Body say, that a Man without a previous Inspiration, and Succours of the Holy Ghost, can believe as he ought, let him be Anathema.*

By the Fathers, particularly those who have opposed the Pelagians who affirmed that a Man could believe without the Assistance of Grace; and against the Semi-pelagians, that without the Assistance of Grace a Man could be willing to believe. By St. *Augustin, lib. de predestinat. janet.* which was wholly wrote to prove that the Beginning of Faith is not from us: And by St. *Prosper* in all his Book against the Collator, but more particularly in the fourth Chapter.

By Reason, because the Creature cannot be moved towards an End which surpasses her Nature, otherwise than by a Principle existing above her Nature.

4. It is said, *whereby we assent*; because Faith is a Principle raising and comforting the Understanding, so to procure a supernatural Assent, from the Influence of the Will. For the Property of the operating Habits infused by themselves, is to raise and comfort the Power so as to make it produce a supernatural Act.

5. It is said, *firmly*; for unless a firm Assent be given

to the first revealing Truth, it cannot be an Assent to the theological Faith. For when Fear or Doubts are mixed with our Assent, they destroy it and render it only a human Opinion.

6. It is said, *to Things which God has revealed*; because by Faith we assent to those Objects which God has intimated simply and obscurely, by an inward or outward Locution; *obscurely*, i. e. without Proof or Evidence; according to the Definition of St. Paul already quoted.

7. It is said *to all*; because according to St. James ii. *He that offends in one is guilty of all*; since there is no greater Reason to believe one of the Objects revealed, than all the Objects revealed: For there is one and the same formal Reason for believing all Things revealed, viz. the divine Revelation, or the first revealing Truth which is the first Rule of our Faith. Whence *Augustin* in *Psalms 54.* says, *the Hereticks agree with me in several Things, and do not agree with me in few Things; but by reason of those few Things in which they do not agree with me, the several Things in which they agree are of no Advantage to them.*

8. It is said, *which God has proposed to us by his Church, to believe*; to give to understand that the Church, which according to the Apostle, *Tim. ii. Is the Support and Column of Truth*, has the Power to propose what we are to believe, and qualify them Articles of Faith.

9. It is said, whether they be written or not written; to let us know that of those Things we are to believe, some are written, such are those which we have in the Old and New Testament; and others not written, such as those which are of pure Tradition.

As to the *Object of Faith*, which is the next Thing we are to examine, it is double, viz. one *material*, and the other *formal*; but as both admit of some Difficulty, I'll treat of them separately; speaking first of the material Object; and observing previously to it,

1. That by *material Object* is understood, in general, that which is considered either by the Power, or the Habit, or the Act.

2. That there are commonly two *material Objects*; an adequate or total one, to which are referred all the Things, towards which the Habit or Faculty tend; and the other inadequate or partial, which is Part of the total Object.

3. That the inadequate Object is commonly subdivided into primary and secondary; the primary is that towards which the Faculty or Habit tend primarily; and for which it considers all the rest: And the secondary is that which is considered on account of the primary. These pre-observed,

I say, 1. That the *adequate Object of Faith is the Thing revealed*; because the Thing revealed comprehends all that towards which Faith is directed.

I say, 2. That the primary inadequate Object of Faith, is God himself; according to St. *Denis, lib. de divin. nomin. c. 7. Faith*, says he, *is with regard to a simple, and always existing Truth.* And St. *Augustin, lib. 4. de civit. Dei, c. 2. the first*, says he, *and greatest Object, is that we should believe in God himself.*

I say, 3. That the *secondary inadequate Object of Faith, is all that which is not God himself, and which notwithstanding is believed with regard to God*; because the partial Object of the Habit is that which it considers with regard to the primary Object.

Therefore, according to what we have said; God is the primary Object of Faith, and all Things to be believed, are considered by Faith with respect to God; therefore all that is not God, and is notwithstanding believed with respect to God, is the secondary inadequate Object of Faith, v. gr. the Mystery of the Incarnation, or Passion, or any other contained either in the Scripture or in the Tradition.

It may be asked, 1. With regard to the material Object of Faith, *if it be something simple, or something complex?* To which I answer, that it is something *simple*, if it be considered in itself, and on the Part of the Thing believed; since it be nothing else but the Thing itself to be believed, v. gr. the Mystery of the Trinity; But that it is something *complex*, if it be considered on the Part of the Believer; since it is nothing else but the Assent itself given by the Understanding to the Thing revealed.

Which Assent is a Thing complex, since it is the second Operation of the Mind, which always imports a Composition or Division.

It may be asked, 2. *If there was any Necessity to compose a Symbol, and to distinguish the Things to be believed by certain Articles?*

Which I answer in the Affirmative; because by such a Symbol, according to St. *Augustin, Lib. de Symbol. ad Catechum. c. 1. The Memory of those who have not a very happy one, is assisted, and the Christian Faith is fenced against the Subtlety and Finesses of Hereticks.* Add that the Symbol is as a Watch-word, whereby the Faithful are distinguished from the Infidels; as Fellow-Soldiers, by the Word know themselves from their Enemies.

There was likewise a Necessity to divide the Symbol into Articles; because some of the Things which are proposed to us to believe, admit of some Difficulties, which others do not.

It may be asked, *if, in Process of Time the Articles of Faith have increased?* To which I answer, that they have not increased with Regard to their Substance, but only with Regard to the Manner, and the Profession of Faith explained.

That they have not increased with Regard to their Substance, I prove it by the Fathers and by Reason.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin, Epist. 57. to Optatus*, where he says, that the Faith of those who preceded the Coming of Christ, was the same with ours. According to this of the 2 Cor. iv. *Having the same Spirit of Faith.*

By Reason, because all that we believe at present was always believed in the Church of God, at least implicitly, as it appears from the Words of the Apostle *Heb. xi. 39. And these all having obtained a good Report through Faith, received not the Promise, but they saw them afar off.* Whence St. *Augustin, Tract. 45. in Joan.* expresses himself thus; *the Times are changed, but not the Faith; and the Sound of the Word is changed, he will come, and he is come, but the same Faith joins both.* For there were always two Things to be believed in the Church, 1. That there is a God. 2. That he provides for all, or is the Remunerator of all those that seek him; according to this of the Apostle, *Heb. xi. 6. For he that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is the Rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* But in God's Essence is included all that we believe to be in him; and in the Faith of Providence are included all Things which God is pleased to dispense temporally with Regard to Man's Salvation.

That the Articles of Faith have increased only with Regard to the Manner, and the explain'd Profession of Faith, is proved by the Scripture, *Psal. cxix. I understand more than the Antients.* Luke i. *Several Kings and Prophets wanted to see what you see, and hear what you hear.*

By Reason, because some things, which were known implicitly only by our Ancestors, have been known explicitly by their Posterity. As it appears from the Words of the Apostle to the *Ephesians iv. The Mystery of Christ is not known to other Generations, as it is known at present to his Apostles and Prophets.*

The formal Object of Faith is the divine Revelation, or the first Truth as revealing. Because the Scripture proposes nothing for Cause of the Assent to Faith, but the divine Revelation, *Matt. xvi. Thou art blessed, Simon Barjona, because Flesh and Blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father which is in Heaven,* 1 *Thess. ii. Because when ye received the Word of God which you heard of us, ye received it not as the Word of Men, but (as it is in Truth) the Word of God.*

From what we have said, it is inferr'd, 1. That Faith is so certain, that it cannot be subject to Falshood. From the Scripture, 1 *Tim. ii. I know in whom I have believed, and I am certain.* From Reason, because God who is the formal Object of Faith, can neither deceive or be deceived: He cannot deceive, because he is infinitely good and true: Neither can he be deceived, because he is infinitely wise and intelligent.

It is inferr'd, 2. That though the Object of Faith be true, because of God's Authority who reveals it, it is not, notwithstanding, something seen, or evident of itself, on the Part of a Believer. Which appears,

From the Scripture, 1 *Cor. xiii. For now we see thro' a Glass darkly, but then Face to Face.*

From the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin, Lib. 3. de Trinit. c. 6. Therefore, says he, we are commanded to believe, because we cannot see. Whence, Tract. 40. in Joan. Faith, says he, is to believe what we do not see.*

By Reason, because the Object of Faith does not move by itself to the Knowledge of itself; since the Will determines freely the Understanding to assent to the Object of Faith.

It is inferred, 3. That the Object of Faith is not something learned, i. e. evidently known by some Ratiocination. Because, according to St. *Augustin, Lib. de utilit. Credend. c. 1. what is formally believed by Faith, is believed for the sole Authority of him that reveals; but what is properly learned is understood from an evident and necessary Reason. What we understand, says he, we owe it to Reason; what we believe, to Authority; notwithstanding that the Existence of God be demonstrated, at least a posteriori. Because it does not imply, that something can be believed and known, under divers Reasons, and by different Means.*

It is inferr'd, that though the Object of Faith be not evident *Physice*, i. e. so evident, that the Understanding could not dissent from it; it is notwithstanding evident *Moraliter*, i. e. so evident, that a prudent Man could not dissent from it, on Account of certain Signs and Motives of Credibility, which render the Object credible.

As to the Division of Faith.—Faith is commonly divided, 1. Into *habitual* and *actual*. 2. Into *internal* and *external*. 3. Into *explicit* and *implicit*. 4. Into *Living* and *Dead*. Of which different Divisions I'll treat successively; beginning by that into *habitual* and *actual* Faith.

Habitual FAITH, is an Habit infused by itself, inclining to give a free Assent to the Truth which God has revealed.

It is called *an Habit infused by itself*; because it is not acquired by repeated Acts as the other natural Habits; but requires of its Nature to be infused. Whence it is said to be a special Gift of God.

It is said, *inclining to give a free Assent*, because the Act of Virtue must be a human Act, and consequently voluntary and free. Whence St. *Augustin* says, *Lib. de Prædest. Sanct. c. 5. that Faith consists in the Will of the Believers.*

Actual FAITH, or the Act of Faith, is the certain, firm and supernatural Assent itself freely given to some Truth, divinely reveal'd, on Account of God's Authority who reveals it.

It is called *Assent*, because it is an Adherence of our Understanding to the Object, which is true or esteemed such.

It is said *certain*, because the Object of Faith to which our Understanding adheres, is of an undoubted Truth.

It is called *firm*, because by the Act of Faith, our Understanding adheres to the Object which he thinks true, so as to become inebriated.

It is called *supernatural*, because, 1. On the Part of the Object, it has not only God for primary material Object; but requires, likewise, his Revelation for formal Object. 2. On the Part of the Principle, it requires the Succours of Grace, since it cannot proceed from the sole Strength of Nature.

It is called *free*, to give to understand that the Act of Faith, is from the Will commanding, and from the Understanding executing its Command.

From what we have said, it is inferred, that the Act of Faith, or to believe, is nothing else but to know with a firm Assent, though obscure, and is thus distinguished from the Act of Science and Intelligence, which is not obscure, but evident: And is likewise distinguished from Doubt, Suspicion, and Opinion, which is not certain and firm.

If I be asked, what is understood by these Words, *believe God, believe to God, and believe in God?* I'll answer, that *believe God* is the same Thing as to believe that God exists: *believe to God*, is the same as to believe on Account of God's Authority who reveals: And *believe in God*, the same as believe God with a Motion of the Will towards

towards him; which is the same Thing as both to believe and love God.

As to the *second Division of Faith* into *internal* and *external*: It is only asked, If it be a just Division? Which I answer in the Affirmative; and prove it by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Rom. x. 10. For with the Heart Man believeth unto Righteousness, and with the Mouth Confession is made unto Salvation.*

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin, Lib. de fid. & Symbol. Faith*, says he, *requires a double Office from us, viz. of the Heart and Tongue, and we cannot be saved, unless we confess with the Mouth, the Faith we carry in our Heart.*

By Reason, because the Assent to Faith is only conceived by us, without any Manifestation by Words, or external Signs; and thus is an inward or internal Faith; or is manifested by external Signs or Words; and thus is an external Faith.

Faith, particularly the actual, is also very well divided into *implicit* and *explicit*. Because we either believe some particular Truth, and as separated from all others; as when, *v. gr.* the Mystery of the Trinity is believed in itself, and not in another, such a Faith is called *explicit*; or a particular Truth is not believed in itself distinctly, determinately, and as separated from others, but is believed in another, in which that particular Truth is contained, as when, *v. gr.* we believe that God has revealed, and the Church has proposed us to believe, then we are reckoned to believe the said particular Truth, because contained in the Generality of the Things we believe; and this Faith is *implicit*.

As to the Division of Faith into *living* and *dead*. We must observe, 1. That by *living Faith* is understood that Faith, which has the habitual Grace and Charity joined with it, whereby it can produce living Works, and meritorious of the eternal Life. As it appears from the fifth Chapter of the Epistle to the *Galatians*; and by the *inform* or *dead Faith*, a Faith that is so destitute of the habitual Grace and Charity, that it operates nothing of itself. Whence *St. James ii.* it is said dead in itself, as a Body without a Soul is dead. 2. That there are three particular Things discussed in this Place, from the Intelligence thereof, all the other Difficulties relating to Faith, whether living or dead, are easily resolved, 1. If the Division of Faith into formed and inform be just. 2. If the inform Faith be specifically the same Habit with the formed Faith. 3. In the inform Faith remains a true and entire Faith. These pre-observ'd,

I say, 1. That Faith is very well divided into *formed* and *inform*. Because either Faith has an habitual Grace, and Charity joined with itself, whereby it can operate several living Acts, and meritorious of the eternal Life; or has not: If it has, it is a formed or living Faith; if not, it is an inform and dead Faith.

I say, 2. That an inform Faith is specifically the same Habit with the formed or living one. Because it is the same between the living and the dead Faith, as it is between a dead Body and a living one; for, according to *James ii.* *As a Body without a Soul is dead, likewise Faith without Works, i. e. without Charity*, which is the Productrice of living Works, is dead: But a dead Body is the same Body specifically it was while alive; therefore a dead Faith is the same Habit specifically with a living one.

I say, 3. That a dead Faith can remain a true and entire Faith; which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Matt. xxv.* where we read, that the foolish Virgins are no less said to have had their Lamps than the wise ones, with this Difference, notwithstanding, that the Wise had theirs full of Oil, and the Foolish theirs empty, *i. e.* as *St. Jerom* interprets this Passage, *a Faith void of Charity.*

By the Councils, particularly that of *Trent, Sess. 6. c. 9.* who says, that the Grace of Justification can be lost, though Faith be not lost. Which they explain and define more clearly, *Can. 28.* of the same Session. *Whosoever says that when the Grace is lost by Sin, the Faith is lost likewise; or that the Faith that remains is not a true Faith, though it be not a living one; or that he who*

has Faith without Charity, is not a Christian, let him be anathema.

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin, Lib. 5. de Trinit. c. 17. Faith*, says he, *can be without Charity, but it can be of no Advantage.*

By Reason, because those Habits can exist separately, whose Entity is distinct; since those two Habits differ in Object and Subject; therefore they can be separated from one another. Whence it follows, that Faith can remain entire, though separated from Charity. From this I'll pass to the *Necessity of Faith*.

As the *Necessity* of something relating to Salvation, can be consider'd in two Manners, *viz.* as *Necessity of Means*, and of *Precept*: We must consider whether Faith, whose *Necessity* is taught by the Scripture, is necessary of both those *Necessities*. For as Faith be either habitual or actual; and the actual either internal or external, either implicit or explicit: We must see which Faith is necessary of a *Necessity of Means*, and which is necessary of a *Necessity of Precept*. Therefore,

We'll ask first, *if the habitual Faith be necessary of a Necessity of Means, as well to Infants as to Adults?*

Before I answer this Question, we must observe, 1. That by *Necessity of Means* is understood that *Necessity* whereby something is so necessary to Salvation, that without it it cannot be obtained, though it be omitted without Sin. Thus Baptism *in re*, or *voto*, *i. e.* really administer'd or desir'd, is necessary in the new Law. By *Necessity of Precept* is understood that *Necessity*, whereby something is necessary to Salvation, by that Reason only, that it is commanded; whence it is, that through Impotency or Ignorance it can be omitted without Sin; and without it Salvation can be obtained. Of this Kind of *Necessity*, Restitution is necessary. 2. That the Salvation to which Faith is said necessary, can be distinguished into two, *viz.* first and second. The first is nothing else but the sanctifying Grace, whereby Man acquires a Right to Glory. The second and last, nothing else but the Glory, or beatifick Vision. 3. That the *Necessity* of Faith can be consider'd, either with Respect to Infants or to Adults. These pre-observ'd,

I say, *that the habitual Faith is necessary of a Necessity of Means, to the first and second Salvation, as well for Infants as for Adults.* Which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Heb. xi. Without Faith it is impossible to please God.*

By the Councils, particularly that of *Trent, Sess. 6. c. 2.* where Baptism is called a Sacrament of Faith, without which no Body can ever be justified. Whence, *c. 8.* it is called the Beginning of Salvation, the Foundation, and Root of all Justification, without which it is impossible to please God; and to be admitted into the Fellowship of his Children.

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin, Serm. 38. de Temp. Faith*, says he, *is the Beginning of Salvation, without it no Body can be received into the Fellowship of the Children of God, because without it no Body in this World obtains the Grace of Justification; nor in that to come, shall possess the eternal Life.*

By Reason, because without the habitual Faith no Body can by any Means obtain the first or second Salvation; because, as the last Perfection of Man consists in the intuitive Vision of God, to which no Body ascends of his own proper natural Motion: It follows hence, that Man must be directed to it by God. But as God has resolved to direct Man to it, by Love, which has for Object a Thing known, and as he cannot know his last Perfection, otherwise than by the Doctrine of God himself, and consequently by Faith in this Life, it follows that Faith, and an habitual one, is necessary to Salvation of a *Necessity of Means*.

Our next Question is, *if the actual Faith, as well internal, as external, be necessary of a Necessity of Means, as well to Infants as to Adults?*

To which I answer, 1. That an *actual Faith*, or an *internal Act*, is not necessary of a *Necessity of Means*. Because Infants are not capable of themselves to form an Act of Faith, for such an Act must be human, and consequently voluntary and free, of which Infants, who

have

have not yet the Use of their Reason, are incapable.

I have said, *of themselves*, to give thereby to understand, that those who are said to have sinned by the Will of others, can likewise be said to believe by others, *viz.* by their Parents, as St. *Augustin* insinuates it, *Serm.* 14. *de verb. apost.* c. 18, 19. notwithstanding their Parents be Infidels; because in that Case, according to the same St. *Augustin*, *lib.* 10. *cenef. ad litt.* c. 24. the Faith of the Church, whose Sacrament is applied, supplies the Defect of Faith in the Parents.

I answer, 2. That the actual internal Faith of some Mysteries, is necessary to Adults, of a Necessity of Means, or to speak clearer, it is necessary of a Necessity of Means, that the Adults should operate some internal Act of Faith. According to this of St. *Mark*, *Whoever does not believe shall be condemned.* And *Hebr.* xi. *Approaching to God, one must believe, &c.*

We'll ask next, *of which Mysteries, an internal actual Faith, as well explicite, as implicate, is necessary to Adults, of a Necessity of Means?*—Before I answer this Question, we must observe, that it is asked here chiefly, which Mysteries Adults are obliged to believe explicite, at least inwardly, and which implicitly, of a Necessity of Means. This pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That *it is necessary of a Necessity of Means that the faithful Adult should believe implicitly all the Mysteries of our Faith.* Because none is to be accounted faithful, who is not ready to believe all that God has revealed; for the Faith is entire, or null. Since it is written, *James* ii. *That he who fails in one is guilty of all.* And the Reason is, because there is but one and the same formal Motive of believing, with respect to all Believers, *viz.* the Authority of God who reveals.

I answer, 2. That *it is necessary of a Necessity of Means, that the Adults should believe by an internal explicite Act, some of the Mysteries of our Religion, but not all.* Because they must believe at least that there is a God, and that he is the Remunerator of those that seek him.

I may be asked, *if besides the two aforesaid Mysteries, it be likewise necessary of a Necessity of Means to believe explicite the Mystery of the blessed Trinity, and that of the Incarnation, at least after a sufficient Promulgation of the Gospel?*

To which I answer, that the Doctors are of two different Sentiments on that Point. Some of them denying it, who are supported by *Richard Scotus*, *Bartholomew Medina*, *Michael Medina*, *Vega*, &c. But others, whose Sentiment I consider as the best, affirm that it is necessary of a Necessity of Means, that the Adults should believe explicite those two Mysteries, at least after a sufficient Promulgation of the Gospel. I prove it of the blessed Trinity, by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Acts* xix. when the Apostle asked the *Ephesians* if they had the Holy Ghost, by believing; and they answered him, that they knew not that there was a Holy Ghost; then struck with Wonder, he asked them, *In whom then have you been baptized?* As if he was willing to insinuate by that Interrogation, that an explicite Faith of the blessed Trinity was necessary to those who were baptized.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Athanasius*, who in his Symbol expresses himself in these Words, *Whoever will be saved, it is necessary he should above all Things profess the Christian Faith. And the Christian Faith is this, that we should honour one God in a Trinity, and the Trinity in an Unity, without confounding the Persons, nor separating the Substance.* St. *Cyril*, *lib.* 1. in *Joan.* the Knowledge of God is not sufficient to us, without the Knowledge of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

By Reason; because the Mystery of the blessed Trinity is the first of all.

To this may be added the Practice of the Catholick Church, of admitting no body to the Baptism, till she has asked first if he believes in God the Father, &c. in *Jesus Christ* his Son, &c. and in the Holy Ghost, &c. and thus seems to declare that no Adult is capable of the baptismal Grace, and consequently of Justification, unless he has an explicit and distinct Faith of the Mystery of the blessed Trinity.

I prove the second Part, *of the Mystery of the Incarnation*, by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Mark* xvi. *Preach the Gospel to every Creature; he that believes and is baptized shall be saved;*

but he that believes not shall be damned.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Athanasius*, in his Symbol; and St. *Jerom* on these Words of the Epistle to the *Ephesians* iii. *He has predestinated us in the Adoption of Children of God, by Christ*; where he speaks thus; we cannot be Children till after they have received the Faith of Christ the Son of God.

By Reason; because Men must know the Way to Salvation, according to the State they are in: But Christ is the Way of our Salvation; as himself declares, *John* xiv. *I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.* Therefore we should have an explicite Faith of Christ.

It may be asked, if it be necessary of a Necessity of Means to believe explicite more Mysteries than the four above-mentioned? Which I answer in the Negative; because it can be proved, neither by the Authority of the Scripture, nor by any sufficient Reason.

We'll ask next, *if, and which actual Faith is necessary of a Necessity of Precept?*

The better to elucidate that Matter I answer, 1. That there is some Precept of an actual internal Faith; because that is at least of Necessity of Precept, which we have shewn to be of Necessity of Means; because it belongs to the judicious Government of God, to command what he would be of a Necessity of Means.

I answer, 2. That there is a double Obligation of that Precept: One negative, to exclude all manner of Doubt and Vacillation, with regard to Faith: And the other positive, to believe when a Proposition of Faith is supposed sufficient. Because, as to the first Part of my Answer, a sovereign Certainty is of the Essence of Faith; whence it follows, that we are equally obliged not to doubt of the Truth of Faith, as we are obliged not to recede from the Certainty of Faith; since that Certainty excludes all Doubt.

And because (as to the second Part) that Proposition once made, a Man has no Excuse for not obeying the Precept of Faith, so rigorously obliging to the Practice of the Act. Which is easily shewn by these Words of Christ, *John* xv. *If I had not come and spoke to them, they had not been guilty.* That the same Precept obliges likewise to learn the Faith and seek it, God's Inspiration being supposed as proved, because the Obligation of believing presupposes a hearing of the Faith, as a Medium necessary to it. *For Faith cometh by hearing*, says the Apostle, *but we hear by the Word of God; how can they believe if they have not heard?*

We'll ask next, what we are obliged to believe, either explicite or implicitly, from the Precept of the internal actual Faith? Which to answer pertinently, we must observe, that Christians, with regard to the present Question, may be considered in three different Conditions or States; for some are Laicks, some Ecclesiasticks, *viz.* Priests and Curates, and others Bishops. These pre-observed.

I answer, 1. That every Man who has the Use of his Reason, and is capable of believing, is obliged from a Precept of an internal actual Faith, to believe implicitly all that the Church believes. Which Answer wants no Proof; for if Men are obliged as already observed, to that actual implicate Faith, they are of Consequence obliged to that of Precept. This implicate Faith of all Believers, is commonly called *the Faith of the Coal-man*, who used to say that he believed all that the Church believed.

I say, 2. That the simple Catholicks are obliged from the Precept of an actual internal Faith to believe, and know explicite almost all that's contained in the Symbol of the Apostles, at least as to the Substance thereof. 2. The Substance of the Precepts of the Decalogue. 3. The Sacraments. 4. The Lord's Prayer, unless they be excused from it, by reason of their Stupidity.

I prove the first Part of my Answer by the canonical Law, the Fathers, and the Practice of the Church.

By the canonical Law, *de consecrat. diffinit.* c. 4. *baptifandor.* where are quoted the Words of the 46 Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, *That those who are to be baptized must learn the Symbol of the Faith; and on Thursday of the last Week should give an Account of it, either to the Bishop or to the Priest.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Leo*, *Serm.* de p. f. St. *Augustin*, *Serm.* 181. *de tempore.* where they say, that the Symbol was composed by the Apostle to the End

that Christians should have a certain Rule of Faith, which they should believe and learn.

From the Practice of the Church admitting no Adult to Baptism, till after they have learned the Symbol.

I have said first, *at least as to the Substance*; for it is not necessary that simple Christians should learn the Symbol Word for Word, as it is commonly read. Neither is it necessary that they should know all the Questions made on those Articles, so as to be capable to answer explicitly to them: But it suffices, that when interrogated, they be capable to say that they believe, that there is a God, one in Nature, and three in Persons, the Creator, and Remunerator of all: That Christ is a true God, and a true Man, the Son of God, conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; has suffered, and is dead; that he rose from the Dead, and ascended into Heaven, from whence he is to come to judge the Quick and the Dead: That there is to be a Resurrection of the Dead, and there is an eternal Life.

I said, secondly, *almost all*, &c. for who would imagine that they are absolutely obliged to believe and know, not only that Christ has suffered, but that, *v. gr.* he has suffered under Pontius Pilate.

I prove the second Part of my Answer, *viz.* that the simple Catholics are obliged to believe explicitly, and know the Precepts of the Decalogue, at least as to the Substance thereof; either because they are obliged to reduce them into Practice, or because they can easily learn them, they being Precepts of the natural Law, and even universal enough.

I say, thirdly, that the Ecclesiasticks, especially Priests and Curates, must still more explicitly believe and know; which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Malach ii. For the Priests Lips should keep Knowledge, and they should keep the Law at his Mouth.* And *Jeremiah ii.* where Priests are reprimanded for their Ignorance; *the Priests said not, where is the Lord? And they that handle the Law knew me not.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. Gregory, *lib. i. pastoral c. i.* and Pope Symmachius in an Epistle to Laurentius, Bishop of Milan; as it is quoted, *cap. vilissimus. i. q. i.* *He is to be accounted most vile, says he, if while he is greater in Honour, he does not endeavour to be greater likewise in Learning and Holiness.*

By Reason; because the Ecclesiasticks, particularly Curates, are obliged to feed their Flock, by teaching them the Christian Doctrine; and therefore must have a greater Knowledge thereof.

I say, fourthly, that Bishops must have a still greater Knowledge of the Faith than the Curates; either because Bishops have succeeded to the Apostles. To whom it is said, *Matt. xxviii. Go ye and teach all Nations, &c. teaching them to observe all Things whatsoever I have commanded you*; or because it belongs to them to protect the Faith, and have a Suffrage in the Councils, assembled to treat of Things relating to Faith.

From what I have said, is discovered the Difference of Condition, between the Sheep and their Shepherd, with regard to Faith and Knowledge.

Our next Question is, *when the Precept of an internal actual Faith, obliges to an Act of Faith, and when the Omission of that Act is sinful?*

Which to answer pertinently, we must observe, 1. That there are two Sorts of Precepts, one *affirmative*, which obliges always to the Practice of the Act, which is commanded, not for every Difference of Time, but only in certain Cases: And the other *negative*, which obliges always, and in every Difference of Time, to abstain from the Act which is forbidden. 2. That there are two Sorts of Obligations of an affirmative Precept; one direct, and of itself, and the other indirect, and by Accident. The first proceeds from the Virtues of Faith, and the second from some other Power. These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That the Precept of an internal actual Faith obliges directly the Infidels to Acts of Faith, when that Faith is sufficiently exposed to them; and obliges those who are baptized, when they have attained the Use of their Reason; and they know sufficiently the Mysteries of the Faith.

To prove the first Part of my Answer, I say, that if

sometimes an affirmative Precept of Faith, has the Faculty to oblige of itself, much more when the Mysteries of our Faith are sufficiently exposed to them, *i. e.* when by the Arguments and Marks of our Faith, the Credibility of our Mysteries appears so, that according to the Rules of Prudence they should be moved to accept the Faith, lest by deferring doing it, they should expose themselves to eternal Damnation.

I prove the second Part, by observing that those who are baptized, have already observed the Habit of Faith, and have promised by their Godfathers and Godmothers, to embrace, profess, and practise the Faith.

We'll ask next, *if every body can be saved in the Faith he professes?* To which I answer, that a great Number of Politicians believe, that the Catholics can be saved in the Catholic Faith, the Lutherans in theirs, and the Calvinists in theirs. Which the greatest Number of Theologians, particularly all the Roman Catholics, explain in two Manners. 1. That all and every one can be saved in his Faith, provided they believe in Christ; according to this of *John iii. 15. That whosoever believes in him should not perish, but have eternal Life.* The Reason is, because whosoever believes the fundamental Articles of Faith can be saved: But believing in Christ is the fundamental Article of the Faith, according to the Apostle, *1 Corint. iii. 11. For other Foundation can no Man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.* Therefore he that believes that Foundation, *i. e.* that believes in Christ, can be saved; and as the Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, &c. believe in Christ, they can all be saved by that Faith.

2. That all and every one can be saved in their Faith, provided they believe the twelve Articles contained in the Symbol of the Apostles. The Reason is, because in those Articles is contained the Sum, or Rule of the whole Christian Faith, according to St. Augustin, *Serm. 135. de temp. The Symbol*, says he, *is the short and grand Rule of your Faith; short by the Number of Words; grand, by the Weight of the Sentences.* But the Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists, believe the twelve Articles of Faith contained in the Symbol; therefore they can be saved by that Faith.

The Catholics pretend that the first Explication can be understood in two Manners; 1. That all can be saved if they believe confusedly in Christ; though they do not believe in particular the principal Mysteries of the Faith. —2. That all can be saved who distinctly believe in Christ, *viz.* believe his Divinity, Humanity, Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Passion, Death, Resurrection, and other Mysteries contained in the Symbol of the Apostles. They say, that if it be understood in the second Manner, it coincides with the last Explication, which I am to give hereafter. But that if it be understood in the first Manner it is false; since it does not suffice to Salvation, to believe confusedly in Christ; otherwise all the Hereticks could be saved, as the Arians, Donatists, Pelagians, and the like: For they all believed in Christ. They say further, that the Conclusion of this Argument is against the Gospel, where they are commanded to gather the Tares into Bundles that it may be burnt, *Matt. xiii. 30.* the Hereticks being the Tares.—2. That if the Catholics could be saved in the Catholic Faith, the Lutherans in the Lutheran, and the Calvinists in the Calvinian; because they all, at least confusedly, believe in Christ; why so many Disputes and Controversies between them? Or why should the Lutherans exclude the Calvinists, and the Calvinists exclude the Catholics and Lutherans from Salvation? For if every one can be saved by Faith in Christ, every one should be allowed to remain in his Faith undisturbed; which notwithstanding does never happen, even among those Nations who are of that Opinion.

Notwithstanding, say they again, the Testimonies of the Scripture, alledged to support the first Explication; for they are not understood of Christ confusedly, but distinctly, and in particular, with regard to particular Mysteries revealed to us, *v. gr.* when Christ said of himself, that all that believe in him shall not perish; he spoke particularly of his Divinity, as it appears from the Context; where we read this; *He that believes in him is not judged, but he that does not believe is already judged, because he does not believe in the Name of the only Son of God*

God. Therefore it does not suffice to believe in *Christ* confusedly; but it is necessary to believe that *Christ* is the only Son of God.

Likewise, when the Apostle said, that *Christ* is the Foundation of the Faith, he spoke of the particular Mysteries of *Christ*; as he explains himself in other Places, viz. of *Christ*'s Divinity, *Rom. i. 4. And declared to be the Son of God.*—Of his Humanity, *Gal. iv. 4. God sent his Son made of a Woman.*—Of his Passion, *1 Cor. i. 23. But we preach Christ crucify'd.*—Of his Death, Burial, and Resurrection, in the same Epistle, *c. xv. 3. For I deliver'd unto you first of all, that which I also received, how that Christ died for our Sins, according to the Scriptures: And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third Day according to the Scriptures.* And lower, *v. 14. And if Christ be not risen, then is our Preaching vain, and your Faith is also vain.*—Of his Ascension, *Ephes. iv. 8. When he ascended up on high, he led Captivity captive.*—Of his Ascension to the right Hand of God the Father, *Col. iii. 1. Seek those Things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right Hand of God.* And of several other Passages, which St. *Athanasius* has all comprised in his Symbol; and at last concludes thus: *This is the Catholick Faith; which unless every one believes faithfully and firmly, he cannot be saved.*

On the last Explication, where this Principle is established, that all can be saved who believe the 12 Articles of Faith contained in the Symbol of the Apostles; the Catholics say, that this Principle is true, with these Limitations, 1. If you believe explicitly all the 12 Articles in their true and genuine Sense. 2. If you believe, at least implicitly, the Articles which are not contained in the Symbol, i. e. if you believe in general all that the Church believes, and be ready to believe in particular all that the Church proposes to be believed. 3. If you have no Error contrary to the true Faith. 4. If you observe God's Commandments. Whence they conclude thus: Those cannot be saved in their Faith, who neither believe explicitly the 12 Articles of their Symbol, in their legitimate Sense, nor are ready to believe the others which the Church proposes, nor renounce the Error contrary to the true Faith, nor keep God's Commandments.

We'll ask next, *If it be lawful to deny the Faith of Christ to avoid Death?*

Eusebius relates in the sixth Book of his History of the Church, *c. 37.* that antiently there were Hereticks who taught, that those committed no Sin, who during the Persecution, denied *Christ* outwardly, provided they confessed him in their Heart. And that was the Sentiment of several Politicians of those Days; and a very bad one it was. 1. Because it is against the Confession of Faith, which obliges us not to deny the Faith of *Christ* which *Jesus Christ* himself affirms, *Matt. x. 32. Whosoever, therefore, shall confess me before Men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before Men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven.* Whence St. *Augustin*, *Tract. 36. in Joan. As much as it is Life to confess Christ, so much it is Death to deny Christ.*

It is besides against the Virtue of Truth to do it, even in the Manner mentioned by *Eusebius*. For Truth forbids us lying; but we lye, if we deny *Christ*, whom we confess inwardly. Hence it follows, that for the same Causes, it is not lawful for a Catholic, to deny himself to be such, 1. Because it would be denying the Faith of *Christ*, which is against the Obligation of the Confession of Faith. 2. It would be a Lye, which is against the Obligation of Truth.

We'll ask next, *If it be lawful to dissemble one's Faith?* To which I answer, that there is a Difference between denying one's Faith, and dissembling or hiding it. Therefore if one is asked by *Jews*, *Turks*, or *Gentiles*, if he be a Christian; if the Person who asks him that Question be in a publick Office, he cannot dissemble, or use ambiguous Terms, but must confess openly, that he is a Christian, even to the Risk of his Life. But if he be asked by a private Person, who has no Right to do it, he can evade it by an ambiguous Answer.

But a Person living among *Gentiles* or Hereticks, can in Time of Persecution, fly or hide himself not to be exposed to give an Account of his Faith, and to avoid Death. According to this of St. *Matt. x. 23. But when they*

persecute you in this City, fly ye into another. Which has been confirmed by St. *Paul*'s Example; who while the Gates of the City were guarded, lest he should escape, was let down in a Basket over the Walls, to facilitate his Flight.

Such a Flight, notwithstanding, is unlawful in some Circumstances, especially in a Pastor or Bishop, who, by Reason of his Office, is obliged to stay among his Flock, in Time of Persecution, even at the Risk of his Life: And that for two Causes, 1. Lest those, under his Conduct, who stay in the Persecution, should be left without a Pastor, whose Presence is then very necessary. 2. For fear the Infidels should despise our Religion, by seeing it deserted by its Pastors, when they should appear in its Defence.

It may be asked next, if it be lawful to pretend to be of another Religion, than that we really profess? Which can be done in two Manners, 1. By Words, as if one should say that he is a *Jew*, a *Turk*, or a *Gentile*, and is not; which is never allow'd, since it is both denying the Faith of *Christ*, and telling a Lie. 2. By outward Signs, as if with Idolaters he should adore an Idol, pray publicly with Hereticks, hear their Sermons, and the like. The Question is thus, if it be lawful for a Christian or a Catholic, living among Infidels or Hereticks, to make Use of those Signs, to hide his Religion, lest he should be killed.

Some are of Opinion, that it is lawful to do it; provided it be done with the Intention of Dissembling only, without any formed Design of professing a false Religion; which Sentiment seems to have been that of St. *Jerom*, who says on the second Chapter of the Epistle to the *Galatians*, that *Disimulation is useful, and must be used in Time.* And excuse the Apostles, who, by Disimulation, observed the *Jewish* Ceremonies, though they were already abrogated and unlawful.

Others use a Distinction; for the external Signs whereby a false Religion can be dissembled, may be reduced to two Chiefs. Some of them are properly and particularly instituted, for the Worship of a false Religion; and others, though they belong properly to Infidels, are, notwithstanding, instituted for another End than that of the Worship. They believe that the former are unlawful, but not the latter.

It could be likewise very well asked in this Place, if it be lawful for a Catholic to dissemble his Religion, to avoid paying double Taxes, &c. which I hope none of them would answer in the Affirmative.

The next theological Virtue, is HOPE, which is a Virtue infused by itself, whereby the Faithful expects with Confidence in this World, the salutary Goods, and in that to come the eternal Beatitude, by the Merits of *Christ*.

The Difference between Hope and Faith, and between the Subject of both, is, that Faith is an Act of the Understanding; and supernatural Hope of the Will.

Hope, in the natural Order, is posterior to Faith. According to the Council of *Trent*, *sess. 6. c. 8.* where Faith is called the Beginning of human Salvation, the Foundation and Root of all Justification. Which is also the Sentiment of St. *Augustin*, in *Enchirid. c. 8.* nothing is hoped for but what is believed.

Which Sentiment is likewise agreeable to Reason, because Hope includes a supernatural Love, if not a perfect one, and of Amity, at least an imperfect one, and of Concupiscence. But every supernatural Love presupposes some supernatural Knowledge of the Thing loved; since Will which is blind, is not inclined towards a Thing unknown. Therefore Hope is in the natural Order, posterior to Faith; and in that Order only; because Hope is prior to Faith in Order of Dignity.

God alone is not only the final Cause, and the Object, at least primary, but likewise the efficient and principal Cause of Hope. Whence *Jeremiah* xvii. *He that confides in Man, is said to be cursed*, i. e. when he confides in him as the primary Cause of his Happiness. Which I say on Purpose, because a Man may confide in another, as in a second Agent, or secondary Cause of the Means which contribute towards eternal Happiness. For one can pray for the other, administer him the Sacraments, exhort him, &c. which the Apostle thought so very true, that in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, he makes

makes no Difficulty to hope in the Prayers of the Saints.

As to the *Gift of Fear*, which is annexed to *Hope*, it may be asked what it is; and how many Sorts of *Fear* there are? Which to answer, pertinently, we must observe, 1. That we mean here that *Fear* only which resides in the rational Appetite; and not that which resides in the sensitive, irascible Appetite. 2. That it is asked here what is that *Fear* which resides in the Will, and how many Sorts; which pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That the *Fear* meant here is commonly defined, *A Motion of the Will, averse to an absent and imminent Evil*.

2. That such a *Fear* is divided into *worldly*, *servile*, *filial*, and *initial*.

A *worldly Fear*, is a Motion of the Will flying a temporal Evil, in committing a Sin. As it happens when any Body through Fear of Death does a Thing forbidden.

A *servile Fear* is avoiding Sin, not because it offends God, but because it is attended with a Punishment.

A *filial Fear*, avoiding Sin, or to offend God, because he is our Father.

An *initial Fear*, is a Motion of the Will avoiding Sin, because it is the Cause of Punishment. This *Fear* is called *initial*, because it becomes those who begin to walk in the Way of God's Commandments, actuated in Part by the Love of Virtue, and in Part by the Fear of Pain.

Of all these different Sorts of *Fear*, none belong to *Hope*, but that which is simply and properly *servile*, because it regards the Flight from Sin to avoid the Evil which is contrary to the Object of *Hope*, i. e. to avoid eternal Damnation, which is contrary to eternal Happiness.

I have said the *Fear* simply *servile*, because *Fear* simply *servile*, does not belong to *Hope*, since it includes some Inclination of doing what is unlawful, if it could be done with Impunity.

We'll ask next, *if every one of those Fears is good?*

To which I answer, that a *worldly Fear* is bad, and forbidden; which I prove by the Scripture, Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Matt. x. Do not fear those that kill the Body, &c.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. Basil, *Hom. 5.* where he calls that *Fear*, *Enemy*.

By Reason, because such a *Fear* diverts Man from his last End. Because he that fears of that Kind of *Fear*, makes no Difficulty to offend God, provided in doing it, he can avoid some Pain, or Incommodity; such was the *Fear* of St. Peter, when he denied Christ.

I answer, 2. That a *servile Fear* is good when considered specifically only, and according to its Substance, i. e. when it is simply *servile*; but bad when reduplicatively *servile*.

I prove the first Part of my Answer by the Scripture, Councils, Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, where we are often invited to that *Fear*, *Matt. iii. O Generation of Vipers, who has warned you to flee from the Wrath to come. And Matt. x. But rather fear him which is able to destroy both Soul and Body in Hell.*

By the Councils, particularly that of Trent. *Sess. 14. c. 2.* where it is said, that the Attrition proceeding from a *Fear* of Hell, if it excludes the Will of Sinning, is a Gift of God, and an Impulse of the Holy Ghost, not inhabiting, but moving only, whereby the Penitent being assisted, he prepares to himself a Way to Justice.

By the Fathers, particularly St. Basil, *Hom. 8. in Psalm 33.* where he says, that such a *Fear* is an Introduction to Piety and Charity. Whence the same Father *Hom. 9. in Psalm 34.* praised that *Fear* as very salutary.

By Reason, because this *Fear* not only does not say an Aversion to the sovereign Good, but is supposed to include no Inclination to Sin: But is likewise some Disposition to Justification and Charity. As St. Augustin insinuates it, *Treat. 9. in Epist. 1 Joan.*

I prove the second Part of my Answer by the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, *lib. de spirit. & lit. c. 31.*

By Reason, because that *Fear* includes some Inclination to Sin; since it includes an Inclination to do what is not lawful, if it could be done with Impunity.

I answer, 3. That a filial *Fear* is good, which I prove by the Scripture, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, which prefers that *Fear* to all other Gifts, *Eccles. xii. There is no greater than he that fears God. Eccles. xxv. How great is he that has found Wisdom and Knowledge, but there is no greater than he that has found the Fear of God. The Fear of God is above all Things.*

By Reason, because this *Fear* includes Charity, and produces several good Fruits, the principal whercof are those that follow, viz.

1. A Hatred of Evil, and Expulsion of Sin, *Prov. viii. The Fear of the Lord is to hate Evil.* Whence St. Ambrose says, *lib. 1. hexam. c. 4. He that fears God declines Error, and directs his Steps towards the Paths of Virtue. For unless one fears God he cannot renounce Sin.*

The second Fruit is a Conversion to a better Life; *Isaiah xxvi. Of thy Fear we have conceived and brought forth a Spirit of Salvation.* Whence St. Augustin says in the Sentences, that the Love and Fear of God induces us to all that's good, and the Love and Fear of the World to all that's bad.

The third Fruit is a Constancy in Temptations, *Proverbs xiv. In the Fear of the Lord is strong Confidence.* Whence St. Cyril on *Isaiah*, speaks thus, *We must believe that the Fear of God is as a strong Wall to the Soul; which is thereby rendered in some measure invincible, &c.*

The fourth Fruit is an Affluence of temporal Goods. *Psalms iii. 4. Fear God all his Saints, because those who fear him are never in want. His Seed shall be powerful on Earth, Glory and Riches in his House.* Whence St. Chrysostom, *Hom. 69. ad Popul. If we have the Fear of God, we want nothing. But if we have it not, though we should be Masters of a Kingdom, we are the poorest of all.*

The fifth Fruit is a true Joy of Heart. *Eccles. 1. The Fear of God shall delight the Heart, and give Pleasure and Joy, and lengthen the Days.*

The sixth Fruit is a certain Confidence, that the Life shall end well. *Proverbs xxiii. Be thou in the Fear of the Lord all the Day long; for surely there is an End, and thine Expectation shall not be cut off.*

From what we have said, it may be inferred, 1. That there is a Difference between a filial and a servile *Fear*; which does not render, notwithstanding that *Fear*, simply *servile*, incompatible with Charity in this Life. Since a Servant can love his Master though he may be punished by him.

2. That the filial *Fear* shall remain in Heaven, tho' the servile *Fear* shall not. For it is written, *Psalms xix. The Fear of the Lord lasts for ever.* Whence St. Augustin, *The Soul*, says he, *when it comes to the Embraces of God, fears, but with Security.*

I answer, 4. that the *initial Fear* is Good. Because, though it has something of the servile *Fear*, it does not, notwithstanding, include it essentially, but has it only as an Adjunct; and therefore does not differ essentially from a filial *Fear*, but only as the imperfect from the perfect, as an initial *Fear*, including a less intense Charity than a filial.

If I be asked in what Sense the *Fear of the Lord* is said to be the Beginning of Wisdom; I'll answer that it is not thus called by Reason of Knowledge. Because, according to St. Augustin, *lib. de Predestinat. Sanct. c. 7.* Faith is given first, whereby all the rest is impetrated; but it is thus called by Reason of Operation, because one acts well, either because he fears God should punish him, or that he should be separated from him.

As to the Object of *Hope*, there is a material One, and the other formal; and each of them admitting of some Difficulty: Therefore we'll ask first what must be established for the material Object of *Hope*? Which to answer pertinently, we must observe, 1. That three Things are to be explained here, 1. What must be established for the adequate material Object of *Hope*. 2. What for the primary inadequate; and 3. What for the partial and less particular material Object.—3. That the adequate

quate Object of an Habit, can be said adequate in two Manners. 1. Purely, simply, absolutely, *viz.* when the Habit considers nothing else but the Object. 2. By Reason of the Attribution only, when it is such that all the rest that occupies such an Habit is referred to it. 3. That the eternal Beatitude can be considered in two Manners. 1. As Objective. 2. As formal; the Objective is God himself, and the Formal is the Possession of God. These preobserved,

I answer, 1. That the Object of Hope, purely, simply, and absolutely adequate, is all absent, arduous, and possible Good, which includes in itself, adequately taken, our supernatural End, and all the Good which can contribute towards the Acquisition thereof; because such a Good not only contains the eternal Beatitude, but all other Good which is a Participation thereof, or have some Relation to it. St. *Augustin* in the *Enchiridion* to *Laurentius*, c. 114. intimates, that that Good taken adequately is contained in the Lord's Prayer; when he says that of all the Things which are to be believed, those pertain only to Hope, which are contained in the Lord's Prayer; *Tertullian*, lib. 2. *de orat.* c. 1. insinuates the same, when he calls the Lord's Prayer, the *Breviary* of the whole Gospel.

I answer, 2. That the eternal Beatitude, as well formal as Objective, is not the adequate Object of Hope, simply, but only the Object of Attribution; because Hope regards something else besides Beatitude. But as it considers that something, in order to obtain the Beatitude; hence it is that the Beatitude is the adequate Object of Attribution of Hope.

I answer, 3. That not only the formal Beatitude, but, likewise, the Objective can be said the primary partial Object of Hope, which I prove by the Scripture and by Reason.

By the Scripture; which proposes sometimes God himself, and sometimes God's Possession for such an Object, *Psalms* cxlii. *Thou art my Hope, O Lord.* Rom. v. *We rejoyce in hope of Glory, according to the Hope of the eternal Life, which God, who never lies, has promised, &c.*

By Reason; because that is the primary partial Object of Love, towards which Hope is particularly employed, and in relation to which he considers all other Things; the eternal Beatitude, both formal and objective being such, as it appears by its being, 1. The Thing which God has promised us above all others. 2. And that which he proposes to us to search above all others by our good Works. *Matt.* vi. *Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and all these Things shall be added unto you.* 3. Because it can principally satiate the Appetite, as it appears from *Psalms* xvii. *I'll be satiated when thy Glory shall appear.*

I answer, 4. That the partial and less principal Object of Faith is all that can serve as a Means either to acquire the eternal Beatitude, or to possess it actually, whether that Means be spiritual and supernatural, or not. Which I prove by the Scripture, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, which proposes several Things to be hoped, distinct from the eternal Beatitude, *Matt.* vi. Christ teaches in the Lord's Prayer what is to be asked and hoped, besides the eternal Beatitude.

By Reason, because what Hope considers and covets, besides the Beatitude, it considers and covets it, with regard to it. Since it is the Property of that Virtue to will the End and the Means.

We'll ask next, *what must be established for the formal Object of Hope?* To which I answer, that the Goodness which is in the Things we hope, inasmuch as it is either our sovereign supernatural Good, which we can obtain by the Assistance of Grace, and through the Merits of Christ; or that it has some Habitudo of Means towards obtaining or preserving that sovereign Good, is the formal Object of Hope.

Because that is the formal Object of Hope, which is the formal Object of the Love of Concupiscence, from which Hope proceeds; Hope being a Motion of the Will pursuing the clear Vision of God, not as he is absolutely good in himself, but as he is relatively good, *i. e.* good to us; but the formal Object of the Love of Concupiscence, from which Hope proceeds, is that Goodness itself of the Things hoped, either as it is our sovereign Good, or as it has some Habitudo of Means towards obtaining, or preserving it; for such Goodness thus con-

sidered, can be the Object of some supernatural Love, *viz.* either of a Love belonging to Charity or to Hope; but is not the Object of a Love belonging to Charity, because such a Love considers its Object as it is good in itself: Therefore it is the formal Object of a Love belonging to Hope. Whence by Consequence it can be said, that the formal Object of a theological Hope, is the Goodness of Things hoped, either as it is our sovereign Good, or as it has some Habitudo of Means towards obtaining or preserving it. For by such an Object Hope is very well understood established in itself, and distinct from all the other theological Virtues.

From Hope I'll pass to *Charity*; which is the last of the theological Virtues, according to the common Manner of reckoning them. And relate first the different Manners of expressing *Charity*, either in the Scripture, or by the Fathers.

1. It is taken for *Beauty and Handsomeness*. 2. For the *Act, or Effect of Charity*. 3. For the *Love of God towards us*. 4. For *God himself*. 5. For the *very Act of Charity, either of God towards us, or of us towards God*. 6. For a *supernatural Habit, raising the Will, and inclining it to love God, of a supernatural Love of Benevolence*.

I'll treat of *Charity* in this Place, according to its fifth and sixth Signification; beginning by explaining what's *habitual* and *actual Charity*. Observing, 1. Previously to it, that I'll be more diffused on the Habit of *Charity* than on the *Act*; since we can easily understand what an *Act* of *Charity* is, when we have a sufficient Knowledge of the Habit. 2. That I'll define here that supernatural *Charity* whereby God is beloved, as Author of Grace and Glory; and not the natural one, whereby he is beloved as the Author of Nature. These pre-observed,

I say, 1. That the *habitual Charity* is commonly defined a theological Virtue infused of itself, whereby God is loved for himself, and our Neighbour for God.

It is called *Virtue*, because the Definition of Virtue becomes it; and it is a special Virtue, because it has a special Object. Notwithstanding that it is the Root of all the Acts which proceed from the other Virtues; as it can be inferred from the Words of the Apostle, *1 Cor.* xiii. *Charity suffers long, and is kind, &c.* because it is not the Root of such Acts, as producing them, but only as commanding them.

It is called *theological*, because it has God both for its material and formal Object.

It is said *infused by itself*; because it cannot be had otherwise than by Infusion; and differs in that from all other Habits infused by Accident. That *Charity* is infused by itself, is proved by the Scripture, *Rom.* v. *The Charity of God is diffused in our Heart, by the Holy Ghost which is given to us.*

It is said, *whereby*; to denote its supernatural elicitive Principle super-added to the Will.

It is said, *is beloved*; to denote the Act of that Habit; for the Act of *Charity* is Dilection, which is nothing else but to will Good to the Person beloved; either by Complaisance, if he possesses already that Good; or by Desire, if he does not possess it yet.

It is said, *God*; to express the material Object: For God is to be loved with all our Heart, and above all Things.

It is said, *for himself*; to indicate the formal Object; which is the Goodness of God, considered in itself without any Regard to us.

It is said, *and our Neighbour*; to shew the secondary material Object of *Charity*; for we must love our Neighbour like ourselves for God's Sake.

If I be asked, what is to be understood by the Word *Neighbour*? I'll answer, that by our *Neighbour* is to be understood every intellectual Creature, which is either already Partaker of the eternal Felicity, or at least capable thereof. Whence it appears that an Angel, and a Blessed, and every Man in this World, even the most vicious, must be reckoned among our Neighbours. Which cannot be said of those that are damned, and of the Devils, who are excluded from the eternal Beatitude by a decretorial Sentence of God.

I say, 2. That *actual Charity* can be defined, an Act of the Will, whereby God is loved for himself; and our Neighbour, like ourselves, for God's Sake.

This

This Definition wants no Explication, since it is well enough understood, by what I have said of habitual Charity.

From what I have said it is inferred, 1. That *Charity* is a true Amity between God and Men. As it appears from the Scripture, which calls the Elect God's Friends, *Psalms cxxxix. Thy Friends, O God, are much honoured. Luke xii. I say to you my Friends. John xv. I'll call you no more Servants, but Friends.* From Reason; because it has all the Conditions of a perfect Amity. For, 1. It is a certain Benevolence by itself, since by it God is loved for himself. 2. It is mutual and reciprocal. 3. It is open, since God knows perfectly well, if we love him; and we know of a moral Certainty, whether God loves us, viz. when we are not conscious of any mortal Sin, which is sufficient; according to the Apostle, *Rom. viii. The Spirit of God witnesseth to our Spirit, that we are the Children of God.* Add, that there is a certain Conversation between God and Man, if not sensible, at least spiritual, as it appears, *John xiv. He that has my Commandments and keeps them, he it is that loves me; and he that loves me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and manifest myself to him.*

2. There may be inferred the Difference between Faith and Charity; Faith being an Act of the Understanding; and Charity an Act of the Will.

3. The Difference between Hope and Charity: For though these two Virtues belong to the Will, they notwithstanding differ in several Things. 1. In that Charity regards Good considered as in itself, i. e. whether it be absent or present: But Hope regards particularly an absent Good. 2. In that Charity banishes Fear; and Hope admits Fear. 3. In that Charity regards a delectable Good; but Hope regards more particularly an arduous Good. 4. In that Charity tends towards God as good in himself, without any Regard to us; and Hope tends towards him as good to us, and Author of our Beatitude: Whence it appears, that Charity includes a Love of Benevolence, and Hope a Love of Concupiscence.

CHARITY, like the other theological Virtues, has two Objects, one *material*, and the other *formal*.

The *material Object* of Charity, purely, simply, and absolutely adequate is God, ourselves and our Neighbour.

God can be called the *inadequate Object* of Charity, but *primary*, because Charity regards God first, and loves nothing but for his Sake. The Reason whereof is, that God's Goodness, which is the Object of Charity, is essential and infinite, containing all other Goodness. Whence it is not surprizing, if the Precept of loving God is laid down by Christ himself, as the first and greatest Precept, *Mark xii.*

The less principal inadequate Object of Charity, is either our Neighbour or ourselves. Because Charity regards our Neighbour or ourselves, but in a second Instance; whence the Precept of loving our Neighbour is called by Christ the second Precept.

The *adequate Object* of Charity, is all that's good, as well natural as supernatural, which contains in itself, and under itself, all the Things, which, as God's Good can be loved for his Sake. Because the adequate Object of Charity is all the Good we will to a Person, for God's Sake, whether it be God himself, or our Neighbour, or ourselves; notwithstanding that such an Object be a created Object; because that does not hinder it from being God's Good, and from contributing towards his Glory.

If I be asked, if a Man can love himself? I'll answer in the Affirmative; because according to both his Parts Man is capable of Beatitude, but in a different Manner; primarily as to his Soul, and secondarily as to his Body. Whence he is primarily amiable by reason of his Soul; and secondarily, by reason of his Body.

As to the *formal Object* of Charity. The essential and infinite Goodness of God considered in itself, i. e. without any Regard to us, is the formal Object of Charity, because God's Goodness considered thus, is what directs Charity towards God, our Neighbour, and us: For we love God for himself, i. e. for his sovereign, infinite, and essential Goodness; and we love our Neighbour and ourselves, for his Sake; or for the Goodness we have from him by Participation, and which shines in our Neighbour and us.

As to the *different Acts, Effect, and the Excellence of Charity*: We'll ask first, *which are the Acts of Charity?* Which to answer pertinently, we must observe, 1. That the Act of Charity is either internal or external.—2. That both those Acts are either of Prosecution, or of Aversion, or of Slight.—3. That the Act of Charity can be considered besides in two Manners, viz. either as elicited, or commanded. The elicited is that which proceeds immediately from Charity itself. And the commanded, is that which proceeds from another Habit, but still by a Motive of Charity; such is an Act of spiritual or corporal Mercy. These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That the *principal internal Act of Charity is Dilection*. Because the principal Act of Charity is that whereby we will, inwardly, Good either to God, or to us, or to our Neighbour.

I answer, 2. That the said internal Act of Charity can be divided into a triple Act, viz. into a Love of Benevolence, of Desire, and of Complaisance or Joy, because we either will, or wish Good to the Person beloved, without considering whether the Good be present or absent, and thus it is a Love of Benevolence; or we wish him a present Good which he has not, and thus it is a Love of Desire, which if it be inefficacious, is called a simple Desire; and if efficacious, Dilection: Or we wish him a Good which he has already, and thus it is a Love of Joy, since he is supposed to rejoice in such a Good present, and possessed.

I answer, 3. That to the triple Act of Prosecution answers a triple Act of Flight or Aversion. The first is of Hatred, the second of Fear, and the third of Sorrow. Because as by a triple Act of Prosecution, we will Good to the Person beloved, for God's Sake: Likewise by a triple Act of Flight we are averse to the Evil opposite to that Good in the Person beloved; and we are averse to it for God's Sake.

I answer, 4. That the external Act of Charity towards God, is the same Dilection, as manifested outwardly. This wants no Proof, since it is evident enough from what we have said.

I answer, 5. That there are three Sorts of external Acts of Charity towards our Neighbour, viz. *Beneficence, Alms, and fraternal Correction*. Because we either do good to our Neighbour from an internal Affection of Charity, i. e. we actually, and in fact do him some good Office, and thus it is a Beneficence: Or we relieve him in his Misery, from a Motive of Charity which is Alms: Or we endeavour to recall him from his licentious, disorderly, or criminal Life, which is fraternal Correction.

If I be asked, *which are the Effects of Charity?* I'll answer, that of a great Number of Effects of Charity, these are to be esteemed the greatest. 1. *It gives Life and Merit to the other Virtues.*—2. *It carries off Sins and Imperfections.*—3. *It protects in a particular Manner those who have it, and renders them worthy of the reciprocal Love of God, and of the eternal Life.*—4. *If it be perfect, it so strengthens the Friend as to render it intrepid.*—5. *It renders Christ's Yoke easy, and light.*—6. *It contributes to the Perfection of him that has it.*

I prove the first Part, viz. that it gives Life and Merit to all the other Virtues, since it is not only the Mother, but the Queen of them all. That it is the Mother appears from the Scripture, *Wisdom iv. All Things are likewise come to me along with it.* That it is the Queen, and in that Quality gives all the other Virtues Dignity and Merit, is also constant from the Scripture, *1 Cor. xiii. Though I speak with the Tongues of Men, and of Angels, and have not Charity, I am become as sounding Brass, or a tinkling Cymbal.—And though I bestow all my Goods to feed the Poor; and though I give my Body to be burned, and have not Charity, it profits me nothing.*

I prove the second Part, that it carries off Sins and Imperfections; by its being thus wrote of *Magdalen, Luke vii. Her Sins, which are many, are forgiven, because she loved much.* 1 *Peter iv. For Charity covers a Multitude of Sins.* But how does it cover it? Not to remain, but to be carried off, says St. Augustin, on these Words of *Psalms xxxii. Blessed are they whose Iniquities are remitted, and whose Sins are covered.*

I prove the third Part, viz. that it protects those in whom it is found, and renders them worthy of the reciprocal Love of God, and of the eternal Life. For it is wrote, *Psalms cxli. That God guards those that love him.*

Prov.

Prov. viii. I love those that love me. John xiv. He that loves me shall be loved by my Father, and I'll love him, and manifest myself to him.

I prove the fourth Part, *viz. that if the Charity be perfect, it strengthens the Soul so as to render it intrepid.* According to *John iv. Perfect Charity casteth out Fear*: because Fear has Torment: He that fears is not perfect in Charity. Whence it is not surprizing if the Martyrs offered themselves to their Persecutors without Fear.

I prove the fifth Part, *viz. that Charity renders Christ's Yoke easy and light.* Because it fills the Soul with Satisfaction and Joy; whence they delight in the Observance of the Law of Christ; *Galat. v. And the Fruit of the Spirit is Justice, and Peace, and Joy.*

I prove the sixth Part, *viz. that it renders perfect the Person who has it*; because it transforms him by a spiritual and moral Transformation into God; *1 John iv. God is Charity; and he that dwells in Charity, dwells in God, and God in him.*

As to the Excellence, and Utility of Charity, as well habitual as actual; we have no need to dwell long on that Subject, since both are evident enough from what we have said already: For what can be more excellent than that Virtue, which we have said to be the End of all Precepts, the Soul of all Virtues, and the Perfection of all God's Gifts? What is more excellent than that Act of Virtue, which not only unites Man intimately to God, but even transforms him into God, in the Manner we have said? What is more useful, which, as already observed, is the Mother of all others; and the Act thereof is, above all others, meritorious of the eternal Life? And lastly, which is more useful than that Virtue, without which, according to *St. Augustin*, all others are of no Service?

As to the Necessity of Charity, we'll ask first, *if, and which Charity is necessary of a Necessity of Means towards God?*

To which I answer, that habitual Charity is necessary of Necessity of Means, as well to Infants as to Adults. Because without the habitual Charity, neither Infants nor Adults can obtain eternal Life; since without that Charity they cannot be agreeable and dear to God.

I answer, 2. That the actual Charity either internal or external, is not necessary of a Necessity of Means to Infants. Because Infants having not yet attained the Use of Reason, are not capable to produce such an Act.

I answer, 3. That actual Charity is necessary of a Necessity of Means to Adults; because Adults cannot be saved without some Act of Dilection towards God: As it may be inferred from Christ's Answer to the Lawyer, who asked him what he should do to obtain eternal Life; to whom the Lord said, *How do you read?* And the Lawyer answering, that it was written, *Thou shalt love thy God, &c.* Jesus told him, *do that and thou shalt live.* And if that be necessary to live of a spiritual and supernatural Life, it is not surprizing that it is said in the first of *St. John iii. That he that loves not remains in Death.*

We'll ask next, *if, and which Charity towards God, is necessary of a Necessity of Precept?* To which I answer, 1. That there is a special Precept of loving God, by an internal Act of Dilection. According to the Scripture, *Deut. vi. and Matt. xxii. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, &c. which is the greatest and first Commandment.*

I answer, 2. That the Precept of Charity towards God obliges only those who have attained the Use of Reason: Because the Act of Dilection requires an Act of the Understanding; since the Will is blind of itself, and cannot love what it does not know.

We'll ask next, if there be a Precept of an actual Charity to love one's Neighbour, by an Act of Dilection, both internal and external, whether he be our Friend or our Enemy?

To which I answer, that there is a Precept to love our Neighbour in a natural Manner, but by a supernatural Act of an internal Dilection: Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason,

By the Scripture, *Matt. xxii. Love your Neighbour like yourself.* *1 John iv.* and this Commandment have we from him, that *he who loves God, loves his Brother also.* If I be asked what signifies this Particle, *like*? I'll an-

swer with *St. Jerom*, that it signifies only some Similitude, but not all Sorts of Equality.

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin, Lib. de Doct. Christ. c. 28.* where he says, that all Men are to be loved by Affection: But as they cannot all be loved effectually, we must love those whom Fate has joined with us.

By Reason; because there is a Precept of the Preparation of the Mind towards wishing well, and doing well to our Neighbour, which Precept consists in some interior Affection of Love: Therefore there is a Precept of loving our Neighbour by an inward and supernatural Act of Dilection. And that Precept is inseparable from that of loving God. For according to *St. John i. 4. He that says that he loves God, and hates his Brother, is a Liar, and there is no Truth in him.* The Conduct of the Jesuits would make one believe, that they look on this Passage as apocryphal.

I answer, 2. That from a Precept of Charity, we are obliged to an inward and positive Dilection of our Enemies; which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Matt. v. Love your Enemies, bless them that curse you, &c. For if ye love them only that love ye, what Reward have ye?*

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin*; there is nothing more marvellous, says he, in God's Commandments, but what is commanded to love our Enemies.

By Reason, because while our Enemies are in this World, they are capable of the eternal Beatitude; and as such must be loved.

If I be asked, for what Reason are Enemies to be loved by a Precept of Charity? I'll give for Answer the Doctrine of *St. Clement of Alexandria, 4. Stromat.* where he explains that Precept: *To love our Enemies*, says he, *is not to love the Evil, or Impiety, Adultery, or Theft; but the Thief, the Impious, and the Adulterer, not for his Sins, but for his being a Man, and the Work of God.*

It may be asked, if the Precept of loving our Enemies is natural? Which I answer in the Affirmative; since it existed in the Old Testament; notwithstanding what we read *Matt. v.* taken from the 10th of *Leviticus. Ye have heard that it has been said, thou shalt love thy Neighbour, and hate thy Enemy*; for that was not said by God, but was falsely added by the Scribes.

As to the Precept of giving Alms; we'll ask, 1. *If, and which is the Precept that obliges to give Alms, and when it obliges?*

To which I answer, that there is a Precept to give Alms, which obliges capitally; which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, which insinuates it, *Matt. xxv. Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels. For I was hungry, and ye gave me no Meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no Drink. And 1 John iii. But whose hath this World's Goods, and sees his Brother have Need, and shuts up his Bowels of Compassion from him, how dwelleth the Love of God in him?*

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Ambrose, Lib. de Nabut. c. 22. You pay a Debt, you do not make a Present.*

By Reason, because that Precept obliges capitally the Violation thereof is a great Breach of Charity; such as is the Violation of the Precept which obliges to give Alms.

If I be asked, when that Precept obliges? I'll answer, that it obliges when we know that our Neighbour is in Want; and we have something superfluous of our own; which Superfluity I'll explain hereafter.

Our next Question is, *who is obliged by Precept to give Alms; and of what Goods?* Which to answer pertinently, we must observe, 1. That the Goods which are in a Man's Possession are either necessary for his Subsistence, or for the Decency of his Condition, or are superfluous to him. 2. That the Necessity of the Indigent can be considered in three Manners. The first is called *common*, such is that of the Poor who beg from Door to Door. The second is *hard*, which is found in those who have not wherewith to maintain the Decency of their Condition, nor can have it, but with a great Detriment of their Honour, Safety, or of Goods lawfully acquired, though they can absolutely supply their Want, with some Shame,

with

with Regard to their Condition, either by working or begging. The third is called *Periculosum*, and is in those, who unless they be assisted, are in an imminent Danger of perishing. These pre-observ'd,

I answer, 1. That *whoever has something superfluous, is obliged to give Alms to the Poor*; which I prove by the Scripture, by the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Luke iii.* where *John the Baptist* speaks thus to the Multitudes that followed him. *He that hath two Coats, let him give to him that hath none, and he that has Meat, let him do likewise.* *Luke ii.* Of what remains, says Christ, *give Alms.*

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Basil, Hom. 7.* But you, (says he to the Rich, who did not give Alms, but were avaricious) *are you not Spoilers, by reputed your own, what you have only receiv'd to husband? It is the Bread of the Famished, that you keep from them; the Coat of the Naked, which you keep shut up in your Wardrobe; and the Shoe of the Bare-foot, which grows mouldy in your House; and the Money of the Indigent that you keep buried.*

By Reason, because by the Law of Nature the Poor must be reliev'd of superfluous Goods; which the afore-said holy Fathers declare, when they call the Rich, *Stewards only of their Goods.* Notwithstanding what may be said, that they only speak with Regard to an extream Necessity: They speak of that Necessity which is common enough.

From what we have said, it may be easily inferred, that not only the Rich are obliged to assist the Poor, but likewise the Physicians attend poor Patients, Counsellors, and Attorneys, serve poor Clients, &c. Therefore let the Rich fear the unhappy Fate of him mention'd in the Parable, *Luke xvi.* who is in Hell for having refused to relieve *Lazarus* in his Misery.

I answer, 2. That *Alms are to be given of one's own proper Goods, and not of those of others, or unjustly acquired.* Which I prove by the Scripture, by the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Tobit iv.* Give Alms of your own Substance. *Eccles. xxxiv.* He that offers a Sacrifice of the Substance of the Poor, is like to one who should sacrifice a Son in his Father's Presence. *Isaiah lviii.* Break thy Bread to the Hungry.

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Ambrose, Lib. 1. de Offic. c. 30.* That Liberality is not approved, if what is given to me, be extorted from the other: If he acquires unjustly, what he thinks to distribute justly. *St. Augustin, Hom. 27.* of the 50 Homilies, God has commanded that we should give of our just Labours, but has forbid to give of Rapine. And *St. Gregory, in Regist. Epist. 110.* That Alms are agreeable to our Redeemer, which are given not of unlawful Things, and unjustly accumulated, but of Things given, and justly acquired.

By Reason, because it is not allowed to dispose of another's Goods, or to transfer the Property thereof to another, without the Proprietor's Leave; which is the Case of those who give Alms of another's Property. Add, that Goods unjustly acquired must be returned to the right Owner. Since Justice obliges us to return every one his own.

We'll ask next, *to what Persons Alms are to be given by Precept?* Which to answer pertinently, we must observe, 1. That something can be said superfluous in two Manners, viz. of Nature, and of the State of Decency. 2. That a Man can be likewise in three Kinds of Necessity, viz. common, grievous, and extream. And, 3. That the Superfluous must be consider'd with Respect to the Necessity of the Indigent. These pre-observ'd,

I answer, 1. That *a Man is not obliged by the Precept of Charity to give Alms, but to those who are really Indigents, or in Want.* Because the Scripture speaks only of the Alms to be given to the Poor, i. e. to the Indigent.

If I be asked what we are to do, when we doubt if the Person who calls himself indigent, be really in Want? I'll answer, that we must judge then in Favour of the Indigent, as *St. Augustin* insinuates it, *Epist. 149. in receiving Strangers,* says he, *it is better to receive the Bad, than, perhaps, by Ignorance exclude the Good.*

I answer, 2. That *by the Precept of Charity, Alms are to be given, not only to our Relations, Friends, and the Honest, but likewise to Foreigners and Sinners:* Which I prove

by the Scripture, and by Reason. *Tobit 4.* Do not turn thy Face from any Poor: And *Prov. xxv.* If thy Enemy is hungry, feed him, &c.

By Reason; because if all Men, without Distinction, are our Neighbours, we are obliged, therefore, to relieve them by Alms, when they are in Indigence: Which Sentiment is against *Wickliff.*

I may be asked, *what we must think of Magistrates, and of Overseers, who hunt the Poor from one Town, or from one Parish into another?*

I'll answer, that they can justly do it, in the following Cases. 1. If the City or Parish, cannot relieve both the foreign and domestick Poor, for then the domestick are to be preferred. 2. If there be just Reason to suspect, that the foreign Poor bring contagious Distempers, or the like. 3. If foreign Poor be sturdy and strong, and can get a Livelihood by working: But not when the foreign Poor are so entirely destitute, that they are ready to perish for Want; or are so much afflicted with some Malady or other, that in removing them their Life is in imminent Danger; for if they die, then those who have thus hunted them, are guilty of Murder before God. Neither is it any Excuse for those Monsters, who having nothing human but their outward Form, move dead Carcasses from one Parish into another, that they may not be at the Charge of burying them.

The Doctrine of Charity, with Regard to giving Alms to the Poor, who really want it, share the Fate in our Age of all the others which are conducive either to our Salvation, or to the publick Good, or to both, i. e. that it is consider'd as a Romance by the Generality of Mankind; for though there is still amongst us a great Number of Persons that give Alms, most of them do it by a Motive of Ostentation, and most commonly to those who want it less; and what's worse, is that sometimes those appointed for the Distribution of these Alms, appropriate them to their own Use; and the most conscientious among them, think they have discharged their Office, when they have given a twentieth to the Poor of what they receive. The same may be said of Hospitals, which though extreamly well founded in England, the laudable and generous Intentions of the Founders, are frustrated by the scandalous Parcimony of the Managers, who receive seldom into them any others, but those who can make Friends for it; and shut the Gates thereof with an Inhumanity which irritates Heaven and Earth, against those they were open'd for at first.

I answer, 3. That *he who has something superfluous to his Subsistence, though it be necessary to the Decency of his Condition, is obliged to relieve a Man reduced to an extream Necessity; unless by doing it he exposes himself to the imminent Danger of being reduced himself to the same miserable Condition.*

Because the natural Reason dictates that the Life of our Neighbour is preferable to the Decency of our Condition.

There is a French Minister belonging to a French Church in the City, who practises this to that Degree of Perfection, scarce to be paralleled in the Infancy of Christianity; for he does not only relieve the Poor of what is superfluous to his Subsistence, but incroaches very often on that Subsistence; exceeding even all the Precepts and Advices of the Scripture on that Subject; for he does not always wait to have two Coats to give one of them to cover the Naked; but often does it with the only one he has left, changing thereby Condition with them; and that without the least Affectation, or Hypocrisy; for he does it with that Cheerfulness and Satisfaction, as if he knew no other Pleasure than that of heaping up Treasure in Heaven, by making the Poor sole Depositories of what he has here upon Earth. I mention this with no other View, than to engage those of the same Profession to follow his Example; not in every Particular, for our Age is not worthy of a great Number of such truly apostolical Men, but only in some Cases; and as a Prodigy of the Age we live in.

I answer, 4. That *he that has something superfluous to the Decency of his Condition, is obliged in Conscience to relieve a Man who is in a great Necessity:* Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *2 Cor. viii.* In the present Time, let your

your Abundance supply their Indigency, (viz. of the Poor.)

By the Fathers, particularly St. Ambrose, *Lib. 1. de offic.* It is a great Sin to know that a Faithful wants, and not relieve him; if you know that he is hungry, is in Distress; particularly if he be ashamed to beg.

By Reason; because when the Scripture, and the Fathers speak of the Necessity of the Poor, for which Alms are to be given them of the Superfluous, they speak, particularly, of a great Necessity, and of the Superfluous to the Decency of our Condition.

We'll ask next, *if a Man is obliged to love himself better than his Neighbour?* Which to answer pertinently, we must observe, 1. That one can love one's self better than another in three Manners, viz. *objectively, intensively, and appretatively.* — 2. That there can be made three Comparisons of one with the other. 1. In Goods corporal, or temporal only. 2. In Goods purely spiritual of one Part, and temporal of the other. 3. That of Goods purely spiritual, some are necessary to Salvation, such are the justifying Grace, Perseverance, Faith, Hope, Charity; and some are not necessary to Salvation, such are the Gift of Chastity, the State of Religion, &c. 4. That two Things can be consider'd in Man, viz. the Body and the Soul. These pre-observ'd,

I answer, 1. That a Man is not obliged to love himself neither more extensively nor objectively than his Neighbour. Because if he was obliged to it, it would be either by a Love of Complaisance, or of Benevolence; and he is by neither of them; not by a Love of Complaisance, because often the Good which our Neighbour is Master of, is greater than that we possess; nor by that of Benevolence, since we are obliged by no Precept to wish ourselves more good than we do our Neighbour, unless it be in Case of Necessity: Therefore, &c.

I answer, 2. *That a Man is obliged to love himself better appretatively than his Neighbour, with Regard to spiritual Goods, at least those which are necessary to Salvation.* Which I prove by the Scripture and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Matt. xvi. What avails a Man if he gains the whole World, and loses his Soul? Or what shall a Man give in Exchange for his Soul?*

By Reason; because what is laid down for a Rule to love another, is more to be minded, than what is regulated; but the Love of ourselves is laid down for a Rule of the Dilection of our Neighbour. According to *St. Matt. xxii. Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thyself.* Whence it is commonly said Charity begins at Home, and every one is his own Neighbour: Therefore a Man is obliged to prefer himself to his Neighbour, at least in Things which belong to Salvation.

I answer, 3. *That a Man is not obliged to love himself more appretatively than the Community, with Regard to temporal Goods.* Because the Good of a Community is of much more Value, than a private Good; therefore it must be preferred.

I answer, 4. *That it is more probable that a Man is obliged to love himself more appretatively than his Neighbour, with Regard to temporal Goods, v. gr. the Preservation of his own Life.* Which I prove by the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, *Lib. de mendac. ad Consent. c. 6.* If any Body, says he, for the temporal Life of another, loses his own temporal Life; it is not loving him like himself, but it is loving him more than himself, which exceeds the Rule of sound Doctrine.

By Reason; because our own Dilection is the Rule of the Dilection of our Neighbour: Therefore as the Rule is of a greater Weight than the Thing regulated, in a Parity of temporal Goods, a Man ought to love himself more appretatively than his Neighbour. Hence it follows, that a Man in an extream Necessity is more obliged to provide for himself than for another; which Sentiment, though probable, is notwithstanding contradicted by the Conduct of that truly apostolical Man, the French Minister heretofore mentioned.

I answer, 5. *That a Man is more obliged to love the spiritual Life of his Neighbour, than his own temporal one, in a Case of Necessity; and thus is obliged to expose his Life for the Salvation of his Neighbour, if he can do it efficaciously.* Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *John xv. This is my Commandment that ye love one another, as I have loved you. Greater Love has no Man than this, that he may lay down his Life for his Friends, 1 John iii. Hereby perceive we the Love of God, because he laid down his Life for us: And we ought to lay down our Lives for the Brethren.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, *lib. de mendac. ad consent. c. 6.* Christ, says he, has made no Difficulty to lose his temporal Life, for the eternal Life of his Neighbour.

By Reason; because the Salvation of our Neighbour, is a Good of a superior Order; whence it follows, that not a Pastor only, but every Christian is obliged to expose his temporal Life, in case of Necessity, and if he can do it efficaciously, for the Salvation of his Neighbour.

I say in case of Necessity, and when he can do it efficaciously; because, 1. No body is obliged to give either a corporal or spiritual Alms, but to those who are in Necessity. And, 2. No body is obliged to a needless Act.

We'll ask next, *if a Man is obliged to love one Neighbour more than another?* Which to answer pertinently, we must consider, 1. That those Men who are called our Neighbours, may be considered either as Strangers, or in some Manner near to us. 2. That we can establish here three Sorts of Relations: The first is called the Relation of Blood, and is that between Parents and their Children, Brothers and Sisters, in a Word between all Consanguines. The second is called political, which is found, v. gr. between Friends, Fellow-Citizens, Fellow-Soldiers, Copartners in Commerce, School-Fellows, &c. The third is called spiritual, such as that which is between the Faithful; whom the Apostle *Galat. vi.* and *1 Tim. iii.* calls *the Domesticicks* of the Faith; or between Religious of the same Order, or between a Rector and his Parishioners. 3. That Goods are either temporal or spiritual, as already observed. 4. That of temporal Goods, some belong to Riches, some to Reputation and Honour, and some to the corporal Life. 5. That of those Goods some belong to the Union of Blood, some to the political Union, and some to the spiritual. 6. That the Comparisons of Goods and Persons can be made in two Manners, 1. By putting all Things on a Parity; as when, v. gr. our Neighbours are in an equal Necessity, and the Goods they are to be relieved with are of the same Order. 2. In putting them on a Disparity, as when, v. gr. our Neighbour is in a different Necessity, or when the Goods they are to be relieved with are of a different Order; for Example, when one of those Goods is corporal and the other spiritual. 7. That it is not so much question here of the greater Dilection, either objectively as intensively, as of the greater Dilection appretatively. These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That, *ceteris paribus*, a Man is obliged to love better appretatively, and prefer his Relations to Strangers; which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *1 Tim. v. But if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own House, he hath denied the Faith, and is worse than an Infidel.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, *lib. 1. de doctrin. christ. c. 28.* you must mind those particularly who are nearer to you.

By Reason; because this Order is more agreeable to the Inclination of Charity: Though I do not pretend, that we are obliged to ruin ourselves, or our Children, to relieve Relations, who have sometimes nothing but the Name of Relations; and who, far from promoting our Interest, do all they can to undermine us, and reduce us to the same Distress, and perhaps a greater than that they are in: For,

I answer, 2. That in Cases of Necessity, we are to prefer our own Children, to Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, and Sisters: And after them our Fathers and Mothers, and thus progressively.

As to the Vices opposed to the Charity we are to have for our Neighbour; among a great Number of them, the principal are, Hatred, Envy, Contention, &c.

With regard to Hatred, we must observe, 1. That there are two Sorts of it, viz. one of Abomination, and the other of Enmity. 2. That it is particularly asked here, 1. If all Hatred of our Neighbour be a Sin? 2. What kind of Sin be that Hatred, which is contrary

to Charity. These pre-observed,

I say, that *all Sort of Hatred is not a Sin of Abomination*: For to hate Evil in a Person, is so far from being a Sin, that it is rather an Act of Virtue.

If I be asked, when that Hatred, which is called Hatred of Abomination, is a Sin? I answer, that it is a Sin, when one hates a Quality in another, which is not to be hated; as when, for Example, he hates another because he is a Christian or a pious Man.

I say, 2. That a *Hatred of Enmity* is contrary to the Virtue of Charity, and a mortal Sin; when, for Example, one wishes another ill, because he hates his Person: Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, 1 *John* ii. *He that hates his Brother is in Darkness*: By Darkness is commonly understood a mortal Sin: 1 *John* iv. *If any body say that he loves God, and hates his Brother, he is a Liar*.

By the Fathers, particularly St. Gregory, *lib. 10. moral. c. 18. every Sin pollutes the Life of the Soul, says he, but a Rancour against our Brother kills it*.

By Reason; because every Sin, especially that opposed to Charity, is mortal in its Kind; for it deprives Men of Charity, which is the Life of the Soul.

As to *Envy*.—We must observe, that four Things may be asked with regard to it: First, what *Envy* is. Secondly, what Sin it is? Thirdly, what Effect it produces? Fourthly, how it can be remedied. These pre-observed,

I say, 1. That *Envy* is commonly defined an inordinate Sorrow of the Good happened to our Neighbour, inasmuch as we believe it detrimental to our own Conscience.

1. It is called *Sorrow*, because by Envy a Man is afflicted of the Evil which he thinks happens to him from the Good of another.

2. It is called *inordinate*, to distinguish it from the Sorrow of another's Good, which is in Order, and of which I'll speak in the Sequel.

3. It is said, *of the Good of another as a proper Evil*; because under that particular Reason alone, Sorrow produces Envy; and not under several others, whereto a Man is afflicted, either justly or unjustly of the Good of another, *viz.*

1. When any Body is afflicted of the Good of his Neighbour, because he fears hence some Evil to him or to his: As when, for Example, one is sorry that such a Person is chosen for a Magistrate or Judge. If I be asked, *whether that kind of Sorrow is a Sin*? I'll answer by a Distinction; *negatively*, if he has any Reason to believe that thereby some Injustice will be done to him: But *affirmatively*, if he fears that some Evil will happen to him justly, as when, for Example, a Thief or a Murderer is sorry that a Person of Probity and Integrity is made a Judge.

2. When any Body is sorry of the Good of another, for Example, of his Learning, Zeal, and the like, for no other Reason than that he has not the same Perfections: For that Sorrow being only an Emulation is not bad, as if it was not of temporal Goods; for it is then either bad or indifferent, according to the Motive.

3. When a Man is sorry of the Good of another, because he thinks him unworthy of that Good, that Sorrow is commonly called Indignation; and can be sometimes good and sometimes bad. Good if it is with Foundation, and from a good Motive; and bad, if otherwise.

4. When any Body is sorry of the Good of another, because he hates him; which Sorrow is criminal.

5. When any Body is sorry of the temporal Good of another, because he considers it as an Obstacle to his Salvation; which Sorrow is just.

6. When any Body is sorry of another's Good, because it is unlawfully acquired, for Example, to the Detriment of a private Person, or of the Community: This Sort of Sorrow is good, because it proceeds from a Zeal of Justice.

I say, 2. That *Envy* in general is a mortal Sin; which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Job* v. *And Envy slayeth the silly one*.

By the Fathers, particularly St. Chrysostom, *homil. 44.* to the People of *Antioch*, where he speaks thus, *the Envious are worse than wild Beasts, sembable to Devils; and perhaps worse*.

By Reason; because a Sin opposed to Charity is mortal, since Charity is the Life of the Soul, 1 *John* iii. *We know that we have passed from Death into Life, because we love the Brethren*: But Envy is opposed to Charity; therefore, &c.

I say, 3. That *Envy is a capital Vice*; because several other Vices flow from it as from a Source, *viz.* Hatred, Detraction, Calumny, &c.

If I be asked how Envy can be remedied; I'll answer in three principal Manners.

1. By *Humility*; for according to St. Augustin, in *Psaln* cxix. *Envy is the faithful Companion of Pride*; whence it is impossible that a proud Man should not be envious; but on the contrary Envy is called the Daughter of Pride, by St. Prosper, *lib. 3. vitæ contempl. c. 9.*

2. By the *Love of eternal Life*; which cannot be truly loved, unless we love at the same Time those who are already in Possession thereof, or are capable to possess it: Whence St. Gregory, *lib. 5. moral. c. 34.* *He that wants to be without Sin, must love that Inheritance which does not straiten the Number of the Coheirs, which is one and the same for all, and entire for every one.*

3. By the *Example of those who suffer through Envy*: For who can consider attentively Envy, for which Lucifer, with the apostate Angels; Cain, Esau, Saul, and the Jews have perished, without abhorring it.

As to *Discord*.—We must observe, 1. That by the Name *Discord* is generally understood a Diffension of Will and Judgment.—2. That *Discord* can be taken in two Senses, first, in general for any Diffension, whether it be opposed to Charity, or to other Virtues, especially for that which is opposed to Charity.—3. That *Discord* is opposed to Charity in two Manners; first, by itself. Secondly, by Accident: For a Person is reckoned to be at Variance with another Person, when, knowingly, he differs from the divine Good, and from his Neighbour in what he should agree: And, *per accidens*, when the Intention of both, though tending equally to the Honour of God, or the Ability of our Neighbour, one of them, notwithstanding esteems that a Good, which the other considers otherwise.—4. That with regard to *Discord*, particularly opposed to Charity, four Things are asked here: First, what it is? Secondly, what Sin it is? Thirdly, whence it proceeds? Fourthly, how it can be cured. These pre-observed,

I say, 1. That the *Discord* meant here, is commonly defined an inordinate Disagreement of the Will from the Will of another, with whom he should agree by a Motive of Charity.

I say, 2. That *Discord* is in its Kind a mortal Sin, which I prove by the Scripture, by the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Proverbs* vi. *There are six Things which God hates, and the seventh his Soul abominates, viz. he that sows Discord among his Brethren.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. Gregory Nazianzen, in *orat. de macerat. in disputat.* *What is finer in our Doctrine, says he, than Peace; and I add also, more useful? On the contrary, what is more shameful and pernicious than Disagreement of Will?*

By Reason; because all Sin opposed to Charity, is, in its Kind, mortal, for the Reason alledged in the preceding Articles: But *Discord* is contrary to Charity, since it is contrary to Peace, which is an Act or Effect of Charity: Therefore, &c.

I say, 3. That the *Discord* meant here is the Daughter of Vain-glory and Pride; because the Disagreement of Wills proceeds from that a Man prefers his own to what belongs to others.

From what we have said already on this Subject, it is inferred, 1. That all sort of Diffension is not a Sin, but is sometimes lawful; for Example, when two Persons are at Law to defend their Right: For one can differ from the other, provided he does not want to do him any Injury.

2. That all Diffension which is a Sin is not contrary to Charity; but sometimes to other Virtues; and is specified from them.

3. That those Remedies are to be applied to that Vice, whereby Vain-glory is commonly cured and extirpated.

As to *Contention*.—It must be observed, 1. That *Contention* can be taken in two Manners, 1. Widely, for any

Discord whatever. 2. Properly, for a certain Contrariety in Judgments and Words, or for a Conflict of Words. 2. That all Sorts of Contention is not contrary to Charity; but can likewise be opposed sometimes to other Virtues; viz. to Faith, when it is in some Things which one is obliged to believe, to Prudence, when contrary to Things of Practice, without any reasonable Foundation; or to Justice; if it opposes any Thing belonging to Justice: And is contrary to Charity, when one directly differs from another in Sentiment, with a Design to contradict him. 3. That we'll examine here three Things relating to Contentions. 1. What it is, 2. What Sin it is. 3. Whence it proceeds. 4. And how to be cured. These pre-observ'd,

I say, 1. That the Contention meant here is commonly defined, *a Diffention, or Altercation of Words with our Neighbour, against Truth, to oppose that Truth.*

I say, 2. That Contention in general is a mortal Sin; because it is contrary to Charity, which is the Life of the Soul. Whence it is not surprising, that the Apostle reckons it among the Sins which exclude from the Kingdom of Heaven, *Gal. v.*

If I be asked, *whence proceeds Contention, and how it is to be cured?* I'll answer, that like Discord it proceeds from Vain-glory and Pride: Since it proceeds from that one will defend, contrary to all Rules, what is agreeable to his own Imagination, and thereby make a Parade of his own personal Merit: Wherefore that Vice is to be cured by the same Remedies applied to Vain-glory and Pride.

As to *Schism*; it must be observed, 1. That Peace consists in a certain Unanimity and Concord. 2. That that Union is either internal or external. 3. That there are two Sorts of internal Unions, viz. one spiritual, and supernatural; and the other temporal, and purely natural. The former is among the Members of the Church; and the latter is found among Men: *Schism* is opposed to the former; and War to the latter. 4. That three Things chiefly are asked relating to *Schism*. 1. What it is. 2. How many Sorts of *Schism*. 3. If, and what Sort of Sin it is. These pre-observ'd,

I say, 1. That *Schism* is commonly defined the Discession of a Person baptised, from the Unity of the Church, which Unity is the Effect of Charity.

I have said, 1. The *Discession*, because *Schism* imports a voluntary Separation.

I have said, 2. Of a *Person baptised*; because no Body is properly a *Schismatick*, unless he has enter'd by Baptism, the mystical Body of Christ; which to explain in a clearer Manner, it may be observed here, that the Church is like a certain animated Body, the Soul whereof is Faith, Hope, Charity, and the Gifts of the Holy Ghost; and the Body the outward Profession of Faith, and the Communion of Faith. And if I be asked, *who are those that belong to that Body, or to some Part thereof?* I'll answer, that the Catechumens, whom I suppose baptised *in voto*, and to have Faith, Hope, and Charity, belongs to the Soul only, of that animated Body; and hidden Hereticks to the Body alone: And the Just who are baptised, to both Body and Soul.

I have said, *from the Unity of the Church formed by Charity*, to distinguish *Schism* from Heresy, whereby one separates himself from that Unity which is formed by Faith. For one can voluntarily separate himself from the Unity of the Church, as to Unity and Obedience, though not as to Faith. According to St. *Augustin*, *Lib. 20. contra Faust. c. 3.* where he says, that *Schism* is having the same Sentiments, and observing the same Rites with the rest, but to delight in being at Variance with the Congregation.—But Heresy has Sentiments quite different from those of the Catholick Church.

From what we have said, it can be inferred, that all Hereticks are schismatick, according to St. *Augustin*, *Lib. 2. contra Crescon. Grammat.* where he calls Heresy *an immoderate Schism*: But not vice versa; for every Schismatick, without Distinction, is not to be taken for a Heretick. Since *Schism* is not always contrary to Faith; though all *Schism* be an easy Way to Heresy. According to St. *Jerom*, in *Epist. ad Gal.* *There is no Schism*, says he, *which has not such an Affinity with some Heresy, so as to be consider'd as having abandoned the Church.*

If I be asked *in how many Manners a Man becomes a Schismatick*; I'll answer in two Manners, viz.

1. By separating himself from the Church, in refusing a due Obedience to it.

2. By separating himself from the other Members of the Church, i. e. from the other Faithful, in the Worship, Prayer, Sacraments, and other spiritual Functions; making a Society apart, as if he was not a Member of the Church.

I say, 2. That *Schism* is chiefly divided into *pure* and *not pure*; because either it is not joined with Heresy, but is only opposed to Charity, or Peace, which is an Effect of Charity; and this is a *pure Schism*; or is joined with Heresy, and thus is *not pure*; because opposed both to Charity and Faith.

Schism, in its Kind, is a mortal Sin, which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, 1 *Cor. xii.* *That there should be no Schism in the Body.* And *Ephes. iv.* *Supporting one another in Charity, taking Care to preserve the Unity of the Spirit, in the Knot of Peace.*

By Reason; because *Schism* is directly and immediately opposed to the End and Effect of Charity: Notwithstanding that *Schism* might proceed from other Motives, viz. Hatred and Envy.

With Regard to War, we'll ask first, *what War is, how many Sorts of War; and in what it differs from Sedition and Riot?* Which to answer pertinently, we must observe: 1. That *War* is called *Bellum* in *Latin*, by Antiphrasis. 2. That *War* is either *offensive* or *defensive*. These pre-observ'd,

I answer, 1. That an *offensive War* is commonly defined, the taking up Arms, to take a Revenge of the Wrongs done to the Republick.

From this Definition may be easily inferred, the Difference between War, Riot, and Sedition. For *War* is of a whole Community or Kingdom against Foreigners; *Sedition*, of a Multitude against a Multitude in the same Community; and *Riot* of few against few.

I answer, 2. That an *offensive War* can be divided into *just* and *unjust*. Either because it is undertaken without a lawful Authority; or without a just Cause; and then is *unjust*; or with a lawful Authority, and a just Cause; and is then a just War.

If I be asked, *whether a War can be unjust on both Sides?* Because it may happen sometimes, that one of the Party espouses an unjust Cause; and the other declares War without a lawful Authority.

We'll ask next, *if it be lawful for Christians to undertake either an offensive or a defensive War, not only against Infidels, but likewise against Christians?* Which I answer in the Affirmative, and which I prove by the Scripture, by the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, which praises certain Wars undertaken by holy Men, viz. by *Abraham*, *Gen. xiv.* *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Samson*, *Gideon*, *David*, the *Maccabees*, and others, to whom God commanded to wage War against the Enemies of the *Hebrews*.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, in several Places; but more particularly, *Lib. 22. contra Faust. c. 34.* and *Serm. 19. de verb. Domin.*

By Reason; because that can be considered as lawful, which is neither an Evil in itself, nor forbidden by any Precept; but a just War is not an Evil in itself, neither is it condemned by any Precept; therefore, &c. for neither Christ himself, *Matt. xxviii.* forbids it the Centurion; nor St. *John*, *Luke iii.* to Soldiers: Therefore a War can be lawfully undertaken by Christians, not only against Infidels, but likewise against Christians: Nay, it can even be sometimes necessary, viz. when an Injury cannot be repelled otherwise; nor the Enemies who disturb the Peace of a Kingdom, or of a Republick, otherwise repelled.

It may be objected that a *defensive War*, and much more an *offensive* one, is contrary to the divine Precept; since it is written *Matt. v.* *For I say unto you, (said Christ to his Disciples) resist not Evil: But whosoever shall smite thee on thy right Cheek, turn to him the other also.* And, *Rom. xii.* *Not defending yourselves, beloved.* Therefore War is not lawful.

To which I answer, according to St. *Augustin*, *Lib. 1. de Serm. dom. in monte, c. 34, 35, 36.* that that Precept is to be observed in the Preparation of the Mind, so that a Man be always ready to not resist nor defend himself.

self if it be wanted: But one is often obliged to act otherwise for the common Good.

It may be objected further, that *War* is the Source of several Evils, and therefore is not lawful.

To which I answer by a Distinction; *War* is the Source of several Evils by Accident; but not by itself. To which may be added, that much more Evils would follow, if *War* was not allowed.

It may be urged, that *War* is against an honest Peace, and the Dilection of Enemies; and therefore is not lawful: Which I deny, because *War* is so far from being against an honest Peace, that it is often the contrary the surest Means to obtain Peace; that it is not against the Dilection of Enemies, is apparent from that he who makes *War* does not hate the Persons, but the Deeds which he punishes justly.

I said in my Answer, *provided it be lawfully and justly undertaken*; for unless there be the Conditions required to begin and pursue a *War*, it is not only unlawful, but even sometimes unjust: Therefore,

We'll ask next, *which are those Conditions requisite to render a War lawful and just?* Which to answer pertinently, we must observe, that we ask here chiefly whether these three Conditions be required, *viz.* a *lawful Authority*, a *just Cause*, and a *righteous Intention*. These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That *to begin and pursue lawfully, and justly, an offensive War, a lawful Authority is required*. Because by a Maxim of the Law, there is no greater Defect than a Defect of Power, when it is question of some Act requiring some Jurisdiction in the Man who exercises that Act: But *War* is an Act of Jurisdiction, and requires a Jurisdiction in the Person who undertakes it; Therefore *War* is neither lawful nor just, if it be undertaken without a lawful Authority and Jurisdiction. To which can be added, that he who thus undertakes an unjust *War*, is obliged to a Reparation of all the Damages he has caused.

If I be asked, *in whom resides that lawful Authority of declaring War?* I'll answer, that it regularly resides in a Prince, or in a Superior, who knows no other Superior above him; who has a sovereign Tribunal, from which there is no Evocation. Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, where it is said to Princes, *Psal. lxxxii. Deliver the Poor and Needy: rid them out of the Hands of the Wicked.*

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin, lib. 22. contra faust. c. 75. The natural Order of Mortals appropriated to Peace, requires this, that the Authority of going to War should reside in Princes.*

By Reason; because to those alone belongs the Authority of undertaking *War*, to whom it belongs to defend a Republick, or Kingdom; which belongs to Princes alone; and therefore the Authority of declaring *War*.

I answer, 2. That *to undertake and pursue lawfully and justly, either an offensive or defensive War, a just Cause is required*: Because without a just Cause it is not lawful to cause the great Ravages caused by the *War*.

If I be asked, what is to be accounted a just Cause? I'll answer, that we may very well establish two just Causes of a *War*, *viz.* one general, and the other particular.

The general just Cause, is an Injury offered, or on the Point of being offered to a Prince, or to a Republick, which cannot be repaired or revenged otherwise than by a *War*. For an Injury done can be a just Cause of declaring *War* by the Right of Justice, to require an adequate Satisfaction or Reparation; and an Injury which is not done yet, can be the just Cause of a defensive *War*.

There are different Sorts of special just Causes, according to the different Sorts of Injuries, and which can be reduced to three principal Chiefs; 1. If a Prince should keep the Possession of another's Estate, and refuse to restore it. 2. If he refuses the common Law of Nations, without any reasonable Cause; for Example, a publick Passage, or a common Commerce. 3. If he attacks the Honour or Reputation of another Prince or of his Subjects, or of his Allies. All which Doctrine is confirmed by the Authority of *St. Augustin, lib. 99. in Joshua,*

quest. 10. Just Wars, says he, are those undertaken to revenge Injuries.

I answer, 3. That *a righteous Intention is required to render a War lawful*; because for want of that Condition a *War* can be against Charity. If I be asked *what sort of Intention is accounted righteous?* I'll answer, that that Intention is righteous, which according to *St. Augustin (lib. 22. contr. faust. c. 74.)* is not accompanied with a Desire of oppressing, or of being revenged with Cruelty, or of over-ruling, or of revolting from a lawful Sovereign, for all those Intentions which are criminal render a *War* unlawful; but only with the reasonable Desire of recovering justly what one has lost, or being revenged justly of an Injury, or of maintaining or restoring Peace. Whence the same *St. Augustin, Epist. 207. ad Bonifac. Peace is not searched, says he, to excite War, but War is waged to acquire Peace: Be then pacifick in waging War, that by fighting you may persuade those you fight against of the Advantages of Peace.*

The next Question is, *what Persons are allowed to declare and wage War?* Which to answer pertinently, we must observe, 1. That we have said already, that those only who have a supreme Authority, are allowed to undertake and pursue. But if the same Right belongs likewise to Ecclesiasticks, is what is asked most particularly here. 2. If the Ecclesiasticks be forbidden to fight in *War*, in what Manner, and whether they become thereby irregular?—These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That *the supreme Power resides likewise in Ecclesiasticks; and that in virtue of that Power they can declare War, without Fear of becoming thereby irregular*. Because such a Thing is forbidden by no Law to the Ecclesiasticks, who have such supreme Authority in the Temporals, neither do they so directly command Homicide, as an Act of Fortitude or Bravery; though if I be allowed to declare fairly my own Sentiment, I really believe, that it is not lawful for Ecclesiasticks (who have embraced a Profession chiefly founded on Charity, Meekness, Patience, Humility, and Compassion; and who boast of being the Successors of those to whom Christ said, when they attempted to draw their Sword in his own Defence, *that whosoever shall strike with the Sword, shall perish by the Sword; his Kingdom being not of this World: when they should be stricken on one Cheek, offer the other, when they should not be received in one City, to fly into another*) to declare, wage, or be engaged in a *War*, either directly or indirectly, under what Pretence soever; since they are not at all obliged to enter into any Engagements which are accessory to it. The Ecclesiastical State, is a State of Abnegation, and all that has the least Appearance of Ambition, Pride, worldly Interest, or Vain-glory, is entirely opposite to it; their worldly Dignities, their Possessions, so contrary to the evangelical Poverty, which an Ecclesiastick is indispensably obliged to profess, are not so inseparable from the Ecclesiastical State, that one could not subsist without the other; on the contrary, I consider the Union of both as a monstrous Mixture of the sacred with the prophane, or a criminal Alliance of Christ with *Baal*; to pretend that such an Alliance is absolutely necessary for the Support of the Church, is a scandalous Evasion, calculated only to flatter the two favourite Passions of Men, *viz.* Pride and Ambition: For the Church would be far better supported by a religious Practice of all the Christian Virtues, and much more respected. A Christian Sacrificator under the Helmet, and the Cuirasse, is a kind of Monster, which should be abhorred by every body. An Ecclesiastick should never appear with any other Arms but Zeal and Patience to fight Vices; or in the Sanctuary, offering Vows and Prayers, while others are pursuing a just *War*. I know that a generally received Custom is contrary to my Sentiment; but I know likewise, that such a Custom is not very agreeable to the Gospel; and that if Christ himself declared that his Kingdom was not of this World; I see no Reason why those who pretend to be his Vicegerents here upon Earth, should usurp a royal Authority, and wage *War*, to maintain themselves in their vast Possessions. Though *Aaron* was the second Person in the Conduct of the People of *Israel*, do we find an Example in the Old Testament of his having ever led them to *War*? Do we even find any Example of that Kind among the heathen Sacrificators?

Not

Not that I would have the Temerity to give my own particular Sentiment for a Law; for I submit it to the Censure of the most sensible Part of Mankind; being ready to abide with all the Submission imaginable by that Censure.

We'll ask next, *when it is lawful to begin a War, and how long it must be pursued?* Which to answer pertinently, we must observe that we mean here chiefly an offensive War. These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That *it is not lawful to begin a War till after Satisfaction has been asked and refused*: Which I prove by the Fathers and by Reason.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, *Epist.* 205. to Count *Boniface*.

By Reason; because if any adequate Satisfaction be not refused, it is certain, that then a War is at least against Charity, and consequently unlawful.

I answer, 2. That a Prince is obliged, after he has begun a War, and an adequate Satisfaction, or Compensation is offered to him, to abstain from pursuing it; because when the Cause ceases, the Effect must cease: But the Cause for which a War is undertaken is to obtain Satisfaction from the Enemies: Therefore the War must cease, when that Satisfaction, with a Compensation for the Expences made, is offered.

We'll inform ourselves next, *of the Manner of waging War justly, and of the principal Qualities required as well in the Generals as in the Soldiers*. Wherefore we'll ask chiefly here, to what sort of Generals the Command of Armies is to be given?

To which I answer, that none but experienced Generals should be preferred to the Command of Armies; because for want of Experience in them, both the Army and People are exposed to great Dangers; unless perhaps some others more experienced than they, be joined with them in Commission; notwithstanding which, they must use all their best Endeavours to render themselves capable. From the Want of Justice and Probity in the Officers ensue an Infinity of Evils; for, *v. gr.* the Pay of the Soldiers is retained, whence they take Occasion to plunder every where. It happens also sometimes, that general Officers pretend to have a greater Number of Soldiers than they have in Reality, and under that Pretence ask for more Provisions and Ammunitions. For Money some Soldiers are excused from Duty, to the Oppression of others; or are not punished for exacting from their Landlords more than the King, or the Custom of the Kingdom allows. In a Word, the Want of Justice in the Chiefs, is the Cause that several of the Soldiers Crimes are left unpunished to the Oppression of the People.

I answer, 2. That above all other Conditions, these three Qualities are principally required in Soldiers, *viz.* *Fidelity, Obedience, and Courage*: Because for want of Fidelity in the Soldiers the Secrets of an Army may be divulged to the Enemy, or a City, or the Army itself betrayed to them.

The Want of *Obedience* in them proves very disadvantageous, both to the Army and to the Affairs of the Prince.

Want of *Courage* in the Soldiers, makes all the military Enterprizes miscarry; and opens a Field to the Enemy, to pursue either their Victory or their Conquests, to the great Prejudice of the Nation those pusillanimous Soldiers serve.

I may be asked, *if it be lawful to make use of Ambushes in War?* Which I answer in the Affirmative, provided it be done without Perfidy: Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Joshua* viii. where God commands *Joshua* to lay Ambushes for the Citizens of *Ai*.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, *lib. quest. super. Joshua*, q. 10. *when a just War is undertaken*, says he, *whether we fight openly, or by Ambushes, it is not done against Justice*.

By Reason; because no body is obliged to discover his Secret to the Enemy; lest thereby he should be more on his Guard; whence consequently one may justly lay Ambushes for him.

But Princes do not always follow all the Rules prescribed here; for in their Opinion a War is always just, when undertaken to flatter their Ambition, or extend

the Limits of their Dominions by the Acquisition of new ones; which is seldom done, without robbing their Neighbours, and oppressing their Subjects; and what's the more surprizing is, that God, who is the God of Justice and Equity, is always called to witness the Justice of a Cause which is but too often very unjust, and thanked by both Parties, when either of them has gained any Advantage, for having favoured their Cause, though all the while one of them must be in the wrong.

Neither do Princes prefer always to the Command of their Armies the most capable of their Subjects; for those Posts, like all others, are oftener given to Favour than to Merit; which has sometimes been the Cause of the entire Ruin of Princes and their Subjects.

Note, That from this of the *theological Virtues*, I'll pass to several celebrated Questions in Theology, *viz.* *if besides the Scripture there be Tradition, of an equal Authority with the Scripture? Who is the Judge of Controversies? If there be a Purgatory, &c.*

As to the Question on *Traditions*, the Catholics answer it in the Affirmative, and the Calvinists in the Negative.

To prove their Affirmation, the Catholics admit two Kinds of Traditions, *viz.* some of the Old, and others of the New Testament.

They say that the Traditions of the Old Testament were either pharisaical, which Christ reproves in the Gospel: Or mosaick, which were laudable, and necessary to Salvation. Of the first Kind were these: The first, that the Hands were to be washed before eating, *Matt.* xv. 1. The second, that that washing was to be repeated often during the Repast, *Mark* vii. 3. The third, that one was not to eat with Sinners, *Matt.* ix. 11. and *Luke* v. 30. The fourth, that it is not lawful to cure the Sick on the Sabbath-day, *Luke* vi. 7. The fifth, that one should frequently pray and fast, *Matt.* ix. 14. and *Luke* v. 33. and several others. And though some of them were good in their Kind, the Pharisees notwithstanding, were reprimanded by Christ for them all, for these Reasons. 1. Because by observing them scrupulously, they expected to gain a great Reputation of Sanctity among Men, *Matt.* xxiii. 25. 2. They searched Riches, in the Observance of some of them, particularly in their long Prayers, which they recited for that End, *Matt.* xxiii. 14. and *Mark* xii. 40. 3. They observed superstitiously their Traditions, and neglected the Commandments of God, *Matt.* xv. 3. and xxiii. 24.

The Traditions of the last Kind, were three principal: The first, that all and every one of the Books mentioned in the *Jewish* Canon, were divine, and divinely inspired. This the *Jews* believed as an Article of Faith; which notwithstanding was never written in the Old Testament. The second, that Women had some Remedy against original Sin, as well as Men, whatever was that Remedy; and this is nowhere written in the Old Testament. The third, that the bloody Sacrifices of the Old Testament were Types of that of Christ on the Cross: This was likewise a Dogma of Faith; though found written neither in *Moses's* Books, nor in those of the Prophets. The first Tradition is easily understood; but the two last the Catholics explain thus.

It was an Article of Faith among the *Jews*, that Women were conceived in the original Sin as well as Men: Therefore it was likewise an Article of Faith among them, that they could not be saved but by means of some Remedy which God had appointed for that Purpose. And they were obliged to know in particular what was that Remedy; otherwise all Women had perished without Remedy. But it was never wrote in the Old Testament what that Remedy was; therefore they knew it by Tradition. And that Tradition was necessary to Salvation, because without Remedy Women could not be saved.

Likewise they believed as an Article of Faith, that God had instituted some of their bloody Sacrifices for the Expiation of Sins: Therefore they either thought those Sacrifices capable of themselves, and by their own Virtue to expiate Sins; or by virtue of the Passion and Death of Christ, signified by those Sacrifices: If the former, they were Hereticks; if the latter, they were orthodox, because they believe what they ought to believe. But whence had they that Faith and Persuasion?

Not

not from the Scripture, since that was never written in the Old Testament; therefore it must have been from Tradition. Which Tradition was necessary to Salvation, not that it was necessary for every of the People in particular, to believe that Christ's Death was represented by their bloody Sacrifices; but only by some of them, particularly the Priests and Doctors; whose Office it was to teach and instruct others. Otherwise the whole Synagogue had been without Faith in this Point, which was an essential one.

As to the Traditions of the New Testament. The Catholics observe, three particular Things relating to them. 1. In general, that there are some divine, and apostolical Traditions which are of an equal Authority with the Scripture. 2. In particular that some of them belong to Faith; and others to Manners and external Rites. 3. That besides these there are others, which though they be but ecclesiastical, and have not the same Authority as the apostolical ones, should, notwithstanding, be observed by Christians. Which three Kinds of Traditions they explain in the following Manner.

1. Generally speaking, say they, there are some apostolical Traditions, which are not contained expressly in the Scripture, and which, notwithstanding, have the same Authority with the Scripture; 2 *Theff. ii. 14. Therefore, Brethren, stand fast, and hold the Traditions which ye have been taught, whether by Word or our Epistle.* On which Passage St. Chrysostom writes thus: Hence it appears that he had not digested all Things in his Epistle, but had delivered several of them without Epistles; and these were equally Articles of Faith as those. And Epiphanius, *Illec. 61. We must also use Traditions, for all Things cannot be contained in the divine Scripture; wherefore the Apostles have deliver'd some of them in Writing, and others in Tradition; according to what the Apostle says, as I have delivered it to you.* And St. Basil, *Lib. de spirit. sanct. c. 27. the Dogma's which are observed and preached in the Church, we have them, in Part from written Doctrine, and in Part from the Tradition of the Apostles, which have both the same Force; and Damascenus, Lib. 4. c. 17. the Apostles have deliver'd several Things without reducing them into Writing.*

When they are asked, how Traditions can have an equal Force and Authority with the Scripture? They answer, that as the Command of a Prince has the same Force among his Subjects, whether it be written or declared *viva voce*: It is the same of the Word of God, whether it be written or not. And if it be urged further, that Tradition is not the Word of God: They'll answer in the Negative; for, say they, as the Doctrine of the Apostles, contained in their Writings, is called the Word of God, because it was divinely inspired; likewise the Doctrine of the Apostles, which was deliver'd *viva voce*, and without being reduced into Writing, is the Word of God: Which they prove thus, as the Doctrine of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Paul, Peter, James, and Jude, reduced into writing, in the Gospel, and the Epistles, is called the Word of God, because divinely inspired; likewise the Doctrine of Andrew, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthias, and Barnabas, which they have preached *viva voce*, must be called the Word of God, as having been likewise divinely inspired; and we are no less obliged to believe those Apostles who have not wrote, than those who have.

2. Particularly speaking, continue they, there are certain apostolical Traditions of the Dogma's of Faith: And some of Manners or external Rites.—To prove the former, they say, that there are three very necessary Principles of Faith, which we have from Tradition, and not from the Scripture. The first is, that the whole Scripture of the Old and New Testament, taken together, is the Word of God. The other, that the whole Scripture, especially in those Things which are necessary to Faith, and Salvation, has been preserved to us safe, and uncorrupted. The third, that we have the true and genuine Sense thereof. For, argue they, if we admit these Principles of Faith, we necessarily admit the Tradition, whereby we have received them. If we reject them, our Faith is vain.

Besides these three, continue they, there are others, which we have likewise by Tradition. The first, that the Symbol of Faith be truly canonical and apostolical.

Of which St. Basil, *Lib. de spirit. sanct. c. 27. I omit the rest, says he, but from which Scriptures have we the Profession of Faith, whereby we believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?* as if he would say, we have it not from the Scripture, but from Tradition. For he endeavours to prove, that there are several Dogma's which we believe, not because they are written, but because they were deliver'd, *viva voce*, by the Apostles. The second, that Infants are to be baptised. Origen, on the sixth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, says, that the Church has received the Tradition from the Apostles, that Children, likewise, are to be baptised. And St. August. *lib. de genef. ad liter. c. 23. the Custom of our Mother the Church, says he, in baptising Infants, is neither to be despised nor consider'd as superfluous; neither should it be believed, but because it is an apostolical Tradition.* The third, that those who have been baptised by Hereticks, are not to be re-baptised, against St. Cyprian; According to St. Augustin, *Lib. de Baptism. contr. Donatist. c. 7. Which Custom, says he, (viz. of not repeating Baptism,) I believe to be of apostolical Tradition.* And *Lib. 5. c. 25. that Custom which was opposed to Cyprian, we must believe has for its Source the apostolical Tradition.* The fourth, that the blessed Mary, Mother of Christ, remained a Virgin after her Delivery, against the damnable Heresy of Helvidius; expressed by St. Augustin, *Lib. i. de Hæres. c. 84. The Helvidians, Disciples of Helvidius, contradicted the Virginity of Mary in such a Manner, that they pretended that she has had, after Christ was born, other Children by her Sponse Joseph.* The fifth, that in the Administration of Baptism, these Words are to be pronounced, *I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* And unless they be pronounced, the Baptism is not valid. Which, say they, is admitted, likewise, by our Adversaries; though it cannot be proved otherwise than by Tradition, and the constant Practice of the Church. The sixth, that there is a certain and determinate Number of Sacraments in the New Testament; which both the Catholics and their Adversaries believe; with this Difference, that the Catholics believe that Number septenary, several Lutherans ternary, and almost all the Calvinists binary: But this Number, whatever it may be, is not expressed or defined in the Scripture. The Catholics confess, that they have their septenary one from Tradition, and the Declaration of the Church; and challenge their Adversaries to shew whence they have their binary or tenary: Nor from the Scripture, say they, as they pretend to prove hereafter.

It may be objected to them, that some of those Points can be proved by the Scripture; as, *v. gr.* that Infants are to be baptised, which can be proved by this Passage of John iii. 5. *Except a Man be born of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* Likewise, that these Words are to be pronounced, *I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, &c.* is evident from this Passage, *Matt. xxviii. 19. Go ye, therefore, and teach all Nations, baptising them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* To which the Catholics answer, that some of those Points can be proved by the Scripture, when it appears that they have the true and genuine Sense of the Scripture; but it does not always appear, otherwise than by Tradition and Practice, which is the true and genuine Sense of the Scripture, *v. gr.* if it appeared that these Words, *Except a Man be born of Water, &c.* have no other Sense than this: Except a Man be baptised of the Baptism of Water; for it would very well follow hence, that Infants are to be baptised. But this Sense, say they, is not certain but by Tradition, neither can they refute, by the Scripture alone Calvin, who denies that to be the true Sense of that Passage, but only by this Reason, that we have received this Sense from our Ancestors by a continual Tradition. In the same Manner, if it was certain, that when Christ said, *baptising them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, that he commanded his Disciples to pronounce these Words, *I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, the Thing would be without Difficulty; but this is not certain from the bare Words of the Scripture; for as Christ said, *baptise them in the Name of the Father, &c.* he has said, likewise, in other Places, if

You ask any Thing of my Father in my Name he'll give it you. And likewise the Apostle, 1 Cor. x. 31. *Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God.* Notwithstanding which it is not necessary, that he who asks something of the Father in Christ's Name should pronounce these Words, *I ask this, or that, in the Name of Christ.* And that in the first Case of Baptism, it is necessary to pronounce the Words, and not in the latter, of asking something in the Name of Christ, we have it only from the Practice of the Church, transmitted to us by Tradition.

These, say they, are sufficient for the first Part of their Conclusion, and they endeavour to confirm, likewise, the latter Part, by various Examples. For there are several ecclesiastical Rites, in their Sentiment, which have been received from the Apostles by the sole Tradition; such as these following: 1. That the Exorcism, and other Ceremonies be used in Baptism, according to *Tertullian, Lib. de corona milit. c. 3.* And *St. Basil, Lib. de spirit. sanct. c. 27.* 2. That there should be three Immersions used in Baptism, according to the same *St. Basil*; that the Sign of the Cross should be made on the Forehead of the Person who is baptised, &c. If you ask a Law from the Scripture, says *Tertullian, Lib. de corona milit. c. 7.* *To authorise those, and other such Practices, you'll find none, the Tradition is offered to you as Author thereof, Custom to confirm them, and Faith to observe them.*

3. Besides the aforesaid Traditions, which have been transmitted to us from the Apostles, say they, there are some other ecclesiastical ones, which, after the Times of the Apostles, have been introduced by the Prelates of the Church; and which though they have not the same Authority of the Apostolical, deserve, notwithstanding to be observed by the Christians. *St. Augustin* speaks of both, *Epist. 118.* when he says: *Those Things which are not written, but are only delivered to us, viva voce, and which are observed throughout the whole Earth, are given to be understood, either by the Apostles themselves, or by the general Councils, whose wholesome Authority in the Church, is, that we should retain their Commands and Statutes, as those, that the Passion of our Lord, his Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven should be annually celebrated in a solemn Manner, &c.* for by this Particle, *or, by the Apostles themselves,* he understands the apostolical Traditions; and by this, *or the general Councils,* he understands the ecclesiastical ones: And then adds, that *it is an insolent Folly to dispute, whether what is observed by the universal Church should be practised.*

And such is the Sentiment of the Catholics, with Regard to Traditions, both apostolical and ecclesiastical; which, say they, is confirmed by the Authority of the Apostles, and of the antient Fathers.

Let's see, at present, what is that of their Adversaries; that by comparing, afterwards, both Sentiments together, we may be capable to judge which is best.

Those who have made a Divorce with the Roman Church reject all Sorts of Traditions, and admit nothing but what is found contained in the Scripture of the Old and New Testament. For which the Catholics accuse them of sinning in four different Manners, 1. Because, in that, say they, they imitate the antient Hereticks. 2. Because they disagree among themselves. 3. Because they attribute falsely and maliciously several Things to the Catholics. 4. And, because they argue ignorantly from some Passages of the Scripture against Traditions; all which four Accusations they endeavour to make good, each by itself, in the following Manner.

1. As the Catholics, say they, in admitting the Traditions, follow the common Sentiment of the antient Fathers; likewise their Adversaries, in rejecting them, follow the common Sentiment of the antient Hereticks. For the antient Hereticks, likewise, used to call always to the Scriptures, and reject the Traditions, and particularly these: 1. The *Arians*, who, disputing the Divinity of Christ, would admit nothing but the Scripture; whence *Maximinus*, an Arian Bishop, disputing with *St. Augustin*, said, *if you alledge something from the Scripture, which every Body knows, we must hear it.* But those Words which are not found in the Scripture, have no Influence over us. This Argument is quoted by *St. Augustin, lib. 1. cont. Maximin.* 2. The *Macedonians* and

Eunomians, who would not admit this Speech, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*, because it was not found in the Scripture, of whom *St. Basil* speaks, *lib. de Spirit. sanct. c. 26.* towards the End, *that these are continually boasting that the Glorification of God with the Holy Ghost, wants Proof, wants the Scripture.* And at the Beginning, *c. 24.* *But that our Proposition wants Proof, because it is not found in the Scripture, is what we deny; for if nothing was received but what is found in the Scripture, the Scripture itself would not be received. Therefore I believe that it is apostolical to adhere likewise not to written Traditions.* 3. *Eutyches*, who denying two Natures in Christ, said, *I have not learned two Natures in the Scripture*, to which the Priest *Mamas* answers, neither do we learn *Homouion* in the Scripture, which we find in the general Council of *Chalcedon, Act. 1.* where the fifth Action of the Council of *Constantinople* was read over again. 4. The *Pelagians*, who used to say: *Therefore let us believe what we read, and consider as a Crime to establish what we do not read*, which Sentiment of the *Pelagians* is related by *St. Augustin, lib. de Nat. & Grat. c. 39.*

The Catholics urge further, that though their Adversaries agree with all the antient Hereticks in rejecting the Traditions; they, notwithstanding, do not agree among themselves on that Subject. That some of them reject entirely all Traditions, without Distinction, whether they pertain to Faith, or to the external Worship of God; and will believe or do nothing else but what the Scripture commands to believe or do. Thus *Calvin, lib. 4. Institut. c. 88. n. 8.* *Let this be,* says he, *a constant Maxim, that there is no other Word of God to be believed in the Church but what is first written in the Law and the Prophets, and afterwards in the apostolical Writings: And that there is no other Manner to teach in the Church, but that which is agreeable to that Word; and in the Book of the Necessity of reforming the Church, God not only considers as needless, what, in View of worshipping him, we undertake, besides his Commandment; but even abominates it openly.* And in his Epistle 87, to the Protector of England: *When it is Question of a legitimate Reformation, we must return to the Word of God.* And likewise the Calvinists in the Synod of *Utrecht*, in the Prologue of their Ordinances, *n. 2.* we oblige ourselves, say they, by an Oath, that, in this Province, we will not embrace and follow any other Doctrine, Rule, Measure, and Form of Faith, and Christian Conduct, but the sole Word of God expressed in the Books of the Old and New Testament.

Others admit some Traditions only, as *Kemnitius* in his Examen of the Council of *Trent, Sess. 4.* in the second Kind of Traditions, where he says: *We receive with Reverence the Traditions whereby the Book of the sacred Scriptures are delivered into our Hands.* And in the 5th Kind, *Origen and Augustin affirm that the Baptism of Infants is an apostolical Tradition: This we receive.* And in the 7th Kind; *Therefore it is certain from the Writings of the Apostles that they have left some Rites and Traditions to the Churches.* And it is also very likely that they have left some external Rites which are not marked in the Scripture, and lower, such Rites we love, and retain justly; such as are the Confession of Faith, the Renunciation to the Devil, and the other Rites in the Administration of Baptism.

Lastly, Others use a Distinction. They say that Traditions can be admitted of indifferent Things; but not of Things necessary to Salvation; for it is sufficiently evident to us from the Scripture, that it contains entirely all that is necessary to Salvation; so that Tradition would be needless. But, say the Catholics, those who speak thus increase the Dissention; and repugn manifestly to *Luther* and *Kemnitius*; for *Kemnitius* confesses that the *Lutherans* receive, with Respect, that Tradition whereby the Scripture is delivered into our Hands: But the Scripture, according to them, is necessary to Salvation; therefore they admit some Tradition, *de re*, necessary to Salvation.

Likewise *Luther* teaches, that Infants are not justified by Baptism, but by the actual Faith, which is infused into them by the Force of the Exorcism before Baptism; and without that Faith they cannot be saved, or receive Baptism. Whence it follows, that the Salvation (according to *Luther*) depends of their actual Faith, and Faith from the Exorcism; and consequently that the Exorcism is necessary to the Salvation of Infants; but the Exorcism is had by Tradition, not by the Scripture: Therefore,

according to *Luther*, some *Tradition* is necessary, *de re*, to Salvation. I'll quote *Luther's* Words in their proper Place.

The *Catholics* pretend that their Adversaries father Fallhoods upon them. And 1. to excite Envy against them, they say, that they teach that the Scripture without humane *Tradition*, is insufficient, and imperfect, which is false, since the *Catholics* do not teach that of human *Traditions*; for they distinguish two Sorts of *Traditions*, with *St. Augustin*; some apostolical, which have the same Authority with the Scripture: Others ecclesiastical, which have not so much Authority. Therefore they say, that the Scripture does not suffice by itself, unless it be accompanied with *Traditions*, which is accounted divine and not human, for two Reasons: The *first*, because the Scripture is not sufficient, unless we be sure of its true and genuine Sense; which Sense does not always appear, otherwise than by the apostolical *Tradition*, as already observed. The *second*, because the Christians believe several Things, which are not contained in the Scripture.

2. They say that the *Catholics* teach, that by human *Traditions*, we merit the Grace of Justification, and the Remission of Sins; and that they acknowledge these Sorts of *Traditions* for their Mediator and Justificator. Thus *Philip Melancthon* in the Apology of the Confession of *Ausbourg*. Art. 15. of human *Traditions*. This is also false; because they teach publicly, that we, by no means, can merit Justification, or the Remission of Sins; but that it is given us *gratis* by the Merits of Christ, as it appears from the Council of *Trent*, *Sess.* 6. *Can.* 8. in these Terms; *we say that we are justified gratis, because none of those Things which precede Justification, whether Faith or Works merit the Grace of Justification.*

3. They say that the *Catholics* teach, that all their *Traditions* are apostolical. Thus *Calvin*, *lib.* 4. *Institut.* c. 18. 6. 19. *The Masters Romanist*, says he, *will extort that there is among them no Ceremony which is not apostolical*, which, the *Catholics* say, is false; for they acknowledge, as already so often repeated, two Sorts of *Traditions*, one of which they have received from the Apostles; and the others which have been introduced into the Church, after the Times of the Apostles.

The *Roman Catholics* Adversaries object, 1. against the *Tradition*, this Passage of the *Deuteronomy*, c. 4. v. 2. *Ye shall not add unto the Word which I command you; neither shall you diminish ought from it.* Whence they infer, that all *Traditions* are to be rejected, and that the *Catholics* sin who admit them. Why? Because nothing is to be added to the written Word of God; which the *Catholics* say is an ignorant Objection. 1. Because in wanting to oppose the *Catholics*, they oppose the Apostles, from whom they have received the *Traditions*; and particularly *St. Paul*, who says keep the *Traditions* which you have received. They oppose *St. Augustin* and the other Fathers, who have embraced the *Traditions*. They contradict themselves; because themselves, according to *Kemnitius*, receive with Respect the *Tradition* of the Scripture, of the Exorcism, and several others; therefore if the *Catholics* sin in admitting the *Traditions*, the Apostles, Fathers, and *Lutherans* themselves sin likewise; and if they are all innocent, why should the *Catholics* be condemned?

Besides, urge the *Roman Catholics*, they do not understand the Sense of the Passage they quote; which Sense is collected from the Context, which runs thus, *Now therefore, hearken O Israel, unto the Statutes and unto the Judgments which I teach you, for to do them, that you may live, and go in and possess the Land which the Lord God of your Fathers give ye; ye shall not add unto the Word which I command you, neither shall you diminish ought from it. Keep the Commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you; as if he would say, I would give you the ceremonial and judicial Precepts, which you must religiously observe, which is signified by this Phrase, ye shall not add or diminish; which is explained in other Places, in different Words, though in the same Sense, Ye shall not decline from them, either to the right or to the left, as *Deuteronomy* xvii. ver. 20. *Let him learn to fear the Lord his God, and keep his Words and Ceremonies, and not to decline to the right or to the left.**

Therefore, those Passages signify these three Things,

1. To observe religiously the mosaical Precepts. 2. To not decline from them either to the right or left. 3. To neither add nor diminish any Thing in their Observation, which is not to be understood as if it was not allowed to add new Precepts (otherwise it had not been allowed to add the evangelical Precepts of the Faith of the Trinity of Baptism, of the Eucharist, &c.) but that the mosaical Precepts are not to be corrupted in their Observance, either by Addition, or Diminution, but must be kept whole, *v. gr.* it was a mosaical Precept, that a Woman after she had been delivered of a male Child, should be unclean for seven Days successively, and the eighth Day the Child should be circumcised; *Levit.* xii. 2. to which Precept it was not lawful to add or diminish from, *i. e.* It was not lawful to circumcise the Child either before or after the eighth Day. The same must be said of the other Precepts, as we shall see in the next Objection.

The *Catholics* urge further, that it appears hence, that the Testimony of *Deuteronomy*, which their Adversaries urge against them with so much Warmth, is nothing to the Purpose: Unless they would argue thus; the *Jews* were obliged to observe religiously the mosaical Precepts; therefore the Christians must not admit the apostolical *Traditions*, but be contented with the Scripture alone: Which Consequence, say they, every Body sees, is certainly absurd and ridiculous. But to render the Thing still clearer, they ask their Adversaries if they think that that Testimony belong to the *Jews* alone, or to the Christians likewise? If it belongs to the *Jews* alone, why is it urged against the Christians? Or why are the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* of Opinion, that we are not obliged to keep it? If it belongs, likewise, to the Christians, why don't their Adversaries keep the mosaical Precepts? Why are they not circumcised? And, lastly, why do they urge against the *Catholics* this Particle, *Ye shall not add*, and do not urge, likewise, against themselves the other, *Ye shall not diminish*. For since that Passage is taken from the Old Testament, and it has an immediate Report to the Old Testament, to which it is forbidden by God, to add, or to diminish from, since there was no mention yet of the New Testament; why have the Reformers attempted to diminish from the Old Testament, by refusing the Precepts thereof, since it is equally forbidden to diminish from it, as it is to add to it? Here they must remain Mutes; say the *Catholics*.

The second Objection is taken from this of *Deuteronomy* xii. 32. *What Thing soever I command you, observe to do it: Thou shall not add thereto, nor diminish from it.* Hence our Adversaries infer, likewise, say the *Catholics*, that all *Traditions*, and human Precepts are null, and to be despised; why? because nothing is to be done but what God commands: Wherefore what Men commands is not to be done. Which Objection, say they, is as great an Inepth as the former. 1. If all human Precepts are null, and to be despised, what shall we say of the *Jews*, who observed religiously the Precept of the Feast of the *Encenians*, which was not divine, but human? What of the *Rechabites*, who observed religiously the Precept of their Father *Jonadab*, to abstain from Wine, *Jer.* xxxv. 6. What of the Apostles, who in the Council of *Jerusalem*, commanded the Abstinence from Blood, and Things suffocated? *Acts* xv. 29. What of *St. Paul*, who distinguishes between his Precepts and those of Christ? *1 Cor.* vii. 12. What of Magistrates, who make Laws to maintain Peace and Justice in the Republic? Lastly, what of their Adversaries themselves, who in their Synods and Conventicles, make ecclesiastical Laws and Statutes, which every Body observe?

2. They urge, that the Sense of this Passage, is not that given to it by their Adversaries, but quite another, but as in the preceding Testimony, it was a Question of Observance of all the mosaical Precepts in general, likewise it is Question here of the Observance of a particular Precept of Sacrifice. The Text is this, *Deuteronom.* c. xii. ver. 29, 30, 31, 32. *when the Lord thy God shall cut off the Nations from before thee, whither thou go to possess them, and thou succeed them, and dwellest in their Land: Take heed to thyself that thou be not moved by following them, after that they be destroyed from before thee, and that thou enquire not after their Gods, saying, how did these Nations serve their Gods? even so will I do likewise, thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God: For every Abomin-*

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mination to the Lord which he hates, have they done unto their Gods: for even their Sons and their Daughters they have burnt in the Fire to their Gods. What Thing soever I command you observe to do it: THOU SHALT NOT ADD THERETO, NOR DIMINISH FROM IT.

The Sense is; when you shall come into the Land of Promise, and offer a Sacrifice to the Lord thy God, thou shalt not imitate the Gentiles, who offer their Sons and Daughters by Fire, to their false Divinities; but shalt offer only what I command thee: viz. of the Animals, Sheep, Goats, He-Goats, and Calves; Doves, Sparrows, Turtles: Of the Fruits of the Earth, Bread, Flour, Salt, Incense, &c. Of Liquors, Blood, Wine, Oil, Water: Do this only, i. e. offer it to the Lord; and thou shalt add nothing to it from the Sacrifices of the Gentiles, nor diminish any of the Things enumerated here.

The Catholics ask their Adversaries, what they can conclude from that; unless they reason thus: The Jews were obliged to offer only in Sacrifices, those Things which God had determined; therefore the Christians are not obliged to observe human Precepts, whether they be civil, or ecclesiastical: *Who can help Laughing at such Reasoning?*

The third Objection is taken from Galat. i. 8. *But though we, or an Angel from Heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. And lower, If any Man preach any other Gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed.* Therefore, say they, it is not lawful to admit Traditions.

To this the Catholics answer, 1. That the same Argument may be retorted on their Adversaries in this Manner. If any Man preach any other Gospel unto you than that the Apostle has preached, let him be accursed: Their Adversaries preach another Gospel than that the Apostle has preached, because they oppose the Traditions; contrary to what the Apostle has said, *keep the Traditions*: Therefore let them be accursed.

2. That from what the Apostle says, we must find whether Traditions be condemned in this Place, or not. The Meaning of the Apostle is this: The Galatians had been taught by St. Paul, that the Ceremonies of the Law of Moses were abrogated; and that no Body could be justified by such Ceremonies, but by Faith in Christ, (ch. ii. 16.) they were afterwards incited to renounce that Doctrine, by some false Apostles, who taught, that they could not be saved by Faith in Christ, unless they were likewise circumcised, and observed the other mosaical Ceremonies, (ch. i. 6. and iii. 1. and iv. 9. and v. 1.) against those false Apostles Paul speaks, when he says, *If any Man preach unto you any other Gospel than that you have received, let him be accursed.* As if he should say; you have learned of me, that a Man is justified by Faith in Christ, and not by the Observance of the Mosaical Law; if any Body teaches you otherwise, let him be accursed: But it does not follow hence, that the apostolical Traditions are to be rejected, but are, on the contrary, to be observed, since they are not against what St. Paul preached to the Galatians of Justification, but are rather the same Thing he preached to the Thessalonians, when he said, *Keep the Traditions which you have learned.*

The fourth Objection is taken from this of the Apocalypse xxii. 18. *If any Body add to these, God shall add to him the Woes written in this Book, and if any one diminishes from the Words of the Book of this Prophecy, God shall take his Part off the Book of Life.* Therefore it is not lawful to add Traditions.

The Catholics answer, that this Testimony condemn the Lutherans, who not only diminish from the Words of the Book of that Prophecy, but consider the whole Book as apocryphal. But however it does not condemn Traditions, because it does not forbid that any Thing should be admitted besides the apocalyptic Prophecy (otherwise it would not be lawful to admit the Prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, and of the other Prophets of the Old Testament, nor likewise the Gospels, Epistles, Symbol of Faith) but it only forbids depraving the Words of the apocalyptic Prophecy, which he insinuates, can be done in two Manners, 1. By Addition, as if any one added something to that Prophecy, as Part thereof, which is not such. 2. By Diminution, as if

something was taken off from it, as if it did not belong to it, though it really belongs to it. But the Catholics say that they do neither.

This they prove by an Example: St. John foretels, c. xi. *that two Prophets shall appear clothed in Sack-cloth, who shall prophecy 1260 Days, and have the Power to shut Heaven, and hinder it from raining during the whole Time of their prophetizing, and of changing Water into Blood, &c.* To this Prophecy the Catholics add nothing which does not belong to it: And takes nothing from it which belongs to it, but leave it whole, as it is written by St. John. But their Adversaries act otherwise, who say that those two Prophets were Luther and Calvin: For they that say it necessarily diminish from the Words of that Prophecy, since it is certain that Luther and Calvin were not clothed in Sack-cloth, had not the Power of shutting Heaven, of changing the Waters into Blood, &c.

The fifth Objection, is taken from this, 2 Tim. iii. 16. *All Scripture is given by Inspiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness.* From which Place they argue in two Manners. Some thus: All Scripture is profitable for Doctrine, and for Reproof; therefore the Traditions are needless, as if you was to say, all Meat is profitable for Food; therefore Drink is needless. Or all Alms are profitable to Salvation, Luke xi. 14. and Dan. iv. 24. therefore Prayers are needless, the Sacraments are needless, which is a very bad Reasoning.

Others thus: All Scripture is profitable, i. e. sufficient; therefore the Traditions are needless. But what sort of Interpretation is this? Ask the Roman Catholics: Is it reasonable to say that to be useful and sufficient, is one and the same Thing? For if it be one and the same Thing, this 1 Tim. iv. 8. *Piety is profitable*, or rather useful to all Things, might be interpreted that Piety is sufficient for all Things: Therefore all the rest is needless. And likewise this, 2 Tim. iv. 11. *Take Mark, and bring him along with you; for he is likewise useful to me in the Ministry*, i. e. sufficient; therefore Timothy, Titus, Onesimus, and others, are needless. Who does not see, say the Roman Catholics, that if this Licence of interpreting the Scripture, was once tolerated, it could soon be entirely corrupted and adulterated.

But to explain the Thing clearer, continue the Roman Catholics, we must examine the Text of the Apostle: Therefore the Apostle exhorts, in the Chapter quoted, the Bishop Timothy to instruct his Flock in the Faith, and Good Works, and to reprimand his Adversaries, who with a depraved Mind, and erring in the Faith, oppose the Truth. And to shew that he can do that, he adds: *But continue thou in the Things which thou hast learned, and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them. And that from a Child thou hast known holy Scriptures which are able to make thee wise unto Salvation, through Faith which is in Christ Jesus. For all Scripture divinely inspired, is profitable for Doctrine, &c.* where by the sacred Letters, which he says Timothy had learned from his Infancy, he understands the Scripture of the Old Testament; for at that Time Timothy was an Infant, there was yet no Scripture of the New Testament.

Therefore, according to the Roman Catholics, the Apostle in that Text, argues thus: All Scripture, divinely inspired, is useful to instruct your Flock, and reprove your Adversaries; but the Scripture of the Old Testament, which you have learned from your Infancy, is divinely inspired: Therefore it is useful to teach your Flock, and reprove your Adversaries. Therefore as you have been instructed in the Knowledge of that Scripture, you may be greatly assisted by it in doing what I told you.

From the same Principle one may conclude thus: All Scripture, divinely inspired, is useful to teach, and to reprove; but the Scripture of the New Testament is divinely inspired: Therefore it is useful to teach, and to reprove. Whoever then has been instructed in the Knowledge of that Scripture, can be much assisted by it in doing both.

From both Reasonings it appears, that these three Propositions are true, according to the Apostle, 1. That all Scripture divinely inspired, is useful to teach and reprove.

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2. That the Scripture of the Old Testament is useful to teach, and reprove. 3. That the Scripture of the New Testament is useful to teach and reprove; whence, as it does not follow the Scripture of the Old Testament is useful; therefore the Scripture of the New Testament is needless. Nor on the contrary, the Scripture of the New Testament is useful: Therefore the Scripture of the Old Testament is needless. Thus it does not follow likewise, both Scriptures are useful; therefore Traditions are needless: Otherwise what the Apostle says would be needless, *keep the Traditions*.

Our next celebrated Question, is that relating to the Judge of our Controversies on religious Matters. The Reformed say, that the Scripture is the Law and the Judge: And that all the Controversies of Faith can be decided by the Scripture alone. This they prove, by that God, in the Old Testament, refers the Jews to the Scripture alone, as to a Judge, *Isaiah viii. 20. To the Law, and Testimony*. Christ does the same in the New, *John v. 39. Search the Scriptures*. And this Advice of Christ was followed by the Bereans, of whom it is wrote, *Acts xvii. 11. Searching the Scriptures daily, whether these Things were so*.

But the Catholics distinguish between the Judge and the Rule, or Law. They call him Judge that pronounces the Sentence between two Persons at Variance; and the Law or Rule, that according to which the Judge pronounces his Sentence. This Distinction pre-supposed, they assert three Things: 1. That the Church is Judge of the Controversies. 2. That the Rule or Law which the Church follows in pronouncing its Sentence, is not the Scripture alone, but the Scripture and Tradition together. 3. That the Church, according to that Rule, can pronounce a Sentence in two Manners, either by the Pope, whom they consider as the chief Pastor of the Church, or by the Councils which represent the universal Church. The first Manner of pronouncing is fallible this Side the Mounts, and infallible on the other Side; but the last Manner is considered as infallible by all the Catholics, without Exception: Which Infallibility is founded on this Promise of Christ, *And here I am with you all Days to the Consummation of the World*.

To confirm this Sentiment, and refute the former, they make use of six Arguments: The first is taken from the Office of a Judge, which does not become the Scripture. The second from the Part of the same Scripture, in which two Things are to be considered, the Letter, and the Sense. The Letter kills, according to the Apostle: The Sense is obscure, so that it wants another Judge. The third, from the Part of the Controversies; for there are some of them which cannot be deduced from the Scripture, since there is no mention of them in the Scripture. The fourth, from the Use and Practice of the Old Testament; where the Pontif, and not the Scripture, was acknowledged for Judge. The fifth, from the like Usage and Practice of the New Testament. The sixth from an Analogy of the Judge of civil and political Controversies: For the Judge of such Controversies is not a written Law; but the Prince or the Council of the Prince. Afterwards they'll answer the Objections of their Adversaries.

The first Argument, taken from the Office of the Judge, they propose thus:—He that is Judge between two Persons at Variance, must pronounce his Sentence so, that both Parties may understand it; and one of them confess that the Sentence is in his Favour, and the other against him, otherwise they will not cease disputing; but both pursue their Cause; the Scripture cannot be such a Judge of Controversies: The major is evident of itself. They prove the minor thus; because, say they, the Lutherans and Calvinists have for several Years disputed on these Points: 1. Of the Baptism of Infants. 2. Of the real Presence in the Eucharist. 3. Of the Predestination. 4. Of the Person of Christ. 5. Of Exorcism. 6. Of the Number and Canon of the Books of the Scripture; notwithstanding which, the Scripture, which they chuse for Judge, cannot decide those Controversies, and we have not heard yet that it has pronounced a Sentence so as to oblige either the Lutherans or Calvinists to confess, that it has pronounced either for or against them; which is evident from the Event: For they both continue their Disputes with the same Eagerness; which

without doubt they would not do, if they thought that the Sentence has been once clearly pronounced: For then they would either desist from their Contention, and acquiesce to the Sentence; or certainly, if they thought that they had been unjustly dealt with; would appeal to another Judge; neither of which they have done.

To make the Force of this Argument more evident, there are two Things to be considered: One, that the Lutherans, as well as the Calvinists, confess openly, that they acknowledge no other Judge but the Scripture alone, which Scripture is clear, perspicuous, and sufficient of itself to smother all Controversies. The other, that notwithstanding, they both do nothing else but disputing before that Judge; whereby their Jars increase daily, and they become still greater Enemies: Whence it necessarily follows, either that the Scripture hath not pronounced a clear, perspicuous, and sufficient Sentence: Or if it has pronounced it, that the Lutherans and Calvinists are litigious Persons, who refuse to acquiesce to a clear, perspicuous, and sufficient Sentence. Let them chuse which of these two Reasons they please, since both condemn them, say the Catholics.

The second Argument taken from the Part of the Scripture, is this:—They say that two Things are to be considered in the Scripture; the Letter, and the Sense: As in Man the Body and Soul. Of these, according to the common Interpretation, the Apostle speaks, *2 Cor. iii. 6. when he says, the Letter kills, but the Spirit vivifies*. As if he said, if you follow the true Sense of the Scripture, which is as the Spirit, and the vivifying Soul; it will be profitable to you to Salvation; but if neglecting the true and genuine Sense, you adhere only to the outward Letter, and pretend that that is the Sense expressed by the Letter, you'll often err. Which Interpretation St. Augustin follows, *Serm. 70. de temp. I have frequently advised your Charity dearly beloved Brethren, says he, that in the Lessons, which in these Days are recited in the Church, we should not mind so much the Sound of the Letter, but drawing off the Veil of the Letter, we should search faithfully the vivifying Spirit. For the Apostle says this; the Letter kills, but the Spirit vivifies. Lastly, the unhappy Jews, and the more unhappy Hereticks; who while they mind only the Sound of the Letter, like a Body without Soul, have likewise remained dead, without the vivifying Spirit*.

This pre-supposed; two Things remain to be proved. One is, that the Scripture, if the Letter be minded, cannot be the Judge of Controversies. The other, that neither can it be the Judge of Controversies, if you mind the Sense. The former Part they prove thus: That cannot be an infallible Judge of Controversies, which leads Men into Error and Heresy (their Imbecillity supposed) therefore it cannot be an infallible Judge of Controversies. The major is evident of itself; because we search an infallible Judge lest we should err: Therefore what leads us into Error is not an infallible Judge. The minor is apparent from the Apostle, since he says that the Letter of the Scripture kills, *i. e.* leads into Error.

It thus antiently killed the Jews, say they, because all that was foretold of Christ by Moses and the Prophets, they understood according to the outward Letter, and did not discover the hidden Sense. And it is what the Apostle says, *2 Cor. iii. 15. But even unto this Day, when Moses is read, the Veil is upon their Heart; i. e.* the Jews do not understand yet Moses, which they read every Day, because they do not penetrate the inward Sense thereof, but are contented with the Letter. Or clearer; they do not acknowledge Christ, who in Moses is hidden under outward Ceremonies and Sacrifices, as under a Veil. They are yet wrapped in that Veil, and do not consider what is hid under it.

This Christ likewise objects to them, *John v. 39. Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal Life, and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come to me that ye might have Life*. As if he had said, if you will really know that I am the Messiah whom God has promised, of whom Moses and the Prophets have wrote, you must not only read the Letter of the Scripture, but much more search the Sense and Spirit hidden under the Letter, as under a Cloud or Figure. This you have not done yet: For though you were per-

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suaded that in the Scripture lies the eternal Life, you do not know notwithstanding in what Part it lies; it does not lie in the Letter, in the external Ceremonies, as you imagine; but in the Spirit, in the Sense and Mystery. Search me there, and you'll find me.

It is not the *Jews* alone that the Letter kills; for it kills likewise the Hereticks. And several have perished in their Error, because having abandoned the Sense of the Scripture, which the holy Catholick Church follows, they have embraced a literal Sense: Which can be proved *en passant*, by the Example of some of them.

The Sabellians said, that there were not three divine Persons, but only one, who notwithstanding had three Names, because of his different Offices, or Operations, for the same Person was called the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but with divers Respects, *viz.* Father, as being the Author of all Creatures; Son, as having taken the human Nature from the Virgin *Mary*; and Holy Ghost, as sanctifying us by his Grace. From their Sentiment it followed, that the Father had suffered, and was dead. For if there is but one Person, called Father, Son and Holy Ghost; certainly, if that Person suffered and died, the Father suffered and died. Whence proceeded so great an Error? From the Letter that kills: For they understood in a literal Sense this Passage of *John* x. 30. *I and my Father are one.* From which they inferred, that the Father and the Son (and consequently the Holy Ghost) are but one Person; whereas in the Church's Sentiment, they are one in Essence and two in Person.

The *Arians* said, that *Christ* was not God, but inferior to God. Whence this erroneous Sentiment? from their abandoning the Sense of the Church, to explain literally this Passage of *St. John* xiv. 28. *The Father is greater than me*, i. e. absolutely greater. But the Sense of the Church is, that *Christ*, according to his Humanity, is lesser than God the Father, and equal to him according to his Divinity. And in the former Manner is to be understood this, *The Father is greater than me*; and in the latter this, *I and the Father are one.*

The *Macedonians* denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost: From what Principle? from the Letter that kills. For they took literally this of the Apostle, *1 Cor.* ii. 10. *For the Spirit searches all Things, yea the deep Things of God.* Whence they concluded thus: He that searches, doubts: He that doubts is ignorant: He that is ignorant is not God: Therefore the Holy Ghost is not God. But the Church interprets this Passage thus: *The Spirit searches all Things*, i. e. penetrates and comprehends all Things. In which Sense God is likewise said to search all Things, *1 Chron.* xxviii. 9. *God searches the Hearts of all.* And *Psal.* viii. x. *God searches the Hearts and Reins.* And *Jer.* vii. 10. *I am the Lord searching the Hearts and Reins.*

The *Manicheans* affirm'd, that the Old Testament was contrary to the New. Why? because they understood every Thing literally; which if nothing else be minded, they seem to be repugnant to one another. For the Old says, that God created all Things, *Gen.* i. 1. And the New that the Word created all Things, *John* i. 3. Again, the Old says, that Man was made after the Image of God, *Gen.* i. 27. And the New says, that Man is of the Devil, *John* viii. 44. Likewise the Old says, that God rested the seventh Day from all Work, *Gen.* ii. 2. The New says, that God operates till now, *John* v. 17. against those *St. Augustin* writes, in his Book against *Adimantus*, *Manes's* Disciple, and reconciles, in the Sense of the Catholick Church, those Passages which literally seem opposed to one another. For it is not repugnant that God has created all Things, and did it, notwithstanding, by the Word, as by his Art or Idea. Neither is it repugnant that Man was made as God's own Image, with regard to his Nature; and be notwithstanding, of the Devil with regard to his Malice. Lastly, it is not repugnant that God reposed himself, the seventh Day, from the Work of the Creation of the World, and notwithstanding is always working for the Government and Preservation of the World.

The *Pelagians* denied the original Sin, affirming that *Adam's* Sin had affected him only, and not his Posterity, founded on the Letter that kills; for it is wrote, *Ezek.* xviii. 20. *The Son shall not bear the Iniquity of the*

Father. But the Sense of this Passage, according to the Catholick Church is, that the Son who is not Partaker of the Sin of the Father, shall not bear the Iniquity of the Father. But it appears, that the Posterity of *Adam* were Partakers of his Sin, from *Rom.* v. 11. *In whom all have sinned.*

There were likewise ancient Hereticks who denied the Resurrection of the Flesh: Because it is written, *John* vi. 63. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the Flesh profiteth nothing*; from which Passage, understood literally, they argued thus: Why should the Flesh rise, if it profiteth nothing? From the same Place the *Calvinists* draw this semblable Consequence: Why should *Christ* give us his Flesh in the Sacrament if it profiteth nothing? The Catholicks pretend, that they have been both deceived by the Letter that kills, otherwise it would be lawful to conclude thus: If the Flesh profiteth nothing, why did *Christ* take it? Why was the Word made Flesh? Why was he crucify'd for us? Certainly he did not those Things in vain.

These, say the Catholicks, suffice for the first Part of the Argument in which it has been shewn as well by the Authority of the Apostles, as by several Examples, that the Scripture, if we mind the Letter, cannot be an infallible Judge of Controversies, because the Letter kills, and breeds several Errors.

The other Part, which they endeavour to prove likewise, is that the Scripture minding even the Sense thereof, cannot be Judge of Controversies; which they prove thus: The Scripture, with regard to its true and genuine Sense, is often obscure, and difficult to be understood, and therefore, there arises often Controversies on the true and genuine Sense thereof; but all Controversy requires some Judge: Therefore some body must judge to decide this to be the true and genuine Sense, and that not. But the Scripture cannot be that Judge, since it itself occasions the Controversy; therefore there must be some other Judge distinct from the Scripture.

In this Reasoning, they say that there are three Principles: The first is, that the Scripture, with regard to the Sense is often obscure, and difficult to be understood; which they prove in the following Manner.

1. By the Example of the Disciples who were going to *Emmaus*, who did not understand *Moses* and the Prophets, unless *Christ* had explained them to them, *Luke* xxiv. 27.
2. By the Example of the Eunuch of the Queen of *Æthiopia*, who when asked by *Philip*, if he understood the Prophet *Isaiab* he was reading, answered *Act* viii. 31. *How can I, except some body shew it me.*
3. By the Example of the Apostles, who could not understand several Things which *Christ* said to them, and which are now written in the Scripture, *Matt.* xvi. 11. and *Luke* xviii. 34.
4. By the Authority of *St. Peter*, who confesses, *2 Pet.* iii. 16. that in the Epistles of *St. Paul*, there are some Things hard to be understood; which they that are unlearned and unstable, wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures unto their own Destruction.
5. By the Consent of all the Interpreters: For if the Scripture was clear and perspicuous, there would be no need of so many Interpreters and Commentators; nor of so many Questions and Controversies.
6. It is certain, by Induction, that the Prophecy of *Ezekiel* of the Vision of the four Animals is very obscure: That the Prophecy of *Daniel* of the seventy Weeks, and of the Abomination of Desolation, has puzzled, and puzzle yet, several very great Genius's. Of which *Christ* says, *Matt.* xxiv. 15. *Whoso readeth, let him understand.* That the Revelations of *St. John* are full of Mysteries; and, as *St. Jerom* expresses himself in his Epistle to *Paula*, *has as many Enigma's as it has Words.* It is also certain, that in the rest of the Bible there are several Things very obscure, some of which I'll quote here.

This Passage is very obscure, *1 Cor.* iii. 12. *Now if a Man build upon this Foundation, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Wood, Hay, Stubble; every Man's Work shall be made manifest. For the Day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire; and the Fire shall try every Man's Work, of what Sort it is. If any Man's Work abideth, which he has built thereupon, he shall receive a Reward. If any Man's Work shall be burnt, he shall suffer Loss: But he himself shall be saved, yet so as by Fire.* *St. Augustin* observes very judiciously, *lib. de fid. operib. c. 15.* that

that this Passage is one of those of which St. Peter speaks, when he say, that in the Epistles of St. Paul there are some Things hard to be understood.

This is equally obscure, 1 *Corinth.* xv. 29. *Else what shall they do which are baptized for the Dead, if the Dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptized for the Dead?* For it is not easy to explain what signifies here to be baptized; likewise what to be baptized from the Dead.

This is very obscure likewise, *Heb.* vi. 4. *for it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly Gift, and were made Partakers of the Holy Ghost, if they shall fall away, to renew them again to Repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh,* which Words are very obscure; and from them ill understood, arose the Heresy of the Novatians in the Time of St. Cyprian, who pretended that those who were fell, were not to be received to Repentance, or forgiven. All which Passages, and six hundred more, I could quote, condemn the perfidious Doctrine of those who teach, that every one that reads the Scripture can understand it, while at the same Time, themselves are busy in interpreting it, which Conduct is an open Contradiction of their Words, since if we understand the Scripture we want no Interpretation; at least they authorize us to think, that our own Interpretation is to the full as good as theirs; and really it is sometimes better, since theirs often serves only to puzzle us more, instead of rendering the Passages clearer.

When the Catholics are asked, whence proceeds the Obscurity of the Scripture, they answer from two principal Chiefs. 1. From the very Things treated in the Scripture. 2. From the Manner of treating them.—The Things treated are of four different Kinds. 1. Histories, as it appears in *Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, the Books of the Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Esdras, Judith, Tobit, Esther, Job, Maccabees*: And, likewise, in the Gospel, and the *Acts of the Apostles*. 2. The Prophecies, contained in the *Psalms*, in the greater and lesser Prophets, and in the *Revelations of St. John*. 3. The Mysteries of the Faith, particularly of the Trinity, Incarnation, Predestination, Justification, and the like. 4. The moral Precepts, and Documents of the Virtues and Vices. For tho', either in these, or in the Histories, there be not, perhaps, a very great Obscurity, from the Part of the Kings; there is, notwithstanding, a very great one in the Prophecies and Mysteries of Faith, which surpasses our Capacity, and Understanding.

The Manner of treating those Things is also often very obscure for these Causes. 1. Because in the Scripture there are frequent Tropes, Schemes, Hyperbols, Metaphors, and Allegories, in which several Truths are wrapped, which the Reader cannot immediately discover. This Obscurity is increased by one and the same Word, being, sometimes, used properly, and sometimes figuratively, in the same Sentence, *e. gr.* in this, *John* iv. 13 and 14. *Whosoever drinks of this Water shall thirst again: But whosoever drinks of the Water that I shall give him shall never thirst.* Where Drink and Thirst in the former Part of the Sentence is taken corporally, and spiritually in the latter. Likewise 2 *Corinth.* v. 21. *For he has made him to be sin for us who knew no Sin.* Where Sin in the former Part of the Sentence is taken figuratively for the Sacrifice offered for Sin; and in the latter properly for Sin itself. For the Sense is, that God was willing that Christ, who had not sinned, should be a Sacrifice for the Sin of all the human Race. I omit mentioning several other such Passages of the Scripture.

2. There are Figures found, not only in the Words, and Dictions, but likewise in the Things themselves; for often one Thing is the Figure or Type of another Thing thereby signified, *v. gr.* the Paschal Lamb was the Type of Christ; the red Sea, of Baptism; the Manna, of the Eucharist; the Mount *Sion*, of the Church: And thus of the rest, whence arise three Sorts of Obscurity. The first, Because it does not appear presently, which is the Thing that is the Figure of another, *v. gr.* it does not appear that *Igar*, Abraham's Servant, was the Figure of the Synagogue; and *Sarah* his Wife, that of the Church; unless the Apostle, by a special Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, had explained the Thing. *Gal.* iv. 24. The second, that one Thing is sometimes the Figure of several different Things, even repugnant to one another.

Thus *Jonas* was the Type of Christ, *Matt.* xii. 40. And likewise the Type of the Jews, though contrary to Christ; for as *Jonas* complained of the Repentance of the *Ninevites*, the Jews, likewise, complained afterwards of the Vocation of the Gentiles. According to St. *Augustin*, *Epist.* 49. *quest.* 6. The third, Because it happens, sometimes, that one Thing, which is the Figure of another, represents in one Person, in one Manner; and, quite otherwise in another. *v. gr.* the fornicatrice Woman, whom the Prophet *Hosea* was commanded to take for his Wife, was the Type of the Synagogue; which she represented in him, because as she had committed carnal Fornication, the Synagogue, likewise, had committed a spiritual one, which consists in the Worship of Idols; but it differ'd in him in this, that the Woman, after she was married to *Hosea*, did not return to carnal Fornication; when as the Synagogue, after it had been reconciled to God, returned to Idolatry.

3. There occurs often, likewise, in the Scripture, seeming Contradictions, which puzzle much the Reader. Of a great Number of them I'll mention here one or two only.—It is wrote, 1 *Sam.* xv. 11. *It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be King.* And on the contrary, *Rom.* xi. 9. *Without Repentance are the Gifts and Vocation of God.* Likewise it is written, 1 *Kings* viii. 9. *There was nothing in the Ark save the two Tables of Stone, which Moses put here at Horeb.* And on the contrary, *Heb.* ix. 4. *And the Ark of the Covenant overlaid round about with Gold, wherein was the golden Pot that had Manna, and Aaron's Rod that budded, and the Tables of the Covenant.* And several others too numerous to mention in this Place.

4. The Words of the Scripture form sometimes an ambiguous Sense, for want of Distinction, particularly when it is question of God, of Christ, of the Coming of Christ, of the Church, &c. for in God can be considered either the Unity of Essence, or the Trinity of Persons. In Christ, either the human Nature, or the divine. There are two Comings of Christ: The first, in his Nativity; the last, on the Day of Judgment. The Church likewise is either militant on Earth, or triumphant in Heaven. Therefore when the Scripture speaks of these Things, it is often dubious and obscure, in what Sense it speaks of them, *viz.* if of God, as he is one in Essence or as he is three in Persons: If of Christ, as he is God, or as he is Man? If of his first Coming, or of his second? If of the militant, or triumphant Church? I'll give an Example of each.

Of God, *Matt.* vi. 9. *Our Father which art in Heaven.* It is dubious whether it is meant of God, with regard to the Unity of Essence, or to the Distinction of Persons; or as the Scholasticks propose it, if the Name of Father be taken there essentially, as common to the three Persons; or personally as it belongs to the first Person only? Of Christ, *Coloss.* i. 15. *Who is the Image of the invisible God, the first-born of every Creature: All Things were created by him, and in him: and he is the Head of the Body, the Church, the first-born from the Dead.* For it is also dubious here, whether these Things must be understood of Christ, according to his Divinity, or according to his Humanity, or according to both? Of the Coming of Christ, *Ileb.* i. 6. *And again, when he bringeth in the first begotten into the World, he saith, and let all the Angels of God worship him.* Which some understand of the first Coming of Christ, in his Nativity: Others, of the second, which will happen on the Day of Judgment. If we mind the Particle *again*, it seems to be understood of the second Coming: If the other Circumstances of the first. With regard to the Church, *Galat.* iv. 26. and *Ephes.* v. 2. and *Ilebr.* xii. 22. there is the same Difficulty.

There are other Causes of Obscurity, which I'll content myself with insinuating here. 1. Often in the Scripture, when we think it less, a Transition is made from carnal to spiritual Things, from temporal to eternal, from Person to Person; and *vice versa*. By which Means, *Isaiah* vii. a Transition is made from two Kings to the blessed Virgin, and Chap. 14. from the King of *Babylon* to *Lucifer*; and *Psalms* lxxi. from *Solomon* to *Christ*, and *John* vi. from the Barley Bread to the Eucharist. 2. Often in the Prophets there is not an Order of Kings observed, as they have happened. 3.

The

The Supputation of Years is not always very clear. 4. There happens often *Hebraisms*, which are not understood by every Body.—Thus far of the first Principle, with Regard to the Obscurity of the Scripture.

The *second Principle*, is that, from that Obscurity, must necessarily arise several Controversies. This wants no other Proofs than a daily Experience. For it is certain that in all Ages, from the Time of the Apostles to ours, there have always been some Controversies of the true and genuine Sense of the Scripture.

The *Third* is, that the Scripture cannot be judge of those Controversies, which the Catholics prove by two Arguments.

The *First* is taken from what they have said already, that a Judge must clearly pronounce his Sentence, that it may be understood by each of the Parties at Variance: Otherwise it would be in vain to pronounce it: But the Scripture, when the Sense thereof is obscure, cannot pronounce a clear Sentence, so as to be understood by all Parties; for if in that Case it should pronounce a clear Sentence, its Sense would not be obscure, but clear, which is against the Supposition: Therefore in such Case it cannot be judge.

To this it is objected, that though the Sense of the Scripture be sometimes obscure in one Place, it can, notwithstanding, be clear in another, and therefore the Scripture by that Place, which is clear, can decide of another which is obscure. To which they answer, 1. That if it is so, why do not their Adversaries terminate the Controversies, which have so long subsisted between themselves? Why, say they, the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, when they dispute on some Passage of the Scripture, which is obscure, have not Recourse to another which is clear? And if they do it, why don't they make an End of their Controversies? To this they do not know what to answer.

Besides, it is another thing for the Words of the Scripture to be clear; and another for the Sense thereof to be clear. For the Clearness of the Words depends of the Knowledge of Grammar; but the Clearness of the Sense, of the Intention and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, in such a Case, the Words of the Scripture may be clear, though the Sense of the Scripture, intended by the Holy Ghost, be not clear, which they confirm by an Example; the Word of Christ in the Gospel are these, *This is my Body, this is my Blood*, which Words, if we mind their natural Signification, are clear and perspicuous, and can be understood by all, not Christians only, but likewise *Jews, Turks* and *Pagans*; though there are an almost infinite Number of Controversies among Christians about the Sense of those Words intended by the Holy Ghost.

They add, that it often happens, that the same Place of the Scriptures which one of the Parties believe clear and perspicuous, is accounted obscure and intricate by the other. What must be done in such a Case? Or what Judge shall we choose? We cannot choose the Scripture, since the Sense thereof is controverted, one of the adverse Parties believing it clear, and the other obscure; therefore we must have Recourse to another Judge, one explaining it in one Manner, and the others in another. *v. gr.* There is a great Dispute between the *Catholics* and the *Calvinists* about the true and local Descent of Christ into Hell, which the *Calvinists* deny, and the *Catholics* maintain; and prove it by two Testimonies, one taken from the Symbol of Faith, *he descended into Hell*; and the other from the *Act of the Apostles*, ii. 27. *Because thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell*. They say that both these Testimonies are clear and perspicuous; but the *Calvinists* deny both; and by their obscure Interpretation, render both very obscure; for they interpret the former in this Sense, *he descended into Hell*, i. e. *he suffered on the Cross*, the Torments of a Man damned, so as to be forced to cry in his Anguish, *My God, why hast thou forsaken me?* And the latter in this Sense, *thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell*, i. e. *thou wilt not leave my Body in the Sepulchre*. Thus *Beza*, in his Commentary on this Passage.

What must be done here? Or what Judge shall we appeal to? If we consult the Scripture, it will say nothing more than it has said already; it will not add an *Ata* to it: Though the Controversy be on what it has

said already: Therefore the Controversy cannot be decided by what it has said already: Therefore if, after the Controversy have began, the Scripture says nothing new, but continues in its antient Terms, certainly the Dispute cannot be terminated by it, but it is necessary either to apply to another Judge, or for one of the Parties at Variance to give up the Cause, or for both to continue in their Controversy.

The *last Argument* used by the *Catholics* is this: There are several Testimonies of the Scripture, the true and genuine Sense thereof cannot be understood, but from Tradition and the Authority of the Church; therefore if a Controversy arise about some of those Passages, the Scripture alone cannot be judge, but Recourse must be had to Tradition, and the Authority of the Church, *v. gr.* Christ says, *Matt. xxvii. 19. Go ye therefore, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. The true and genuine Sense is, that in the Administration of Baptism, these Words must be pronounced; *I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*; and that Baptism without that Pronunciation is not valid. In this, say the *Roman Catholics*, our Adversaries agree with us; but if any Body should deny that this is the Sense, and maintain that it is not necessary to pronounce these Words, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, but that it suffices, that he who administers the Baptism, should have the Intention of baptizing in the Name of the blessed Trinity, how must he be refuted? By the Words of the Scripture only? That cannot be, for those Words, *baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, &c.* do not say that the vocal Invocation of the Trinity is required. Whence, then, should it appear? From the Practice and Tradition of the Church. If you reject this; you'll have no Defence against your Adversary, who should deny the Necessity of a vocal Pronunciation.

Another Example. Christ says, *John iii. 5. Except a Man be born of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*. This Place, according to the true and genuine Sense, is understood of the Necessity of the Baptism of Water, as the *Lutherans* confess with the *Catholics*: But the *Calvinists* deny it. How can then the *Lutherans* refute them? Not by the Words quoted: For though the Water be named there, it is not expressly added notwithstanding, that it should be understood of true Water; for it is called Fire in other Places, as *Luke iii. 16. He'll baptize you in the Spirit, and Fire*; which, notwithstanding, is not understood a true Fire. Whence then shall it appear, that in the first Place must be understood a true Water? or whence the *Lutherans* shall prove that against the *Calvinists*? From no where else but from the Practice and Tradition of the Church.

Another Example: Christ in the last Supper, not only instituted the Eucharist, but added to it likewise the Washing of the Feet. And said in the Institution of the Eucharist, *eat, and drink*. But in the Washing of the Feet, he added, *you must wash one another's Feet*. Here the Adversaries say, that the former Words contain a Precept; the latter not; and consequently, that the Faithful are obliged, by a divine Precept, to take the Eucharist under both Kinds, but not to the Washing of Feet. The *Catholics* say, that if they ask whence this appears to their Adversaries, or under what Pretext they believe themselves obliged to take both Kinds, and be exempted from the Washing of the Feet. They cannot alledge the Words of the Scripture, for those bear rather the contrary; for those Words, *eat and drink*, does not seem to signify more, than as if the Father of a Family was to say to his Guests, *eat and drink, and be merry*. And if he was to speak thus, it would not be reckoned that he would oblige them by a Precept. Therefore Christ having spoke in the same Manner, whence does it appear that he would oblige by a new Precept to both Kinds? But these Words, *you ought to wash one another's Feet*, seem to signify a Precept no less, than if a Master should say to his Servant, *You must cover the Table*. Whence then do they know that they are not obliged by those Words to the Washing of Feet, since those Words import of themselves an Obligation? From the sole Practice and Tradition of the Church: For the Church has never took that Washing for necessary; which

which notwithstanding it had done, if it has thought itself obliged to it by a divine Precept.

The Catholicks say, that they omit several other Examples of that Kind, which occur in the Scripture; and from what they have said conclude in this Manner: That the Scripture can be considered in two Manners:

1. With regard to the Letter. 2. With regard to the Sense intended by the Holy Ghost. In both Manners it cannot be judge of Controversies: Not in the former, because the Letter leads us often into Error: Nor in the latter, because the Sense of the Scripture is often obscure and ambiguous, so that another Judge is wanted to decide, that that one Sense is genuine, and intended by the Holy Ghost, and the other not. Thus much of their second Argument taken from Part of the Scripture.

They draw their third Argument from the Part of the Controversies themselves; which they propose thus: There are several Controversies about the Faith and Religion, of which either there is no mention made in the Scripture, or certainly not sufficient for the Scripture to judge of them; therefore to decide them, another Judge is wanted. Those Sorts of Controversies are the following ones.

The first, if the Books of *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and of the *Maccabees*, be canonical or not? The *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* deny it, and the Catholicks affirm it. Who shall be Judge to decide this Controversy? The Scripture cannot be that Judge; of which the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* are so conscious, that they do not appeal then to the Scripture, but to the Canon and Tradition of the *Jews*. They say that those Books are not found in the Canon of the *Jews*, and therefore are not canonical. Therefore they acknowledge another Judge in that Cause, besides the Scripture. And what Judge? The Tradition of the *Jews*. A surprizing Thing! they value more the *Jews* than the Christians; and though they will be accounted Christians themselves, (say the *Roman Catholicks*) declared Enemies of the Traditions of the Apostles, they prefer to them the Traditions of the *Jews*.

The second. How many Sacraments there are of the new Law? The Reformed say two, Baptism and Eucharist; the Catholicks, seven. What says the Scripture? It defines nothing of that Number, and therefore cannot be Judge in that Cause. Whence then can the Catholicks have their septenary Number, if they have it not from the Scripture? From Tradition, and the Consent of the Church, say they? Whence have their Adversaries their binary Number? It is what they must consider. Certainly, say the *Roman Catholicks*, they have it not from the Scripture as they pretend they have it. For, continue they, let them produce these three Things from the Scripture: 1. Let them shew, from the Scripture, that the Name of Sacrament is attributed to Baptism, and the Eucharist, and not to the others. 2. From the same Scripture let them define Sacrament. 3. Let them shew that the Definition becomes Baptism, and the Eucharist, and not the rest. If they do this, conclude the *Roman Catholicks*, the Dispute on this Point is ended; but they'll never be capable to do it.

The third. If Exorcism can be used in the Administration of Baptism? The *Lutherans* say it must be used; the *Calvinists* deny it; and neither of them can prove their Sentiment by the Scripture.

There are other Controversies which cannot be decided by the Scripture, particularly these: 1. If Baptism must be administered with one Immersion, or three? 2. If Christians must keep *Sunday*, in lieu of the *Saturday*? 3. If the Symbol of Faith be truly apostolical? 4. If the blessed *Mary* remained a Virgin after her Delivery, &c.

They deduce their fourth Argument from the Practice of the Old Testament; and say, that it is certain, that in the Old Testament all the legal Controversies of any Consequence were decided (according to *Josephus*, lib. 2. contra *Appionem*) by the sovereign Pontiff. As it is expressly ordered in *Deuteronomy* xvii. 8, 9, 10. where three Things are to be observed: 1. That there were different Sorts of Controversies among the *Jews*. Some which arose from the Law of the Decalogue; others from moral Regulations, which are not contained in the Law of the Decalogue; others from ceremonial Precepts; and others from judicial ones, (2 *Chron.* xix. 10.)

2. That in every City inferior Judges were appointed; whose Office was to decide those Kinds of Controversies (*Deut.* xvi. 18. and 2 *Chron.* xix. 5.) 3. That when those inferior Judges could not agree among themselves, nor decide the Controversies brought before them, by reason of some great Difficulties they were attended with; it was necessary to appeal to *Jerusalem* to the superior Judges, where the sovereign Pontiff presided; and the contending Parties were obliged to acquiesce to the Sentence of the Pontiff under pain of Death (*Deut.* xvii. 12.) Whence they infer, that there were two Sorts of Tribunals or Council among the *Jews*; the great Council called *Sanedrin*, or *Synedrion*, or the Council of the Ancients; and the lesser Council; between which there was a great Difference. 1. Because the great Council was always held at *Jerusalem*; and the lesser in every City. 2. The Pontiff presided in the great, and not in the lesser. 3. From the lesser it was allowed to appeal to the greater, but not from the greater to the lesser. 4. The great Council was composed of seventy Persons besides the Pontiff; and the lesser consisted of twenty three only. There is often mention made of the great Council, in the Gospel.

Both Councils had their Origin under *Moses*; and the greater was instituted by God's Command, *Numb.* xi. 16. and the lesser by *Jethro's* Advice, *Exod.* xviii. 13. but as both in process of Time fell almost to nothing, they were again restored, by *Jehosaphat* King of *Judah*, as we read, 2 *Chron.* xix. 4.

The Catholicks are asked, 1. Whether the Pontiff, who they say was Judge of the Controversies in the Old Testament, was an infallible Judge? Which they answer in the Affirmative, and prove in three Manners. 1. Because when there was some difficult and ambiguous Controversy, God would that the contending Parties should defer it to the sovereign Pontiff presiding in the great Council, with this Promise, that they should receive from him, the Truth of Judgment, *Deut.* xvi. 9. 2. Because God commanded them all to acquiesce to the Sentence of the Pontiff under Pain of Death, *Deut.* xvii. 12. 3. Because if the Pontiff, when he pronounced his Sentence in the Council, had been fallible, the contending Parties had never been safe. Why, then, were they obliged, under Pain of Death to follow his Decisions?

They are asked, 2. Why the Pontiff was rather infallible in deciding the legal Controversies, than the inferior Judges: For there is some Reason to doubt of it; because it could very well happen, that the inferior Judges were as much learned in the Law as the Pontiff himself: Therefore they could be equally infallible; and even more infallible than the Pontiff, if they were more learned than he? To this they answer, that if we mind human Industry only, it is certain that the inferior Judges could as well understand and interpret the Law, as the Pontiff himself; but if we mind the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, the chief Thing to be minded in this Case, the Pontiff had a greater Share thereof than the other Judges; of which, say they, we have an Example in *Moses*: For God granted him a greater Assistance, than to the seventy Ancients, who assisted him in his Office; as we learn from this Passage, *Numb.* xi. 17. *And I will take of the Spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall bear the Burthen of the People with thee.* Where by Spirit must be understood some Gift of Grace, which is required in those, who will govern others justly, and decide their Controversies. Therefore, say they, the Sense of the Passage is this; I'll take off thy Spirit, and give it them; i.e. I'll give them a Gift of Grace, but inferior to that Gift which you have; for it was necessary to give more to you who is the sovereign Judge, than to them who are subject to you.

They take their fifth Argument from the Practice of the New Testament. For, say they, as in the Old Testament, as already observed, not the Scripture, but the Pontiff, and the Council of Ancients was Judge of Controversies; the same Order has been observed; likewise, in the New, which they endeavour to shew by a short Induction. And, 1. In the Apostles Time, there arose a Controversy about the Circumcision, viz. whether the new Christians, who then received the Faith of the Gospel, could not be saved without being circumcised, and observing the legal Ceremonies? Which Controversy was chiefly understood of the *Gentiles* converted to the Faith.

There

There were two different Sentiments on this Subject. One of some of them, who from *Jews* had turned Christians, and who said that the *Gentiles* could not be saved by the Faith of Christ unless they were circumcised, and observed the other Ceremonies of the Law of *Moses*. The other Sentiment was that of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, who maintained that the Circumcision, and the Observance of the legal Ceremonies were needless, *Acts* xv. 1.

How was this great Controversy decided? Ask the *Roman* Catholicks, was it referred to the Scripture alone, as to the common Judge? Not at all, but rather they all agree to send some Deputies of each contending Parties, to the Apostles at *Jerusalem*, who should take Cognizance of that Affair in a solemn Council, and pronounce a definitive Sentence; which was accordingly done: For *Paul* and *Barnabas* were deputed by one Party, and others by the other Party; who all together came to the Apostles at *Jerusalem*. These having assembled the Council, and invoked the Holy Ghost, they answered in these Words, *Acts* xv. 28, 29. *For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater Burthen than these necessary Things; that you abstain from Meats offered to Idols, and from Blood, and from Things strangled, and from Fornication.* Which was sent, in Form of an Epistle, to the Christians converted from Paganism, who had been the Occasion of the Council; and the Sense is, we will not impose upon you the Yoke of the Circumcision, and of the Observance of the legal Ceremonies, which is heavy, but that you should abstain from such and such Things, which you may very easily do.

Here, continue the *Roman* Catholicks, two Things are to be observed, which are very much to the Purpose. The first is, that this Controversy of the Circumcision and legal Ceremonies, could very well have been determined by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, who were both Apostles, Prophets, and Doctors, *Acts* xiii. 1. both chosen in a particular Manner by the Holy Ghost, to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, *Acts* xiii. 2. and who had preached it already in several Provinces and Places, *Acts* xiv. 26. but neither of them would usurp that Office; to teach, by their Example, that those Controversies which regard Faith and Religion, are to be referred to the ordinary Prelates of the Church, or to a Council of Prelates.

The other is, that in the Council of the Apostles, where that Controversy was proposed and decided, there was no Testimony of the Scripture brought, relating directly to Circumcision; though the Scripture could have furnished Testimonies enough in favour of both Parties, if the Dispute should have been decided by them alone. For there could have been brought in favour of Circumcision, this of *Genesis* xvii. 10. *This is my Covenant which ye shall keep between me, and you, and thy Seed after thee; every Man Child among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall circumcise the Flesh of your Foreskin; and it shall be a Token of the Covenant betwixt me and you; he that is born in thy House, and he that is bought with thy Money, must needs be circumcised; and my Covenant shall be in your Flesh for an everlasting Covenant.* But if the Covenant was eternal, as it is said here, it was necessary to keep it always, even in the evangelical Law; not only by the *Jews*, but likewise by those who were not of a *Jewish* Race.

The Testimonies of the Scripture, which could have been alledged against the Circumcision, are these; *Deut.* xxx. 6. *And the Lord thy God will circumcise thine Heart, and the Heart of thy Seed.* Where it is insinuated, that the Circumcision of the Flesh was not to be continued in the New Testament, but the Circumcision of the Heart should succeed it. Likewise, *Jerem.* xlv. *Be circumcised to the Lord, and take off the fore Skin of your Hearts.* As if he said, I do not require the Circumcision of the Flesh, but of the Heart, which consist in an inward Contrition and Repentance. These add, the like Passages could be alledged by the two contending Parties; though it was not done, but the Apostles assembled in Council, by the divine Direction and Assistance, which Christ had promised them and to their Successors, pronounced their Sentence.

After the Time of the Apostles, continue the *Roman* Catholicks, a great Number of other Controversies arose

in several different Places, and different Ages, which the ecclesiastical Historians inform us, were all decided by Councils; and those who would not acquiesce to their Decisions were condemned as Hereticks. They produce some Examples of what they alledge, which are the following ones.

The first Controversy, say they, was whether the Feast of *Easter* was to be celebrated with the *Jews* the 14th of the first Month, as some of the Christians of *Asia* wanted it should; which, on that Account, were called *Quartodecimans*: Or only on the *Sunday*, as it is practised at present? This Controversy, after several Councils of Bishops, was at last decided and terminated (according to *Eusebius*, lib. 5. *hist. eccles.* c. 23. and following) in the Year 198, by Pope *Victor*.

The second was; whether the Church could absolve those who were fallen after their Baptism? This *Novatian* denied, for which he was condemned in a Council at *Rome*, in the Year 255.

The third; If there were three Persons really distinct in God? Which *Sabellius* denied, maintaining that there was but one Person, who had three Offices; of Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification; for which he was condemned in the Council of *Alexandria*, held in 1319.

The fourth; If Christ be a pure Man, like other Mortals, and had nothing in Nature and Hypostasis but what we have? Which *Paul* of *Samosata* affirmed, and was condemned in the Synod of *Antioch*, in 266.

The fifth; If Christ was the eternal Word of the Father, and of the same Substance with the Father? *Arius* denied it; for which he was condemned in the Council of *Nice*, in 323. As may be seen in my Treatise of *Arianism*, under the Letter A.

The sixth; If there be two Persons in Christ, as there are two Natures, viz. the divine, and the human? *Nestorius* affirmed it, and was condemned in the general Council of *Ephesus*, in 434. As is seen in my Treatise of *Heresies*, under the Letter H.

The seventh; If there be two Natures in Christ? *Eutyches* and *Dioscorus* say, that before the hypostatical Union there were two Natures, viz. the divine, and the human; but that after the Union a Coalition was made of the two into one; for which they were condemned in the general Council of *Chalcedon*, in 454. As may be seen in my Treatise of *Eutychianism*, under the Letter E.

The eighth; If in Christ there be only one Will? *Macarius* Patriarch of *Antioch*, *Cyrus* of *Alexandria*, *Sergius* of *Constantinople*, and several others, though they acknowledged two Natures in Christ, said notwithstanding that there was but one Will, viz. the divine; for which they were called *Monothelites*, and condemned in the general Council of *Constantinople*, in 679. As is seen in my Treatise of *Heresies*.

The ninth; if the Holy Ghost is God? The *Macedonians* denied it; for which they were condemned in the first general Council of *Constantinople*, in 383.

The tenth; If Baptism could be repeated, or reiterated? Which Controversy can be understood in two Manners. 1. If Baptism, once validly administered, can be repeated? *Marcion* affirmed it. 2. If Baptism administered by Hereticks, can be administered? The *Donatists* affirmed it; who were condemned in a Council at *Rome*, in 313.

The eleventh; If a Man, without God's Grace, can by the sole Strength of Nature, observe the Law if he will? *Pelagius* and *Celestius* affirmed it; but were condemned in the Council of *Carthage*, and in that of *Milvium*, in 416.

The twelfth; If Infants were born in the Original Sin, and wanted Baptism to wash it off? The same *Pelagius* and *Celestius* denied it.

In these and the like Controversies, which they omit, say they, for Brevity Sake, there are three Things to consider; 1. That one of the contending Parties was clearly, and perspicuously condemned. 2. That that Condemnation was made by the Catholick Church as a Judge. 3. That the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* have acknowledged that Condemnation to be just. For they confess that *Novatian*, *Sabellius*, *Paul* of *Samosata*, *Arius*, *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, *Dioscorus*, the *Monothelites*, *Macedonians*, *Donatists*, and *Pelagians*, were deservingly condemned, and should be reputed as Hereticks, and no otherwise

otherwise than by the Decision of the Church ; for if the Scripture had been the sole Judge, and the Church had not interposed her Sentence, those Controversies had lasted to these Days ; and it would not appear, yet clear to all, that the aforesaid Authors are to be considered as Hereticks, but as they have been convinced by the Church, the Thing is certain, and indubitable.

When the Catholicks are asked ; what if the Church had erred in pronouncing her Sentence ? They answer, that it is the same as if they were asked, what if Christ, the Apostles, and the Prophets, had been guilty of Falshood ? Since themselves have declared, that the Church cannot err, or be mistaken ; for that Church, according to Christ himself, is founded on a Rock ; and *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against her*, Matt. xvi. 18. *It is the Pillar and Ground of the Truth*, 1 Tim. iii. 15. *It shall never be confounded, nor put to Shame*, Isaiah liv. 4, 17. and every Tongue that shall rise against thee, thou shalt condemn.

They deduce their *sixth Argument*, from the Analogy of a Judge of civil Controversies ; which they are of Opinion, contributes much towards clearing up this Point ; and, which they propose in this Manner ; between the Affairs of Faith and of Religion, on one Part, and between the civil and political Affairs, on the other, several different Sorts of Analogy can be considered. 1. As in political and civil Affairs there arise often Debates and Controversies, which require a Judge to decide between the contending Parties ; the same Thing happens, likewise, in Faith, and Religion. 2. As in civil Controversies, these three Things are distinguished ; viz. the Judge, the written Law, and the common Law, or Custom : Likewise in Controversies of Faith, these three Things are distinguished, the Judge, the Scripture of both Testaments, and the Tradition. 3. As the Prince, or secular Magistrate discharge the Office of Judge, in the Decision of civil Controversies ; Likewise an ecclesiastical Synod discharge the Office of Judge, in the Decision of Controversies of Faith. 4. As the written Law, is as the Rule which the secular Judge follows in the Decision of civil Controversies : Likewise the Scripture of both Testaments, is as the Rule which the ecclesiastical Judge follows in deciding Controversies of Faith. 6. As the written Law is not sufficient alone ; but the written Law and Customs together : Likewise the Scripture of both Testaments, is not a sufficient Rule of all Controversies of Faith ; but the Scripture, and Tradition together.

These, say the Catholicks, are clear ; which notwithstanding, least some should doubt of it, they explain thus, in a concise Manner, each Article ; and first, that a Prince, or secular Magistrate does the Office of Judge, in civil Controversies, wants no great Proof ; since that is witnessed by a daily Experience, in all Kingdoms, and Provinces : For every where civil Contentions and Causes are referred to the Prince, and civil Magistrate ; whom the contending Parties acknowledge for their lawful Judge ; and which is also confirm'd, by both civil and canonical Law : There being in both Titles, *de officio judicis ordinarii, & delegati* ; and there is no-body such a Stranger in those Affairs, as to understand by an ordinary, or delegated Judge, the written Law : Since it is certain, that that is the ordinary Judge, who has the ordinary Jurisdiction and Power ; and that is the delegate Judge, who having received Power from the Ordinary, supplies his Place.

Then, it can be easily proved, that the written Law cannot be Judge ; especially in three Cases. 1. When that Law is obscure and ambiguous ; for, then, another Judge or Interpreter is wanted to explain its Meaning. 2. When one Law seems repugnant to the other, which frequently happens ; for then, there must be a Judge capable to reconcile them together. 3. When the Words of the Law, which are general, should be restrained in some Cases, though they be not so of themselves ; which happens when some particular Case, which the Legislator, when he made the Law, did not foresee ; and if he had foreseen it, would not have included it under that Law ; therefore, in such a Case, one must judge contrary to the Words of the Law ; and who will be then the Judge ? not the Law itself ; since it neither destroys nor judges itself ; therefore, there must be another Judge distinct from the Law.

Lastly, all Lawyers agree, that the written Law alone, cannot be a sufficient Rule for the Decision of all civil Controversies ; but the Custom is required besides, especially in two Cases. 1. When a Controversy arises, of which there is no written Law extant ; then the Custom, if there be any, is to have the Force of Law. 2. When there is a written Law, but the Meaning and Sense thereof is ambiguous ; and cannot appear but from the Custom and Tradition ; then it must be taken for Law.

When they are asked, what is to be done when some Controversy occurs, which can be decided neither by the written Law, nor by the Custom ; and what Rule a Judge must then follow ? They answer ; that the Judge must then form his Sentence on natural Equity ; and more particularly, when some Case occurs which is included under the Words of the Law, but not under the Meaning of the Legislator. The same can be done in Controversies of Faith and Religion ; for if some Controversy should happen, which can be decided neither from the Scriptures nor from Tradition, recourse must be had to the Assistance of the Holy Ghost ; who, though he commonly be present, to those who implore him ; he would more particularly then, teach us all Truth, according to the Promise of Christ ; which Remedy was used by the Apostles in the Council of Jerusalem. All these are Arguments used by the Catholicks, to prove that the Church, and not the Scripture, is Judge of the Controversies of Faith.

Let's hear, at present, how they answer to the Objections of their Adversaries.

The first Objection is taken from this of *Isaiah*, c. viii. v. 20. *To the Law and to the Testimony* : Whence it is inferred, that the Jews in the Old Testament, when some Controversy arose, were sent to *the Law and Testimony*, i. e. to the Scripture.

To this the Catholicks answer, that the Objection is an Error of their Adversaries. 1. Because they have proved already, say they, that the Pontiff, and not the Scripture, was the Judge of Controversies in the Old Testament. 2. Because these Words, to *the Law and Testimony*, are to be taken in a Sense quite different from theirs ; as it appears from what precedes, which is this, *ver. 19. and when they shall say unto you, seek unto them that have familiar Spirits, and unto Wizards that peep, and that mutter ; should not a People seek unto their God, for the living to the Dead ?* TO THE LAW AND TO THE TESTIMONY : *If they speak not according to this Word, it is because there is no Light in them* ; all which is said against those who used to consult Pythoneses, and Jugglers, to know Futurity ; and are sent, in Part, to the Law which forbids that, *Deut. xiii. 9.* and in Part to the Testimony of the Prophets, whom God had appointed to foretel Futurity.

Therefore, the Sense of those Words, to *the Law and Testimony*, is this ; if you will be certain of future Events, you must not consult Pythoneses, as *Saul* did, 1 *Sam. xxviii. 7.* because God has forbid it by his Law, to which I refer you ; but consult the Prophets of the Lord, whose Office is to foretel Futurity. But what Report has this to the Judge of Controversies ? None at all, answer the Roman Catholicks, unless our Adversaries would reason thus ; it is not lawful to consult Pythoneses on future Events : Therefore the Scripture alone is judge of Controversies ; which is a very ridiculous Reasoning, and is, notwithstanding that of their chief Rabbins.

The second Objection is taken from this of *John*, c. v. 39. *Search the Scriptures* ; there, say the Roman Catholicks Adversaries, *Christ* refers us to the Scripture, as to the Judge of Controversies. But the Roman Catholicks pretend, that they would not speak thus if they understood the Meaning of *Christ*. *Christ*, in that Chapter, disputing with the Jews, who denied that he was the Son of God, and he proves himself to be such, by four Testimonies.

1. By the Testimony of *John Baptist* ; you, says he, have sent to *John*, and he witnessed the Truth. For this was his Testimony, *Behold the Lamb of God*. And again, *John* i. 34. and I saw, and I bare Record that he is the Son of God.

2. By the Testimony of the Miracles he operated : *I have*, says he, *a greater Testimony than John ; for the Works*

Works which the Father has given me to do, witness of me, that the Father has sent me.

3. By the Testimony of God the Father; *he has witnessed of me, viz. when he has said from Heaven, Matt. iii. 17. and Luke ix. 35. This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.*

4. By the Testimony of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, *search, says he, the Scriptures, for in them you think you have eternal Life, and they are they which testify of me; as if he had said, if you will not receive the two former Testimonies, you cannot reject the Testimonies of the Scriptures of which you boast so much: Those, if you search them with Attention, witness of me that I am the Messiah, why don't you believe them?*

Whence the Catholics conclude that their Adversaries, instead of arguing against them, argue rather against themselves, for they pretend that the Scripture alone is judge of the Controversies, and that Christ refers us to them; when he does quite the contrary; for Christ in the Controversies he had with the *Jews*, whether he was the Son of God, did not refer them to the Scripture alone; but, first, to the Testimony of *John Baptist*; afterwards to that of his Miracles, which shewed that he was God; then to the Testimony of God the Father, who confirmed it by a Voice from Heaven; and lastly, that they may experience all Things, to the Testimony of the Scripture.

The third Objection is taken from this, *Acts xvii. 11. And searched the Scriptures daily, whether these Things were so.* Here the Adversaries of the *Roman Catholics*, say, that the *Bereans* had not believed blindly what the Apostles said; but examined all Things according to the Rules of the Scripture: And therefore it is reasonable we should follow their Example, and acknowledge the Scripture alone for Rule and Judge. The *Roman Catholics* say that this Reasoning will appear vain, if we inquire into the Merit of the Cause; which is this, the Apostle *St. Paul*, as it is expressly marked in the same Chapter, *reasoned, first, with those of Thessalonica, and afterwards with those of Berea, out of the Scriptures, opening and alledging that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the Dead; and that this Jesus whom he preached unto them was Christ; what did the People of Berea? They received the Word with all Readiness of Mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those Things were so.*

Therefore the Sense of that Passage is this: The People of *Berea* hearing the Apostle quote some Testimonies of the *Old Testament*, to prove the Death and Resurrection of Christ; they searched if what the Apostles alledged was uniform to those Testimonies of the Scripture; not as if they doubted of the Death and Resurrection of Christ, which had been sufficiently proved to them by the Miracles which the Apostle had operated (*2 Thessal. i. 5.*) but to confirm themselves more and more in the Faith, if they could find what the Apostle preached had been foretold by the Prophets.

What can our Adversaries, ask the *Roman Catholics*, conclude from that Sense? Nothing to the Purpose, unless, perhaps, they would conclude thus: The People of *Berea* searched the Testimonies of the Scriptures alledged by *St. Paul*; therefore the Scripture alone is Judge of Controversies, which is the same as if you was to say, the *Lutherans* search the Passages of *St. Augustin*, quoted by *Bellarmino*: Therefore *St. Augustin* is sole Judge of Controversies: Or thus: *Kennetius*, in his Examen of the Council of *Trent*, searched the *Traditions* alledged by the *Catholics*: Therefore *Tradition* alone is Judge of Controversies: Or, lastly thus, The Disciples of *Cicero* searched the Citations quoted by their Master; therefore *Cicero* is the sole Author of the *Latin Tongue*. Away, away, say the *Roman Catholics*, with those ridiculous Consequences, which, notwithstanding, are much esteemed by their Adversaries, because they have no better.

The most simple among our Enemies, say the *Roman Catholics*, reason thus: The Judge of Controversies in Matter of Faith, must be infallible; for if he was subject to Error, all those who should follow his Sentiment, would run the Risk of being led into Error. But it is certain, on one Part, that the Scripture is infallible, since it is the Word of God which cannot err; and, on the

other, that Men, far from being infallible, are rather Liars, and subject to Error, according to this, *Rom. iii. 4. God is true, but every Man a Liar.* Therefore, the Scripture can be an infallible Judge, but Men, being Liars, cannot: but the Church is but an Assembly of Men: Therefore the Church is a Liar, and can err, and no Body is safe, in Matter of Faith, that follows their Sentiment.

This Objection, says the *Roman Catholics*, if it be of any Weight, can no less be used against our Adversaries, than they use it against us. For if all Men be Liars, and can err; it follows necessarily, that *Moses*, the Prophets, Evangelists, *Luther*, *Calvin*, and all the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* Preachers, are Liars, and can err, since they are Men; therefore they are not to be believed or trusted; and all they say must be uncertain and suspicious. Where shall we find the Faith then? It is ridiculous for them to say, that they preach the Word of God, and not that of Man; for if they are Liars, they can lie likewise in Matter of Faith; and therefore nothing is certain.

But God forbid, continue they, we should speak or think thus: Since the Thing is quite otherwise. For, 1. We confess that the Scripture is infallible, because it is the Word of God; but we add, that it is often obscure, and that every Body cannot discover the true Sense thereof. Therefore another Judge is wanted, capable to determine, infallibly, which is the genuine Sense of the Scripture. Every private Person cannot be that judge; otherwise there were as many different Judges, as there are different Chapters, and Sentences; and thus no Controversy could ever be adjusted; for every one would prefer his own Sentiment to that of others: Therefore it is necessary, that there should be some publick Judge invested with the Power of deciding with Authority between the contending Parties.

Then they maintain, *viz. the Roman Catholics*, that Men can be consider'd in two Manners. 1. As being *Adam's Children*, and subject to several natural Infirmities: And as such have a certain Propensity to Falshood. *Gen. viii. 21. and Psalm xxxix. 6.* 2. As they are directed, and govern'd by the Holy Ghost, for the Instruction of others: And thus they are infallible, and without Falshood. Such was in the Old Testament, *Moses*, with the Council of the Antients, *Numb. xi. 17.* such were all the Pontiffs, his Successors, *Deut. xvii. 9. Hag. ii. 12. and Mal. ii. 7.* such were the Prophets, *Isaiah, Jeremiab, Ezekiel, Daniel*, and others, *Jer. i. 7.* such were in the New Testament, the Apostles, to whom it was said, *John xv. 26. But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, he'll teach you all Truth.* But what says all Truth, exclude all Falshood. Lastly, such was always the Church, and always will be, which because of the continual Assistance and Direction of the Holy Ghost, has never erred, and cannot err, say the *Roman Catholics*.

When they are asked, whether all, and every one of the Members of the Church have that Assistance and Direction of the Holy Ghost, so as to be incapable to err in the Faith? They answer, that every Member of the Church has that Assistance while they continue in the Church; but that so soon as they separate themselves from the Church, from that very Instant they begin to err. Which they prove by two Similitudes; one taken from the Proportion of the human Body: For if you ask whether every Member of the human Body, have in them the vital and sensitive Spirits, whereby Life is preserv'd? It is answer'd, that they have them, but only dependantly of the Head and Heart, since from the Head and Heart, as from a double Principle, those Spirits flow into the other Members. Whence if they be interrupted, and the Canals through which that Circulation is accomplished, obstructed; the other Members must be deprived of those Spirits, and their Functions suspended. The same Thing happens in the Church; every one of the Faithful, who are like the Members of the Church, have the Assistance and Direction of the Holy Ghost, but dependently of the Church, for while they remain united by the Doctrine of the Councils, they partake of the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, and cannot err in the Faith. But if by Discord, and Stubbornness, they separate themselves from the Church; they stop all the Passages through which

that divine Assistance and Direction could flow to them. As it happen'd to *Arius*, *Nestorius*, *Pelagius*, and six hundred others.

The other Similitude can be taken from a Flock of Sheep, which according to Christ himself, *John* x. represents very well the Church. For as a whole Flock gather'd in the same Sheep-fold, has the continual Assistance of the Shepherd, which with his Crook, and Dogs, defend it against the Wolves: Likewise the whole Church of the Faithful assembled in one same Faith and Spirit, has the continual Assistance of his divine Shepherd, who said, *I am the good Shepherd, and I know my Sheep*, *John* x. 14. and again, *Matt.* xxviii. 20. *And lo, I am with you always, even unto the End of the World.* And as every Sheep, while they remain in the Flock, under the Care of the Shepherd, are secure against Wolves, and other Enemies: Likewise every Christian, while they remain united with the Church, *i. e.* with the Doctrine and Sentiment of the Church, they are safe against all Danger of Error and Infidelity. Lastly, as the Sheep which err from the Flock are destitute of the Protection of the Pastor, and exposed to all Sorts of Dangers; likewise Christians, who forsake the Doctrine of the Church, are destitute of the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, and exposed to all Sorts of Errors.

Another grand Question is that relating to PURGATORY; which Question is, whether there be some Place, where the Souls of the Just, which have not been sufficiently purged in this Life, are purged afterwards, before they are received into the everlasting Kingdom. The *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* answer this Question in the Negative; and the *Catholicks* in the Affirmative, and prove their Assertion chiefly by these four Arguments. The first is taken from the Suffrages of the Living for the Dead. The second from that a mortal Sin having been remitted, the whole Punishment due to it is not always remitted. The third from that the Just die sometimes with some venial Sins. And the fourth from the Scripture, and the Fathers.

Therefore the first Argument is this: The Faithful in this Life, pray rightly and usefully for the Dead; but they do not pray for those who are either in Heaven or in Hell: Therefore they pray for those in Purgatory; and, therefore, there is a Purgatory. The Major they prove in two Manners; *viz.* by the Scripture, and by the Practice and Custom of the Church. They quote from the Scripture, *lib.* 2. *Macc.* xii. 43. a very strong and clear Passage, where *Judas Maccabeus* commanded to offer a Sacrifice for the Dead; and his Command is approved of in the same Chapter, in this Word, it is therefore, *a holy and salutary Thought to pray for the Dead, that they may be delivered from their Sins.* By the Practice and Custom of the Church *St. Augustin* writes thus, *lib. de cura pro mortuis, c. 1.* *we read in the Books of the Maccabees, says he, that a Sacrifice was offered for the Dead. But if even such a Thing had never been read in the antient Scriptures, the Authority of the universal Church, which is conspicuous in that Custom, is not of a little Weight, where in the Prayers which the Priests offer to the Altar of the Lord God, the Recommendation of the Dead, has likewise its Place.* And in the same Book, *Chap. iv.* *The Prayers for the Souls of the Dead, which the Church has undertook should be said for all the Dead, in a Christian, and Catholick Society, are not to be forgotten or neglected.*

Their second Argument is this: It happens often, that a Man who has committed a mortal Sin, is absolved of the mortal Couple, and consequently of the eternal Punishment, notwithstanding which he remains subject to some temporal Punishment; therefore if he dies before he has satisfied for it in this Life, he must do it in the other; which can be done no where else but in Purgatory. This Discourse is founded, say they, on that God remits sometimes a mortal Sin, and the eternal Punishment due to it; so that, notwithstanding, he wills that the Man whom he has forgiven should be punish'd by some temporal Pain, not only to deter him from falling again into the same Faults, but to satisfy, in some Manner, to his Justice. As a Prince forgives sometimes an Offence, and remits the Punishment it has deserved; though that the publick Justice should not appear neglected, he will sometimes punish him either with Exile

or Imprisonment. Which can be proved by several Examples of the Scripture. 1. Because *Moses* and *Aaron*, for the Sin of Incredulity, which had been remitted to them, were, notwithstanding, punished with a temporal Death, *Numb.* xx. 12. and *Deut.* xxxii. 48. 2. Because *David*, after he had obtained Forgiveness for his Sin of Adultery and Murder, was notwithstanding punished with the Death of his Son; 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 10.

The third Argument: Because it happens, likewise, sometimes that a just Man die guilty of some venial Sin, or Imperfections, especially when he dies suddenly, and has no Time to recollect himself, or ask Forgiveness, and thus remains subject to the temporal Pain due to those Sins or Imperfections; in such a Case he cannot be admitted into Heaven till he has been purged of those Sins, and the temporal Pain due to them has been remitted. *Rev.* xxi. 27. Neither can he be purged in this Life from a Supposition: And as that Remission can be done, neither in Heaven, nor in Hell; it follows necessarily that it must be in Purgatory.

Their fourth Argument is taken from divers Testimonies of the Scripture, whereby the Fathers prove the Purgatory. The first, *Matt.* xii. 32. *But whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, nor in the World to come;* whence it is inferred, that there are some Sins, which are forgiven in the World to come; as *St. Augustin* urges, *Lib. de civit. Dei. c. 24.* The second, *Luke* xxiii. 42. *Lord remember me when thou comest into thy Kingdom.* Which certainly he had not said, unless he had thought that Christ could remit his Sins after this Life, as the same *St. Augustin* says, *Lib. 6. cont. Julian. c. 15.* The third, *1 Cor.* iii. 15. *But he himself shall be saved; yet so as by Fire.* Which *St. Augustin*, on the *Psalms* xxxviii. and in some other Places, interprets of the Fire of Purgatory. The fourth, *1 Cor.* xv. 29. *Else what shall they do, which are baptized for the Dead, if the Dead rise not at all?* where to be baptized for the Dead is the same, as to submit oneself to voluntary Afflictions, to deliver them out of Purgatory.

To this Sentiment of the *Roman Catholicks* it is objected, 1. That the Scripture teaches that there are but two Places for departed Souls; one of Beatitude in Heaven; and the other of Damnation in Hell. *Matt.* xxv. 46. *And these shall go away into eternal Punishment, but the Righteous into Life eternal.*

To this the *Catholicks* answer, that after the Day of Judgment there will be only those two Places for the Adults, as it appears from the Text quoted; but that, at present, there are several, as there was in the *Old Testament.* For if there was not, the *Catholicks* ask their Adversaries to be pleased to tell them, where the Souls of those risen from the Dead, were? Where was the Soul of the Son of the Widow of *Sarepta*, before he was risen from the Dead, by the Prophet *Elias*? Where was that of the Son of the *Shunamite*, risen from the Dead by the Prophet *Elisba*? Where was that of the Son of the Widow of *Naim*, risen by *Jesus Christ*? That of the Daughter of *Jairus*, Prince of the Synagogue? That of *Lazarus*? That of *Tabitha*, risen by *St. Peter*? Or where, ask they, could be those Souls before they were recalled to Life again: Not in Hell, since, according to the Scripture, there is no Redemption from thence: Nor in Heaven, otherwise it had not been a Benefit, but rather a Punishment, to make them return from an eternal Felicity to a mortal Life: Therefore there must be another Place distinguished from those two.

2. That the Scripture teaches that the Souls of the just who depart this Life, are immediately received into everlasting Glory, without the least mention of Purgatory. *Luke* xxiii. 43. *To Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.* And, *Philip.* i. 23. *Having a Desire to depart, and to be with Christ.*

The Answer of the *Catholicks* to this Passage is, that the Scripture does not speak in this Place of all the Elects, but only of some: For those who depart without any Spot, are immediately received into Heaven; and those who have something to expiate, must wait 'till they have accomplished that Expiation, notwithstanding the Passages of the Scripture above quoted: For this, *To Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*, was a special Privilege granted

granted to the Thief, when Christ forgave him liberally all his Sins, without any further Obligation of a temporal Pain after Death, which is not granted to all, and from this, *having a Desire to depart, and to be with Christ*, nothing can be inferred, but that the Apostle had a great Desire to live with Christ, which every Body can have.

Another grand Question in Theology, is that which regards the Merit of good Works: For it is asked, whether a righteous Man, assisted by the Grace of God, can operate good Works, so as to be meritorious of the eternal Life? Those, who have made a Divorce with the Roman Church, answer this Question in the Negative, because they imagine that the original Sin remains in the Righteous, and contaminates all their Actions, so that they rather deserve Death than eternal Life. Such is Calvin's Sentiment, *lib. 2. instit. c. 1. § 9. and lib. 3. c. 15. § 3.* But the Catholics answer the same Question in the Affirmative, and say, 1. That some of the Works of the Righteous are good, honest, and agreeable to God. 2. That the same Works are meritorious of the eternal Life.

They prove the first Part of their Assertion from a contrary Foundation. For it is an Article of Faith, say they, that all Sins are carried off in the Justification, and a Grace or inherent Justice infused, which renders Man agreeable to God, or just and holy; according to this, *Acts iii. 19. Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your Sins may be blotted out.* And *Heb. ix. 28. Christ was once offered to blot out the Sins of many.* Whence it follows, that as bad Works proceed from an unrighteous Man; likewise good Works, and agreeable to God, proceed from a righteous Man. According to this of Christ, *Matt. vii. 18. A good Tree cannot bear bad Fruit, nor a bad Tree good Fruit.* And *John xv. 5. I am the Vine, you are the Branches; he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much Fruit.* Whence they deduce two Arguments, one, that a good Tree cannot bear bad Fruits; but a righteous Man is a good Tree, *Psal. xcii. 13.* Therefore a righteous Man cannot produce bad Fruits. The other, no Branch of a fruitful Vine can produce bad Fruits; but the Apostles were Branches of a fruitful Vine, *viz. Christ*, therefore the Apostles could not produce bad Fruits; the same may be said of other righteous Men.

To this is objected, this Passage of *Isaiah lxiv. 6. But we are all as an unclean Thing, and all our Righteousnesses are filthy Rags.*

To this the Catholics answer, that the Prophet speaks in this Place, of the impious, and not of the righteous; not of all but only of the Jews; not of all their Works, but only of their Sacrifices, in which they made all their Righteousness consist; which, notwithstanding God had in Execration; according to this, *Isaiah, i. 13. Bring no more vain Oblations, Incense is an Abomination unto me, &c.*

Then they object this of the *Ecclesiastes, c. vii. 20. For there is not a just Man upon Earth that doth good, and sinneth not.*

To which the Catholics answer, that this must not be understood of mortal Sins; because of those it is written, *1 John iii. 9. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit Sin.* But of venial Sins, according to this Proverb, *c. xxiv. 16. For a just Man falleth seven Times, and rises up again.*

The Catholics prove the last Part of their Assertion, by the eternal Life being called in the Scripture, the Reward or Price of good Works, *Matt. v. 12. Rejoice and be exceeding glad: For great is your Reward in Heaven.* And *c. xx. 8. Call the Labourers and give them their Hire.* And *Romans ii. 6. Who will render to every Man according to his Deeds: To them who by patient Continuance in well-doing, seek for Glory and Honour, and Immortality; eternal Life, &c.* And *1 Corin. iii. 8. And every Man shall receive his own Reward according to his own Labour.* And *Galat. vi. 8. For he that soweth in the Flesh, shall of the Flesh reap Corruption: but he that soweth in the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap eternal Life.* And *2 Tim. iv. 7. I have fought a good Fight, I have finished my Course, I have kept the Faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Glory.*

The first Objection against this Sentiment of the Roman Catholics, is that the eternal Life is an Inheritance; but

an Inheritance is due to the Children, not by Merit, but of Right: Therefore, &c.

To this the Catholics answer, that it is an Inheritance, with Respect to Children, who die after they have received Baptism; but not with Respect to the Adults; according to this, *Coloss. iii. 23. And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto Men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the Reward of the Inheritance: For ye serve the Lord Christ.* And this must not appear surprising, say they, 1. Because the Adults are not the Children of God by Nature, but only by Adoption; for God has adopted them, with this Condition, that they should not enter the Inheritance, unless they would obey his Commands; and by obeying, merit the Inheritance. It is the same of Christ; for the hypostatical Union supposed, the Glory of the Body, and the Exaltation of the Name was due to him by Right of Inheritance; notwithstanding which, he has obtained it by his Merits, *Philip. ii. 8.*

The second Objection is, that we are useless Servants; *Luke xvii. 10. So likewise ye, when you shall have done those Things which are commanded, you say we are unprofitable Servants.* What then do we merit? Nothing.

The Catholics answer, that it appears from this Place, how their Adversaries abuse the Scriptures: For a little before that, we were the Children; and that eternal Life was due to us, by a Title of Inheritance, without being obliged to work: And at present they object, that we are unprofitable Servants, to whom nothing is due; which they do, conclude they, to oppose the Truth, in whatever Manner it can be done. Then they ask, if Christ calls unprofitable Servants, those who keep his Commandments? If the former, then the Servants of God can observe all the Commandments; which, say they, is against their Adversaries: If the latter, it concludes nothing against them; for they confess, that those who do not observe God's Commandments are unprofitable Servants, and do not merit eternal Life.

But to the Purpose, continue they; the Words of Christ can have a triple Sense: The first is, that we are of ourselves unprofitable Servants; for though we observe all that is commanded to us, we do not observe it by our own Strength, but by the Grace of God: According to the Explication of St. Ambrose, *lib. 8. on St. Luke.* Whence we can consider ourselves in two Manners: 1. With regard to our own Strength, as being born of Adam, and thus we are unprofitable Servants. 2. With regard to the Co-operation of the Divine Grace, as being regenerated in Christ; and thus we are profitable Servants. *2 Tim. ii. 21.*

The second Sense is, that we are unprofitable Servants, with respect to God, though we observe all the Commandments, because we do no Service to God, and he wants none of our good Works. According to the Exposition of Bede, in the Commentary. Hence it appears, likewise, that we can be called profitable, and unprofitable Servants; profitable with regard to us, because all the Good we do in observing the Commandments return to our own Profit and Utility; we sow and reap for ourselves: We are unprofitable with respect to God, because all our Labour, and Industry, is of no Service to him.

The third Sense is, that we are unprofitable Servants, even when we observe all the Commandments; because unless he had entered into a liberal Covenant with us, we could not in Justice have expected any Reward from him. According to the Exposition of St. Augustin, *serm. 3. de verbis Dom.* Whence it appears, again, how we are called profitable, and how unprofitable. For notwithstanding all we do, we are unprofitable with regard to the Reward of eternal Life, the divine Covenant and Promise excluded; and profitable, by the Intervention of that Pact and Promise.

Let our Adversaries, say the Roman Catholics, chuse which they please of those three Senses, and they'll discover easily, that they do nothing against the Merit of good Works. They are surprised, say they, that their Adversaries search so carefully the Testimonies of the Scripture, whereby we are called unprofitable Servants, and dissemble those whereby we are called profitable: *Matt. xxv. 23. Well done good and faithful Servant; thou hast*

hast been faithful over a few Things, I will make thee Ruler over many Things; enter thou into the Joy of thy Lord.

Their third Objection is, that the Apostle says, *Rom. viii. 18. There are no Passions of this Time proportioned to the future Glory.* Whence it follows, that there is no Proportion between our Works and the eternal Life; but between the Merit and the Reward there must be a Proportion.

The Catholics answer, that the same Apostle says, *2 Thess. i. 5. That ye may be counted worthy of the Kingdom of God, for which ye also suffer.* Where he seems to acknowledge a Proportion; therefore they must explain, say they, how both Passages are true. And, 1. If we consider the Duration of the Time, there is no Proportion between the present Works, and the future Glory; for this is eternal, and those are momentaneous: But if we consider Grace, from which proceeds all meritorious Works, there is a Proportion between them and the divine Glory; for Grace is the Seed of Glory. Therefore as there is a sufficient Proportion between the Seed and the Tree; likewise between Grace and Glory. That that Proportion is sufficient, though there be no Proportion of Duration, appears from this, *2 Cor. iv. 17. For our light Affliction, which is but for a Moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding, and eternal Weight of Glory.* Here, conclude they, the Apostle confesses what we have said, *viz. that our Works are momentary, and the Glory eternal; and that though our Works be momentary, they notwithstanding merit eternal Life; and that the Faculty of Meriting, is Grace.*

I'll conclude this Course of *Theology* by a concise Treatise on the *HEXAMERON*, or Work of the six Days; but before we enter into a particular Detale of that Work; we must answer some Questions, which will contribute much towards the Intelligence thereof, *viz. 1. If God be the immediate Author of all the Things mentioned in the first Chapter of Genesis, as produced by him? And whether they were all produced together, and in the same Instant, or successively in different Days? To which,*

I answer, 1. That *God is the immediate Author of all the Things mentioned in the first Chapter of Genesis, as produced by him;* because it is wrote so in express Terms in the said Chapter, where it is said, that *in the Beginning God created the Heaven, and the Earth, &c.* And *Psal. cxlvi.* it is said, that *he made the Heaven, and the Earth, the Sea and all the Things which are in them.*

I answer, 2. That *those Works which are said in the First Chapter of Genesis to have been produced by God, were not produced together, and in the same Instant; but successively, and in different Days.* Which I prove by the Fathers, particularly *St. Chrysostom, Homil. 2. in Genes. St. Ambrose, lib. 1. Hexameron, c. 7. St. Basil, Homil. 2. in Hexamer. St. Gregory Nazianzen, orat. 13.*

I prove it likewise by Reason; because *Moses* has wrote historically; therefore properly, and not metaphorically, otherwise we should have nothing certain. Add, that it is expressly said in that first Chapter, that *Darkness* was some Time on the Face of the Deep, whence it follows that there was no Light yet: Likewise it is said that the Earth was without Form, and void at the Beginning; whence it follows, that there were yet neither Animals nor Plants; and consequently it is to be inferred that all the Things described in that Chapter, as immediately produced by God, were not produced together, and in the same Instant.

Notwithstanding, that *St. Augustin* explains otherwise that first Chapter of *Genesis*, than of six distinct Days; as well because, *lib. 2. retract. c. 24.* he retracts in general all those Books of his which have for Title *de Genes. ad Liter.* as because, *lib. de Catechis. rud. c. 17.* he seems to embrace the Sentiment which is the most common; for after he has said that God, after he had worked for six Days successively, reposed himself the seventh, he adds these Words; *for the Omnipotent could make all Things in an Instant of Time;* as if he had said, though he could do it, he notwithstanding would not do it, for a certain Reason, and particularly for that found in *Exod. xx. viz. to teach Men they should work for six Days successively, but should abstain the seventh, from all servile Work, and spend that Day in divine Praises, in Remembrance, and Gratitude of the Benefits of the*

Creation, which are the Source and Foundation of all others.

As to the Explanation of some Words which are at the Beginning of the Book of *Genesis*; it is asked, 1. What signifies these Words, *God created the Heaven and the Earth?*

I answer, 1. That by those Words is understood that God made first of all, that which is above us, *viz. the Heaven*, and that which is under us, *viz. the Earth and the Waters*, from which the Earth was not yet separated.

It is asked, 2. What signify likewise those other Words, which are read in the same Place; *and the Earth was without Form, and void?*

I answer, that by those Words is understood, that God created the Heavens and Earth, without that Ornament they received afterwards; as is easily inferred from the following Words of the same Chapter.

It is asked, 3. What signify these Words, *and Darkness was upon the Face of the Deep?*

I answer, that by those Words is understood the immense Depth of the Waters; or, according to some other Doctors, that immense and deep Mass, consisting of Earth and Water together, was covered on its Superficy by a thick Darkness, which, occupied all the Place of the Air, because Light was not yet created.

If I be asked, *What must be understood by Darkness?* I'll answer, that by Darkness must be understood the Absence of Light in a diaphane Body, such as the Air, and Water. If God is said, *Isaiah xlv.* to have created Darkness, that must be understood only in the Sense, that he created a diaphane Body without Light. Whence it is not surprising if *St. Augustin, lib. 1. contra Epist. fundament. c. 30.* lays, that Darkness was not properly created.

It is asked, 4. What signify these Words, *And the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters?*

I answer, that these Words have almost as many different Interpretations, as there are Authors who have attempted to interpret them. For some are of Opinion, that by the *Spirit* must be understood the Wind which God excited; and this they prove from *Psal. cxliv. His Spirit will blow, and the Waters will flow.* But others believe, more probably, that by these Words it must be understood, that that Spirit, who is the third Person of the Trinity, was carried, or cover'd the Water, and formed it together with the Earth, to render it fertile, and capable of the Production which appeared on the third Day, as it commonly happens from a Mixture of Humidity with a terrestrial Matter. Lastly others, with *St. Augustin, lib. 1. de Genes. cont. Manich. c. 5. & 7.* will have the Sense of these Words to be, that the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters, as the Will of an Artist moves on the Things he is to fabricate. — From this we'll pass to an exact Detail of what was done every Day; asking, 1. *What was done on the first Day?*

To which I answer, that *God on the first Day not only created the Heaven, and Earth, and the Deep, but likewise Light, and thus the Morning and Evening were the first Day.* Because it is expressly mentioned in the first Chapter of *Genesis*. But for a clearer Elucidation of these Words,

It may be asked, 1. *What was that Light, which it is certain was not the Sun, which was created but the fourth Day, with the Moon, and Stars?*

To which I answer, that by that Light is understood either some light Body, or rather the Quality itself of Light, from which some Body is called Light; and which was diffused in the greatest Part of Heaven; tho' it must not be imagined that that Light was as bright as is that of the Sun.

It is asked, 2. *Why God, who could have produced all Things perfect at once, would thus proceed by degrees from the imperfect to the perfect?*

To which I answer, that the Reason *a priori*, is God's Will, of which various good Reasons are alledged, the first of which is of *St. Ambrose, lib. 1. Hexam. c. 7.* lest if we were to read, that all Things have been created at once, we should be inclined to believe them uncreated. The second, which is that insinuated by *St. Augustin, lib. de Catechis. rud. c. 17.* that we should observe the same Order in our Operations. And the same Father, *lib.*

lib. 1. cont. advers. leg. & prophet. c. 8. by that Light succeeded Darknefs, reaches what is to be done mystically in Man, in whom the Light of Truth and Holiness must succeed the Darknefs of Error and Sin; according to this, *2 Corint. iv. 6. For God who commanded the Light to shine out of Darknefs, hath shined in our Hearts to give the Light of the Knowledge of the Glory of God, viz. to expel the Darknefs of our Errors and Sins, which we had been wrapped in before.*

It is asked, 3. How these Words are to be understood, *God divided Light from Darknefs?*

To which I answer, that these Words are not to be understood, that Light and Darknefs had been together in the same Subject, and were afterwards separated; for that cannot be said, since the Form and the Privation thereof cannot be together in the same Subject. But these Words are to be understood thus; that God divided Light from Darknefs, 1. As to the Causes. 2. As to the Place. 3. As to the Time. The first is apparent, because there was made then a Cause of Light, and another of Darknefs. For Light was in some lucid Body, *viz.* either in some heavenly Body, or in the greatest Part of the Heaven, and from that Body it was diffused to the Parts underneath: And the efficient Cause of Darknefs was an opaque Body opposite to the lucid Body; *viz.* the Earth was in such Manner opposed to the lucid Body, that it produced Darknefs, not by some true and real Influence, but only by Interposition. As to the second and third, there is little or no Difficulty; because while Light and Day were in one Hemisphere, Darknefs and Night were in the other; for they could not be together in one and the same Place, and at the same Time; since the Form and Privation thereof cannot be together in the same Subject.

If I be asked, *How, in those three Days, Night and Day succeeded each other, since there was no Sun yet, which could be moved, and pass from one Hemisphere to the other?*

I'll answer, that it is probable enough that Day and Night succeeded each other by Means of the orbicular Motion of the celestial Body, in which existed the primordial Light; its making the Day by its Presence, and the Night by its Absence: In the same Manner the Sun, afterwards, distinguished Day and Night.

It is asked, 4. *Whether Night preceded the Day in the Creation of the World?*

To which I answer, that there are two different Sentiments on this Subject; the one negative, because God, in the Scripture, named Day before Night, because Day is preferable to Night: And the other Affirmative, because in the same first Chapter of *Genesis*, the Evening is named before the Morning. By Evening is signified Night, the Evening being the Beginning of Night; and by Morning is signified Day, because the Morning is the Beginning of Day.

From what we have said on this Subject, it can be inferred, that that Light was corporal and sensible, and not spiritual. For by that Light the three first Days are distinguished before the Production of the Sun and Stars.

We'll ask next, *what was done the second Day?*

To which I answer, that *the second Day the Firmament was made in the Middle of the Waters, to divide the Waters which are under it, from those which are above it:* Because it is thus expressly mentioned in the first Chapter of *Genesis*.

I may be asked, 1. *What is understood by the Word Firmament?* To which I answer, that there are different Sentiments relating to that Subject: For some understand by the Name Firmament, the Air, as dividing the inferior Waters, from those which are in the Clouds; and others, which is the more probable Sentiment, understand Heaven itself, in which God placed the Sun and Stars; not that the Sun and all the Stars be in one and the same Heaven, but because they are in some Heaven, which is called Firmament.

I may be asked, 2. *What must be understood by the Waters which are above the Firmament?*

To which I answer, that there are likewise different Sentiments on this Subject. For some understand by those Waters, the Clouds; others the crystalline Heaven; and the rest understand by them true Waters, and of the same Kind with the inferior and elementary Waters,

since they were all from the same Abyfs upon which the Spirit of God was moved; for no body will believe that a Thing changes its specifical Nature, by a single local Separation; though we do not know for what Reason God has left them there.

We'll ask next, *what was done the third Day?*

To which I answer, that two Things were done the third Day, 1. *God gathered the Waters in one Place, to facilitate the Generation of what the Earth was to produce.* 2. *The Plants were produced.* As it is expressed likewise in the First Chapter of *Genesis*.

For a clearer Intelligence of my Answer, we must observe, 1. That it is not to be understood, that the Waters were all gathered in one and the same Place; but that a great Part thereof was gathered in one Place, and the other Part in another Place; whence God called those gatherings of Waters the Seas in the plural Number; but notwithstanding with some Communication of those Waters between them.

If I be asked, *how this happened?* I'll answer, that by God's Command there were made in the Earth, which had been created perfectly round, several Cavities, and a great Number of Protuberances, which were called afterwards Mountains, that the Waters might retire into those Cavities.

We must observe, 2. That God, on the same Day, produced actually all Plants in a perfect State, to the Production thereof, the Earth contributed passively only by furnishing the Matter, and not actively. That he produced them in a Degree of Perfection may be inferred, from that the Plants and Herbs were necessary to feed the Animals he was to produce soon, *viz.* the fifth and sixth Day.

If I be asked, *Whether God produced actually Thorns, Thistles, and all the other Herbs, which are not proper for Food?* I'll answer in the Affirmative; either because God produced no Kinds of Herbs and Plants after that Day; or because though some Herbs and Plants be not proper for the Food of Men, they may be notwithstanding very proper, either for that of Beasts, or for some medicinal Uses.

We'll ask next, *what was done the fourth Day?*

To which I answer, That the Fourth Day were produced, all the Stars, *viz.* the Sun, Moon, &c. and those for several Ends; as expressed in the first Chapter of *Genesis*. For a clearer Elucidation of this Point, we'll make, and answer the following Questions.

It may be asked, 1. If, and in what Sense the Stars are said Chap. i. to have been made for Signs?

To which I answer, that they were thus called, because by their Motion, they make the Divisions, and Differences of Times, they make, *v. gr.* the Days, Months, Years, the Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter; and, because, from their rising and going down, are observed the proper Times for sowing, reaping, planting, sailing, &c. Likewise, because from certain Affections of the Planets, are announced Serenity or Tempests, Heat or Cold, Winds, Rain, and other such Mutations of the Air, and of the Heavens. Christ himself has approved that Prognostick in the Gospel, *Matt. xvi. and Luke xii.*

From this Answer we can infer, that the free Actions of Men cannot be influenced by the Planets; because the judiciary Astrology is condemned by the Scripture, *Iziah xli. and Jeremiah x. 2.* in these Words, *Learn not the Way of the Heathen, and be not dismayed at the Signs of Heaven.*

It may be asked 2. *Whether the Stars have a distinct Form from the Form of their Orbits?*

To which I answer, that it seems very probable they have; because, the Moon alone excepted, all the Stars and Planets are luminous of their Nature; but the Orbits in which they move, are not luminous: Add, that the Stars and Planets have the Virtue to influence the sublunary Things, but their Orbits have not. Therefore it is inferred hence, and with much Probability, that the Stars differ in Specie from their Orbits, and have particular substantial Forms, from which that Virtue of influencing proceeds.

It may be asked, 3. *Why the Sun and Moon are called great Luminaries?*

To which I answer, that they are called great Luminaries

naries or Lights, not that they are the greatest of all; but because being nearer to us than the others, they appear greater.

I may be asked, 4. *Why the Stars were produced after the Production of Plants, and not before?*

To which I answer, that it was left the Plants should have been thought produced by the Stars, as by some Divinity, which is the Reason alledged by St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. Ambrose.

We'll ask next, *what was done the fifth Day?*

I answer, that the fifth Day were produced the Fishes in Water, and the Fowls in the Air; as mentioned in the First Chapter of *Genesis*. For a clearer Elucidation of this Answer.

It may be asked, 1. *Of what Matter God produced Fowls and Fishes?*

To which I answer, that God produced both Fowl and Fish of Water, according to St. *Augustin*, lib. 9. de *Genes. ad lit. c.* 1. therefore it is not surprizing if they agree in several Things, viz. that both Fowl and Fish lay Eggs, have neither Milk, Bladder, nor prominent Ears. Notwithstanding this Place of the Scripture, *Genes. ii. 19. And out of the Ground the Lord formed every Beast of the Field, and every Fowl of the Air, and brought them unto Adam*, &c. because it cannot be inferred from this Place that the Fowls were produced of the Earth. For though *Moses* does not say here that they were produced of the Waters, he notwithstanding supposes it as already said in the preceding Chapter; and will only repeat here in Abridgment what he had said there in a more prolix Manner.

I may be asked, 2. *Why God created Fishes before Birds, and terrestrial Animals?*

To which I answer, that the Reason is, that God in the Production of his Creatures, would begin by the less perfect, and proceed to the more perfect.

I may be asked, 3. *Why Fishes are reckoned among Reptiles?*

To which I answer, that Fishes are reckoned Reptiles, because they move in almost the same Manner in the Water, as Reptiles do on Earth, viz. on their Belly.

I may be asked, 4. *Why Moses in speaking of Fishes, makes particular Mention of the Whale, and in speaking of Fowls, and Beasts of the Earth, he takes no particular Notice of any Fowl or Beast?*

To which I answer, that the Reason might have been that among Fowls and Beasts there are none of so monstrous a Bigness as the Whale is among Fishes.

We'll ask next, *what was done the sixth Day?*

To which I answer, that the sixth Day God created all the Beasts of the Earth, all Reptiles after their Kind; and lastly Man himself; as expressly mentioned in the First Chapter of *Genesis*. For a clearer Elucidation of this Article.

It may be asked, 1. *Whether the offensive Animals were produced the sixth Day with the rest?*

Which I answer in the Affirmative; either because we find in *Exodus ii.* that God produced in six Days the Heavens, Earth, Sea, and all the Things contained in them; or because it is wrote in the Third Chapter of *Genesis*, that the Serpent, which is a venomous Beast, and Man's Enemy, existed before Adam had sinned. If I be asked, *what, if Man had not sinned?* I'll answer, that if he had not sinned, those Animals had not been offensive, because of the absolute Power he had always preserved over them.

If I be asked, 2. *Why it was rather said to Fowls and Fishes, increase and multiply, than to the Beasts of the Earth?*

I'll answer, 1. That it was said to Fowls and Fishes, to denote their great Fecundity, those Animals being oviparous, and most of them laying a great Number of Eggs at once.

I'll answer, 2. With St. *Augustin*, lib. 3. de *Genes. ad lit. c.* 13. that these Words, though not expressly pronounced to the Beasts of the Earth, were notwithstanding understood, because most of those Animals were fruitful enough.

I may be asked, 3. *Whether on the fifth or sixth Day, were produced together with the aforesaid Animals, those which properly are not born, but are generated from Cor-*

ruption or Evaporation?

Which I answer in the Negative, because there did not happen so soon a Corruption of Things to facilitate the Generation of those Animals.

We'll treat next of the Creation of Man in particular; and ask, 1. *Of what Matter the Body of the first Man was formed, what Sort of Body it was; and in what State and Age it was formed?*

To which I answer, 1. *That the Body of the first Man was formed of the Dust of the Ground*, as expressly mentioned, *Genes. ii.* If I be asked, *why God would form Man, who is so noble a Creature, of so vile a Matter as is the Dust of the Earth?* I'll answer, that it was done for several Reasons, and particularly for these two.

1. For the Manifestation of the Wisdom and Power of God. 2. To curb thereby Man's Vanity, in case he should be proud of the Excellence of his Nature. For nothing humbles so much, or at least must humble so much a Man, than a serious Reflection on his Origin; as it appears from the Example of *Abraham*; for we read, *Genes. xviii.* that *Abraham*, conscious of his Formation, did not dare to speak to God.

I answer, 2. That it is probable enough, *that God formed the first Man, as to his Body, in that Stature and Bulk, which becomes a perfect Age.* Because that Work which is an immediate Production of God is perfect; for the Works of God are perfect. Whence it follows that the first Man, who was the Work of God, had a Stature neither too short, nor too tall, but very well proportioned.

I answer, 3. That it is very probable that the Body of the first Man appeared to be of that Age, Christ was about the Time of his Death; because it was said to *Adam* and *Eve* immediately after their Formation, increase and multiply; which becomes only a perfect Age: Therefore, &c.

We'll ask next, *if at the same Time Adam's Body was formed, his Soul was created, and infused into him; and what was that Soul?*

To which I answer, 1. That at the same Time *Adam's* Body was formed, his Soul was created, and infused into him: Because it is said, *Genes. ii. 7.* that God breathed into his Nostrils the Breath of Life; and Man became a living Soul. And St. *Augustin*, lib. 13. de *civit. Dei*, c. 14. understands by that *Breath of Life*, the Soul which God had created to inform the Body.

I answer, 2. *That the Soul which God informed the Body of the first Man with was incorporeal, as all our rational Souls are incorporeal:* Because the Scripture, in several Places, call in a special Manner the Soul of Man a Spirit, *Daniel iii. Luke xxiv. Acts xxiii. Hebrews iv. and xii.* but particularly 1 *Cor. ii.* where the Apostle speaks thus, *For what Man knoweth the Things of a Man, save the Spirit of Man which is in him.*

From what we have said, it may be inferred, 1. That the Souls of Men are not propagated, like our Bodies are; but are all created and infused into the Bodies when they are formed; for, as already observed, our Soul is spiritual; whence those who have imagined that the Soul could be propagated, have denied that it was incorporeal.

It may be inferred, 2. That the Soul was not before the Body; notwithstanding what the Royal Prophet says, wishing that his Soul should be delivered from Prison; nor likewise what the Apostle says of himself; *unhappy Man, who shall deliver me from the Body of this Death?* Because what they both say must be understood in a moral Sense, viz. in that Sense, that both desire to be in a better State, with respect to which the State of this Life is nothing else but a frightful Prison, and all sort of Misery.

Our next Question is, *where the first Man was created, and in what Place Eve was produced, and in what Manner?*

To which I answer, 1. *That the first Man was not created in the Garden of Eden;* because we read, *Genesis ii.* that after his Creation he was placed there.

With regard to the Garden of Eden, I may be asked, *whether it was a corporal Place, and where situated?*

To which I answer, that it was a corporal Place; because according to St. *Isidorus*, it was a Place situated

in the East ; and a local Situation imports Corporality.

I may be asked, 2. *Whether that Place was proper for a human Habitation?*

Which I answer in the Affirmative ; for according to St. *John Damascenus*, lib. 2. *ortodox. fidei*. c. 11. it was a Place where reigned a continual Spring, and an extreme wholesome Climate ; a kind of divine Country, and worthy of him who had been created at the Image of God. It is uncertain whether that charming Place exist still, since it cannot be found ; and some are of Opinion, that it was destroyed by the Deluge.

I may be asked, 3. *Why Man after his Creation was placed in the Garden?* To which I answer, that he was placed there, *to dress and keep the Garden*, as expressed, *Genes.* ii. but that Dressing had not been a laborious Work, as it was after he had prevaricated, but only an agreeable Recreation, neither was he to keep it against any Invasion, but take Care only that Man should not lose it by Sin.

I answer, 2. That *Adam and Eve were created the same Day, and the same Day God gave her to Adam for his Wife, and Companion.* According to *Genes.* ii.

I may be asked, 1. *Why God in the first Formation of all Things, would that the Woman should be formed of the Man, rather than in all other Animals?*

To which I answer, that four Reasons can be assigned for it ; the first whereof was, to prove a certain Dignity in Man, and that he should be the Principle of his whole Kind, as God is the Principle of the whole Universe. The second, that Man should love her the more, and be inseparable from her, knowing that she was produced from him. The third, that Man should be the Chief and Principle of the Woman. The fourth, that he should be a Type of the Union which was to subsist between Christ and his Church ; Christ being the Chief of the Church, as *Adam* was the Chief of the Woman.

I may be asked, 2. *Why God formed Eve of one of Adam's Ribs?* To which I answer, that two principal Reasons are assigned for it, by St. *Thomas*, p. 1. q. 92. art. 3. The first is, that there should be signified thereby the social Love and Union between Man and Woman, and that the Woman should not over-rule the Man, wherefore she was not formed of the Head ; nor be despised by the Man, wherefore she was not formed of the Feet, but of a Rib, which is not far from the Heart, which is the Source and Seat of Love. The second Reason is, that that Formation was the Figure of the Sacraments, which were to flow from the Side of Christ sleeping on the Cross, and whereby the Church was instituted.

Our next Question is, *whether the first Man was created in Grace, and the original Justice ; what must be understood by original Justice? And whether in the State of the original Justice he had all the Virtues, and how?*

To which I answer, 1. That *the first Man was created in Grace, and the original Justice* ; because according to the *Ecclesiastes* ii. God made Man righteous. But that Righteousness in Man whereby the Reason was subject to God, was not according to Nature alone, but likewise according to a supernatural Gift of Grace. And St. *Augustin*, lib. 12. *de civit.* c. 9. says, that *God was together forming Nature, and giving Grace to the Angels.* And St. *Thomas* says, that Angels and Men had equally their Share of Grace in the Creation.

If I be asked, *what must be understood by the original Justice in which the first Man was created.*

I'll answer, that by the original Justice is understood a perfect Righteousness of the whole Man, consisting in that the Soul of Man was entirely subject to God, his sensitive Appetite entirely subject to the Spirit ; and his Body was immortal, and incorruptible. Therefore it can be said that the original Justice was not a single supernatural Habit only, nor a single divine Gift, but an Assemblage of several Habits. It was, v. gr. in the Essence of his Soul, a sanctifying Grace : In his Understanding an Habit of Faith and Prudence : In his Will, an Habit of Hope, Charity, Religion, and the like ; in his sensitive Appetite there were several Habits subject to his Reason : In his Body Qualities preserving him from Malady and Death.

I answer, 2. That *Man in his State of Innocence was possessed of all Virtues* ; because such was the Righteousness

of that first State, that the Reason was entirely subject to God ; and all the inferior Faculties to Reason. And those Virtues are nothing else but certain Perfections, whereby the Reason is directed towards God ; and the inferior Faculties are disposed according to the Rule of Reason ; whence the Righteousness of the first State required, that Man should have equally all the Virtues.

But why, say you, is it said *equally*?

I answer, that that Particle, *equally*, has been added, that in that State the Virtues were not all in the same Manner in Man, some of them were in him simply, with respect to the Habit, and to the Act ; having of themselves no Imperfection, such are Charity, Justice, and Religion. Some were in him habitually and actually, though they imported some Imperfection either on the Part of the Matter, or on that of the Act ; such are Faith and Hope, since Faith is of Things which are not seen ; and Hope of Things which we have not : Which notwithstanding the first Man had those two Virtues, because they were not repugnant to the Perfection of his State. Some Virtues were in him habitually only, and not actually ; because as Virtue had some Perfection repugnant to the Perfection of the first State ; such were Repentance, which is a Sorrow of Sins committed, Compassion, which is a Sorrow of another's Calamities, who doubts that these Virtues were repugnant to the Perfection of the first State?

If I be asked, *in what Manner must be understood that Man in his State of original Innocence, had Virtues habitually only, and not actually?*

I'll answer, that it must be thus understood, that Man was disposed, in case he should be so unfortunate as to sin, to repent of it ; and if he was to see the Misery of another to have Compassion on it.

We'll ask next, *whether Man was created in the Likeness, or Similitude of God, and in what consisted that Likeness?*

To which I answer, 1. That *the first Man was created in the Likeness and Similitude of God* ; because it is expressly mentioned, *Genes.* ii.

I may be asked, *en passant, whether Eve was created likewise in the Likeness of God?* Which I answer in the Affirmative, because we read, *Genes.* i. 27. *So God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he them* ; which does not hinder, notwithstanding, that Man has a greater Right to be said formed in the Image of God than the Woman ; because he is the Chief of the Woman, and the Woman has been taken from him.

I answer, 2. That *the Likeness between God and Man consists in that Man is intelligent ; has a free Will, and an Authority over all the other Creatures.* Which is the Sentiment of almost all the Fathers of the Church.

From what we have said it may be inferred, that Man was created in the Likeness of God, not only with regard to his Soul, whereby he has the Faculty of Understanding, a Free-will, and an Authority over all the other Creatures : But likewise in some measure by reason of some corporal Quality ; such as that of his erect Stature, which God gave to no other Creature : According to this of the Poet ;

*Pronaque cum spectant animalia cetera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque tueri
Jussit, & erectos tollere ad sidera vultus.*

For does not that Stature signify, and the Power over all the Beasts, and the Office of the human Mind, viz. the Contemplation of celestial and divine Things.

We'll ask next, *whether Man had been immortal, if he had remained in his State of Innocence, and had not sinned?*

To which I answer, 1. That Man had not died if he had remained in his State of Innocence ; which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, where it is said, that Sin introduced Death into the World, *Rom.* v. *By one Man Sin has entered into the World, and by Sin Death.* For according to St. *Paul* to the *Romans* vi. *Death is the Reward of Sin*, God has threatened Man with, in these Words, *Genes.* ii. *For in the Day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die*, i. e. as St. *Jerom* explains it, *thou shalt be subject to Death.*

By the Councils, particularly those of *Carthage* and of *Milevium*, against the *Pelagians*, where St. *Augustin* as-

filled.

sifted. These are the Words of that of Milevium, Can. 1. *whoever says that the first Man Adam was created mortal, so that whether he had sinned, or not sinned, he had certainly died, not by a Punishment for Sin, but by Necessity of Nature, let him be anathema.*

By the Fathers; particularly St. *Augustin*, lib. 1. *de peccat. merit. & remit.* from Chapter second to Chapter nine, and in *Enchirid.* xxv. 26.

By Reason; because in the State of Innocence, God had given to Man a certain Faculty, whereby he could, provided he had not sinned, have remained incorruptible, and immortal, because there was a certain Virtue which his Soul had received from Heaven, which could preserve his Body from Corruption, while that Soul remained subject to God; and thus could keep the Body above the Nature of a corporal Matter; and hence appears the Difference between the Immortality of Man in the State of Innocence, and that of the glorious Body of the Blessed.

But, say you, Man could have died, at least, by Accident, *viz.* by the Sword, the Fire, the Water, &c. not at all; for God had prevented all those Accidents, if Man had not sinned.

From what we have said, it may be probably inferred, that Man had been immortal from a certain inward Cause, which St. *Leo* calls the Gift of Immortality, of which Man was divested, when the Sentence of Death was pronounced against him; which Gift of Immortality was not any Thing *ad extra*, but was inherent in his own Body.

I may be asked here, *if, and in what Manner Man could have acquired Immortality, in the State of Innocence, by the Use of the Tree of Life?*

I answer, that by the Use of the Tree of Life, Man had acquired Immortality for a certain determinate Time, but not an absolute Immortality, the first is evident, from the Doctrine of St. *Augustin*, lib. 14. *de civit.* c. 26. who says, that there was Food for Man, lest he should be hungry; drink, lest he should be thirsty: The Tree of Life, lest he should be overwhelm'd by Age; and lib. *de quest. veter. & novi Testament.* c. 19. he says, that the Tree of Life, like a Kind of Medicine, prevented Man's Corruption; the second is evident, likewise, for neither the Virtue which was inherent to the Soul, to preserve the Body, proceeded from the Tree of Life, nor, likewise, could it give the Body a Disposition to Immortality, so as that it could never die; the Reason is, because the Virtue of all Bodies is finite; Therefore, it cannot give to the Body the Faculty of lasting for ever, but only for a certain determinate Time, which indeed, says St. *Thomas*, Man had been either translated from to a spiritual Life, or had been obliged to take again of the Tree of Life.

I answer, 2. *That if Man had persevered in his State of Innocence, after some Time he had been translated without dying to the eternal Life*, because Angels were thus created for Glory, and Man likewise; whence it follows that the first Man, and his Posterity, if they had persevered in their original Justice, had been translated to a State of eternal Felicity, both Body, and Soul, and that by a Change of the Body and Soul into a better; and when God had judged proper to put a Stop to the Propagation of the human Race, they had been successively and not together translated.

We'll ask next, *whether, and what Science Adam had in his Creation?*

I answer, 1. *That Adam had a very extensive Knowledge in his Creation, both of natural and moral Things; but not such, notwithstanding, as to see God, as the Angels do, by Essence.*

I prove the first Part of my Answer, *viz.* *That Adam, in his Creation had a very extensive Knowledge both of natural and moral Things*; because he was created so as to be the Principle of other Men, not only for their Propagation, but for their Instruction likewise; which he could not have done, if he had not had a very extensive Knowledge of Things both natural and moral: Therefore, &c.

If I be asked, *how he had that Science?* I'll answer, that he had that Science by Infusion, or by infused Species; and not by acquired ones; which can only be acquired by Experience; which Experience, cannot be

gained but in Time.

I prove the second Part, *viz.* *That Adam could not see God by Essence*, because, the Reason why the Blessed in Heaven see God intuitively, or by Essence, is, that they are become impeccable; but as *Adam* sinned, it is certainly a Sign that he never saw God intuitively.

I answer, 2. *That besides the natural Science which Adam had in his perfect State, and wherefore he could be called the wisest of all Men; he had likewise, by Faith a supernatural Knowledge of several Mysteries.*

We'll treat next, of the Fall of Man, and of the Cause or Occasion of his Fall; asking first, *whether the first Man fell into Sin, and what Sort of Sin?*

I answer, 1. *That the first Man fell into Sin*; since it is expressly mentioned so in the Scripture, *Gen. ii.* where it is said, that he prevaricated in eating the forbidden Fruit, which was in the Middle of the Garden.

I answer, 2. *That the Sin of the first Man was Pride, which is the Origin of Disobedience*, for we read, *Tobit iv.* *That all Perdition took its Origin in Pride*, whence the Apostle speaks thus, *Rom. v.* *Several Sinners have been made by the Disobedience of one Man, &c.* it is certain, that Disobedience is an Act of Pride, from that the first Act of Pride, is to refuse to submit to another's Authority.

If I be asked, *in what consisted that Pride?* I'll answer, that it consisted in that our first Parents would be like God, *i. e.* had attempted to some Similitude with God; not that Similitude which is acquired by the Imitation of Virtues, to which we are exhorted by the Scripture, in these Words, *Mat. v.* *Be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect*, but that whereby he could have a perfect Knowledge of all Things, like God, and be entirely independant.

I may be asked, *why the Sin of Adam is called original; if, and how it is propagated to his Posterity; and what Effects it has?* To which I answer, that I have sufficiently resolved those Difficulties, in my Treatise of Baptism, under the Letter B.

We'll ask next, *what was the Occasion and Cause which could induce our first Parents to Sin?*

To which I answer, that the Temptation and Deceit of the Devil, was the Occasion and Cause of the Sin of our first Parents; *viz.* by their consenting to that Temptation, in eating the forbidden Fruit, because it is thus expressly mentioned in the Scripture, *Gen. iii.* where it is said, that the Devil seduced *Eve* first, and *Eve* seduced *Adam* afterwards; and was, thus, an Homicide from the Beginning, as it is inferred from, *John viii.*

If I be asked, *whether the Serpent under whose Form the Devil appeared, was corporal, and how he could tempt Man?* I'll answer, that it can be easily inferr'd from the Malediction which God fulminated against him, of his crawling on his Breast, eating Earth, &c. that he was corporal, for the Devil who is called in the Scripture a Serpent, *viz.* *2 Cor. xi.* *Apocalypse xi. 2.* made use of a corporal Serpent, and spoke through him to our first Parents, promising them that if they would eat of the forbidden Fruit, they should not die; but rather know Good and Evil, because their Eyes would be opened, and they would become sensible to God.

We'll ask next, *what have been the Effects of Adam's Sin?* Before I answer this Question, we must observe, that the Effects of the original Sin, can be considered in two Differences of Time, *viz.* either of this present Life, or of the Life to come, as well with regard to the Body, as with regard to the Soul.—These pre-observ'd,

I answer, 1. *That Adam, by his Sin, was divested of his supernatural Gifts, and wounded in his natural ones—He was divested of his supernatural Gifts*, because he was divested of his original Justice, and consequently of all the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and of the Virtues infused by themselves.

He was wounded in his natural ones; because by that Sin, he received four Wounds in the Faculties of his Soul, *viz.* Ignorance in the Understanding, Malice in the Will, Infirmity in the Irascible, and Concupiscence in the concupiscible Appetite; or, what is the same, a Propensity towards a sensible good, repugnant to right Reason.

It must be observed here, *en passant*, that it is said, that human Nature was wounded in her natural Gifts; to insinuate hereby, that it was not entirely extinct.

I answer

I answer, 2. That with regard to the Body, *all the Miseries, Pains, and Maladies a Man is subject to in this Life, are the Effects of Adam's Sin*; as can be seen in several Places of the Scripture, v. gr. Gen. ii. *for in the Day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die*; and ch. iii. *I will greatly multiply thy Sorrow and thy Conception, &c. in Sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the Days of thy Life*, Rom. vi. the Reward of Sin is Death, whence St. *Augustin* speaks thus, *Serm. xi. de verb. Dom. ii. who does not know that the Pain of Sin, is the indisputable Necessity we are reduced to of dying? and what's worse, we do not know when? the Pain is certain, but the Hour is uncertain.*

I answer, 3. That *Adam, by his Sin, became subject to eternal Death, and drew all his Posterity into the same unhappy Fate*; because a mortal Debt, or, which is the same, an Obligation to undergo an eternal Punishment, proceeds from a mortal Sin: Therefore we read *Mat. xxv. those (viz. who have committed a mortal Sin) shall go into an eternal Punishment.* It may be ask'd, 1. *In what that eternal Punishment consists?* To which I answer, that it consists in two Things, viz. in the eternal Privation of the beatifick Vision, and, according to the Scripture, in an eternal Burning.

We'll treat next of something relating to the seventh Day; and ask, *in what Sense is understood, that God reposed himself that Day, and blessed it?*

To which I answer, 2. That *God is said to have ceased from his Work the seventh Day, in that Sense, that he added nothing new to the Works of the six Days*, because it is thus insinuated by the Scripture, *Gen. ii. in these Words, And in the seventh Day God ended his Work which he had made, and he rested on the seventh Day from all his Work which he had made, and God blessed the seventh Day, &c.* and because St. *Augustin* explains it thus, *lib. iv. Gen. ad lit. viii. 12. and St. Chrysostom, homil. x. in Gen.* but we must not believe that these Words, *he reposed himself*, imports some Fatigue in God, as it happens after a very laborious Work; for God is no otherwise affected when he works, than he is when he does not work.

It may be objected, that *Eve* was produced on the seventh Day; as it appears from *Gen. ii.* Therefore, that he did not repose himself that Day, but worked.

To which I answer, by denying the Antecedent; and say, that *Eve* was form'd the sixth Day; for it is said, that God having created the Male and Female, and blessed them, *the Evening and the Morning were the sixth Day*, notwithstanding what is said, *ch. ii. of the Woman having been formed of the Rib of the Man*; because, that is to be referred to the History of the Work of the sixth Day; and is said by Manner of Recapitulation.

I answer, 2. That *the seventh Day was sanctified*, because God blessed it, and would have it destined to the divine Worship, and would have the six other Days destined to work; and that Man should be more at Liberty to serve God, he commanded him to abstain the

seventh Day from all servile Work.

If I be asked, *when Man contracted that Obligation of sanctifying the seventh Day, by abstaining from all servile Work, and applying himself to the divine Worship?*

I'll answer, that there are two Sentiments on that Subject, for some believe that that Sanctification was made from the Creation of the World; but others, on the contrary, are of Opinion, that it was said by *Moses*, by Anticipation, and that nothing else is signified thereby, but that God afterwards, viz. when he gave the Law to the *Hebrews*, commanded, that the seventh Day should be sanctified by abstaining from all servile Work, and apply themselves entirely to the divine Worship, as it may be inferr'd from *Exod. xx.* and as the Fathers, particularly St. *Cyprian*, and *Tertullian*, observe against the *Jews*.

This Order was, in my Opinion, equally political and religious, and calculated as well for the Benefit of Mankind, as for the Glory of God; for the divine Legislator who made it, knew so well all the natural Inclinations of the human Heart, that he thought himself obliged to refrain the Greediness of some Men for Gain, and hinder them from exhausting themselves in a continual Labour, to appoint them a Day of Rest, during which they could refresh themselves, recruit their dissipated Spirits, and acquire new Strength for new Labours.

The Church, afterwards, thinking in her great Wisdom, directed by the Holy Ghost, that a single Day was not sufficient, added several others to it, at different Times of the Year; which she obliged her Children to keep as religiously as the *Sunday* itself; not in carousing and abandoning themselves to all Sorts of Riots and Extravagancies, but in assisting with Piety and Devotion, to the divine Service, and spending the Intervals between those holy Occupations, in friendly and cheerful Conversation; for it was never the Intention of that tender Mother, that the whole Day should be spent, either in singing, or reading; for, then it would not be a Day of Rest; our Spirits being more spent, sometimes in those Occupations, than in the most laborious Work; therefore there should be a Medium between both Excesses, directed by a christian Prudence; the primitive Christians, employ'd the Hours of those Days which were not destined to the divine Worship, in Acts of Charity, in visiting those that were in Affliction, relieving the Poor, and communicating to each other the Progresses they had made in the Christian Virtues.

Most of those Days appointed by the Church for Days of Rest, have been reformed in some Countries, for these two Centuries past; and those which are retained for the Form only, are kept in the same Manner the *Pagans* solemniz'd their *Bacchanalia*; with this Difference only, that the *Pagans* were seen on those Days in their Temples, and that our strictly religious Christians are both heard and seen every where else but at Church.

T O R I E S.

TORIES, or TORYS, is a Party or Faction in England opposite to the *Whigs*.

These two celebrated Parties, which have so long divided the Kingdom, will make a considerable Article in the *English History*; nothing inferior, in many Respects, to that of the *Guelfs* and *Gibellins*. — The Division has gone so deep, that it is presumed, there is no *Englishman* who has any Concern or Principle at all, but inclines more to one Side than to the other; for which Reason, we shall borrow our Account of them from the Mouths of Foreigners, who may be supposed more impartial; and particularly from M. *de Cice*, a *French Officer*, sometime in the Service of *England*, who has wrote the *History of Whiggism and Torism*, printed at *Leipsic*, Anno 1717, and M. *Rapin*, whose *Dissertation sur les Whigs, et les Torys*, is very well known.

During the unhappy Wars which brought King *Charles I.* to the Scaffold; the Adherents of that King were first called *Cavaliers*; and those of the Parliament

Round-Heads; which two Names were afterwards changed into those of *Whigs* and *Tories*, on the following Occasion.

A Kind of Robbers, or Banditti in *Ireland*, who kept on the Mountains, or in the Islands formed by the vast Bogs of that Country, being called *Tories*, a Name which they still bear indifferently with that of *Rapparees*; the King's Enemies accusing him of favouring the Rebellion of *Ireland*, which broke out about that Time, gave his Partisans the Name of *Tories*; and on the other Hand the *Tories*, to be even with their Enemies, who were closely leagued with the *Scots*, gave them the Name of *Whigs*, which is that given in *Scotland* to another Kind of Banditti, or rather Fanatics, in that Country.

The *Cavaliers*, or *Tories* had, then, principally in View the political Interest of the King, the Crown, and the Church of *England*; and the *Round-Heads* or *Whigs*, proposed chiefly the maintaining the Rights and Interests of the People, and of *Protestantism*; nor have the two

Factions

Factions yet lost their first Views; though their first Names *Cavalier* and *Round-Head* be now entirely disused.

This is the most popular Account; and yet it is certain the Names *Whig* and *Tory* were but little known 'till about the Middle of the Reign of King *Charles II.* *M. de Cire* relates, that it was in the Year 1678, that the whole Nation was first observed to be divided into *Whigs* and *Tories*; and that on Occasion of the Deposition of the famous *Salamanca Doctor*, *TITUS OATES*, who accused the *Catholics* of having conspired against the King and the State. The Appellation *Whig* was given to such as believed the Plot real; and *Tory* to those who held it fictitious.

The Factions we are speaking of, may be considered, either with Regard to the *State*, or to *Religion*. The *State Tories* are either violent or moderate: The first are accused of wanting the Sovereign to be absolute in *England*, as in other Countries, and his Will to be a Law. This Party, which is not very numerous, has yet been considerable; 1. On Account of its Leaders, which have been Lords of the first Rank, and generally Ministers and Favourites. 2. In that being thus in the Ministry, it engaged the Church *Tories* to maintain stiffly the Doctrine of passive Obedience. 3. Because the King has usually thought it his Interest to support them:

The moderate *Tories* would not suffer the King to lose any of his Prerogatives; but neither would they sacrifice those of the People. Those, says *M. Rapin*, are true *Englishmen*, have frequently saved the State, and will save it again whenever it shall be in Danger, either from the violent *Tories*, or from the republican *Whigs*.

The *State Whigs* again, are either republican or moderate: The first, according to our Author, are the Remains of the Party of the long Parliament, who took in Hand to change the Monarchy into a Common-wealth: These make so slender a Figure, that they only serve to strengthen the Party of the other *Whigs*. The *Tories* would persuade the World that all the *Whigs* are of this Kind; as the *Whigs* would make us believe that all the *Tories* are violent.

The moderate *State Whigs* are much in the same Sentiments as the moderate *Tories*; and design the Government may be maintained on its antient Foundation: All the Difference is, that the moderate *Tories* lean a little more to the Side of the King, and the moderate *Whigs* to that of the Parliament and People. These last are in a perpetual Motion to prevent the Rights of the People from being broke in upon; and have sometimes taken Precautions at the Expence of the Crown.

Before we consider our two Parties with Regard to Religion, it must be observed, that the Reformation as carried on to a greater or lesser Length, divided the *English* into *Episcopalians* and *Presbyterians* or *Puritans*. The first contended that the Episcopal Jurisdiction should be continued on the same Footing, and the Church in the same Form as before the Reformation: The latter maintained, that all Ministers or Priests had the same Authority; and that the Church ought to be governed by *Presbyterians* or Consistories of Priests and Lay-Elders.

After long Disputes, the more moderate of each Party relaxed a little of their Stiffness, and thus formed two Branches of moderate *Whigs* and moderate *Tories* with Regard to Religion; but there was a much greater Number kept to their Principles, with inconceivable Firmness: And these constituted two Branches of rigid *Episcopalians*, and *Presbyterians*, subsisting to this Day; and 'till lately comprised under the general Names of *Whigs* and *Tories*; in Regard the first joined the *Tories*, and the latter the *Whigs*.

From what has been observed, some Authors conclude, that as the Names *Tories* and *Whigs* have Regard to two different Objects, they are equivocal; and of Consequence ought never to be applied without expressing in which Sense it is done. For the same Person may be, in the different Respects, both *Whig* and *Tory*.

That a *Presbyterian*, for Instance, who wishes the Ruin of the Church of *England*, is certainly on that Score, of the Party of the *Whigs*; yet if he opposes the Attempts some

of his Party would make against the Royal Authority; it cannot be denied that he is effectually a *Tory*.

That after the like Manner the *Episcopalians* ought to be esteemed as *Tories*, with Regard to the Church; and yet how many of them are *Whigs* with Regard to the Government?

That for the rest, the general Motives that have formed and kept up the two Parties, appear, in the main, to be no other than the private Motives of particular Persons, that Self-Interest is the *primum mobile* of all their Actions; ever since the Rise of these Factions, each has struggled earnestly to get the Advantage over the other; inasmuch as from such Superiority accrue Places, Honour, Promotions, &c. which the prevailing Party distributes among its own Members, exclusive of the contrary Party.

As to the Characters commonly attributed to the *Whigs* and *Tories*; the *Tories*, says *M. Rapin*, appears fierce and haughty: They treat the *Whigs* with the last Contempt, and even somewhat hard when they have the Advantage over them; they are very hot and vehement, and proceed with a Rapidity, which, yet, is the Effect of Heat and Transport, but has its Foundation sometimes in good Policy: They are very subject to change their Principles, as their Party prevails or gives Way.

If the rigid *Presbyterians* prevail in the *Whig* Party, it would not be less hot and zealous than that of the *Tories*; but it is said they have not the Direction thereof; which gives Room to affirm, that those at the Head of the *Whig* Party are more moderate than the Chief of the *Tories*; (it is a Republican that speaks) and that they usually conduct themselves on fixed Principles, proceed to their End gradually, and without Violence; and their Slowness is not less founded on good Politicks, than the Hastiness of the *Tories*. Thus much, says our Author, may be said to the Advantage of the moderate *Whigs*, that in general they maintain a good Cause, viz. the Constitution of the Government, as by Law established.

Never was that Distinction of Parties into *Whigs* and *Tories* so much taken Notice of, and never was so great a Struggle between them, to supplant one another, as under the Reign of the late Queen *Anne*. That Princess, when she ascended the Throne, took into her Confidence, and placed at the Helm all those who had been the greatest Sticklers to bring about a Revolution, and dethrone her Father, though most of them were indebted to him for their Fortune; and had under the Reign of his Brother *Charles II.* always appeared violent *Tories*; some of them, under his, having even carried the Farce so far, as to disguise their Religion, to appear such as they were not; for, in Fact, they had no other Principles, either in Matter of Religion or Politicks, but what proceeded from an immoderate Ambition; tho' after they had effectually struck that Blow which surprised all *Europe*, as the least expected from their Hands, they borrowed the common Mask of Religion to disguise it; but it had been already so much wore in *England*, especially on the like Occasions, that all the World could see through their Perfidy and Ingratitude. Their Ambition, which was insatiable, being not gratified, according to their Expectation, under the Reign which succeeded, immediately, the Revolution, their secret Intrigues afterwards leave Room to suspect, that they had been glad of an Opportunity of acting the same Tragedy, then, which had succeeded them so well, under the preceding Reign; but they found that that same Throne which they had shaken so easily, while occupied by a weak Prince, was become unmoveable by the Resolution, Courage and Wisdom of King *William*; who though he treated them, in Appearance, as his Friends, and rewarded them for the Services they had done him, feared them in secret as dangerous Foes, and kept in his own Hand that Government they had aimed at, and which they expected as the only Reward due to their Services. But after many frivolous Attempts, they were forced at last, to wait for it, 'till a natural Revolution of Things should place the Princess of *Denmark*, to whom, after their Disappointments, they had devoted themselves entirely, on the Throne of *Great Britain*, hoping then to govern under her Name; in which they were not mistaken; for, in Fact, she had no sooner ascended the Throne, but they

took the whole Management of Affairs in their own Hands; and thought that Princess very well off, that they would leave her still the Name of Sovereign.

These, though they appear to be Friends to Monarchy, at the Helm thereof they were placed, were notwithstanding, called *Whigs* by the opposite Party, who stiled themselves *Tories*; but could not be called so in the Sense M. *Rapin* understood it; since they encroached as far as they could on the Liberties of the People, when in Compromise with the exorbitant Power they had usurped; Favours, Posts, Preferments, and every Thing else of that Kind was sold for ready Money; and Venality was grown to such a Height, that the Queen herself was not allowed to give any Thing of her own Authority, and gratis; it is even said, that the Soldiers themselves, who supported then the Reputation of the *British* Arms, with so much Glory, were deprived of their Subsistence, to the Profit of those who commanded them; 'till, at last, the Clamours of the People grew so loud against the *Whig* Managers, and the Party formed against them so formidable, that they were supplanted by their Antagonists the *Tories*, who, according to Custom, while at the Helm, followed several of the Measures they had condemned in those who had preceded them; which shews plainly that no Party is really actuated by the Motives; they make Use of, either to blind the vulgar, or to gain their End; which once obtain'd, they renounce their former Principles, to follow those which are most agreeable to their Ambition and Interest.

This *Tory* Party to render itself famous, as well at Home as Abroad, made Use of an Ecclesiastick for their Tool, whom they knew bold and enterprising, in which Station he followed so exactly the Instructions of his Upholders, and so well to the Purpose, that he answered their chief Ends; which were to render their Antagonists odious, and make themselves idolized by all those who were Friends to Monarchy, and even by the Rabble, which is Friend to nothing, because it knows nothing. This Party, was, like the other, composed of Members, who had been *Whigs* and *Tories* by Turn, according as it suited best their own private Interests: Whence it is easily concluded, that that Distinction of Parties, which has always divided the *English* Nation, though under different Names, has no other Foundation but the Ambition of their Chiefs, who find always Tools to support or advance it, in Hope of sharing the Favour with them; though that Ambition is always cloak'd under some specious Pretexts, either of Religion or of Patriotism, and very often of both. For that Party that brought *Charles I.* to the Scaffold, did it under Pretence of saving Protestantism from Ruin, and the Subjects from Slavery; tho' the Chiefs of that sacrilegious Enterprize, shewed by their Conduct afterwards, that they had neither Religion, nor the least Notion of true Patriotism, since they violated all the most sacred Laws, and render'd their Government more oppressive than even that of the *Turks*; which made the Nation wish for the Re-establishment of that for which they had inspired her with so much Hatred.

Though that Party was much weakened, and disconcerted by the Restoration of *Charles II.* the Weakness of that Prince in pardoning most of the Murderers of his Father, encouraged them to lift up their Heads under his Reign, and attempt to force him to quit the Throne in the same Manner *Charles I.* had done, if not by open Force, at least by the Craft of an infernal Politick, in making him quarrel with his Neighbours, and rendering the most loyal of his Subjects, and his best Friends suspect him; in which they had infallibly succeeded if the Wisdom and Dexterity of his Ministers, entirely in their Royal Master's Interest (which is the indispensable Duty of a Minister who has the least Sentiments of Honour, Probity and Gratitude) had not awarded the Blow.

James II. fell by the Hands of the same Party, as had done all his Successors, if they had not had more Resolution, and had not known better how to choose their Ministers.

After that unhappy Prince's Flight, a third Party arose in *England*, which was distinguished by the Name of *Non Jurors*, because they refused to take the Oaths to the succeeding Princes, wherefore they were also called *Jacobites*, as supposed to be in his Interest.

At present we hear very little of *Whigs* or *Tories*, and these two Names, which were heretofore so famous, seems

to have been changed into *Court* and *Country*; for let a Prince govern his People with ever so much Moderation, Prudence, and Wisdom, there must be always two Parties in *England*; if it was only but for the sake of that favourite Name *Party*; unless it was in his Power to gratify every Body's Ambition, which is utterly impossible; or he could give, at once, the same Post to all that pretend to it; or render those he honours with his Confidence, agreeable to every Body, which is not practicable; but that Distinction of *Parties* is not near so formidable at present as it has been in the preceding Reign; and those who have had the Unhappiness of being engaged in them, must be convinced, that they were only made Tools to the Ambition of certain Men; and that it will be always in the Power of a judicious Prince, to give a mortal Blow to those Parties, or, at least disconcert them extremely, by giving a Bone to pick to the Chief thereof, which sole Consideration, should be capable to engage the Subjects to unite all into one and the same Party, and espouse no other than that of their Sovereign; which is always the best, and the most agreeable to Reason and Justice; for I cannot imagine what Satisfaction the Subjects can find in clogging the Wheels of a Government; and censuring continually the Measures concerted by it, often for no other Reason than because they are concerted by it, as if no good ones could ever be concerted by it; it is true, that if we are born Subjects, we are not to be treated as Slaves, and it is not natural to suffer Oppression without complaining, but we should not complain without Cause; and when we have Cause to complain, that Cause let it be ever so great, does not authorize us to form Parties to oppose the Measures of our Sovereign, till after we have attempted in vain, all the pacifick Means proposed to loyal and dutiful Subjects; for violent ones are never approved, by a just and impartial World, unless it be against an open Tyranny; for even then violent Means are condemned by the Apostle. I know that this Doctrine will not please every Body; and that some will say, that it suits very well a *French* Constitution, but not an *English* one, as smelling too much of a passive Obedience and arbitrary Power; it is true that there is some Difference between the *French* and *English* Government; but it is equally true, that the *French* are Men like the *English*, and as such cannot better familiarize themselves with Tyranny and Oppression than they do; but, at the same Time, being almost all born with a natural Inclination for their Sovereign, that Inclination hinders them from condemning all his Measures right or wrong, unless they be very oppressive indeed; and then, they have very seldom formed any *Party* against him, but have Recourse to the lawful Means of Intreaties, Remonstrances, &c.

I say, that the *French* have seldom formed any Party against their lawful Sovereign; for they have not been entirely free from it; and they'll remember to the latest Ages, those dangerous ones introduced into the Kingdom, by that Religion, which taught the infernal Doctrine of dethroning and murdering Kings by a Principle of Conscience; which was the fatal Signal of those civil Wars, which did put so often the Kingdom of *France* into Mourning, by desolating its most beautiful and fertile Provinces, burning its Cities, and Temples, sacrificing its Priests at the Altar, violating the Monuments of the Dead, and disturbing their Ashes, even the most respectable, arming the Father against the Son, and introducing Division and Hatred into the Royal House; for the Princes of the Blood, and other great Men, laying hold of that specious Pretext of Religion to advance their ambitious Designs, assisted therein by the new Apostles, who instead of preaching the Gospel of Christ, which is a Gospel of Meekness, Patience and Sufferings, sounded on the contrary, the Trumpet of Tumults and Sedition, assembled under their rebellious Standards, numerous and formidable Armies, which made the King himself tremble on his Throne; which rebellious Party, occasioned in Process of Time, the forming another to oppose it, which, afterwards became almost equally dangerous, by the Ambition of its Chiefs, I mean the *Holy League*, as it was improperly called; to which the Duke of *Guise* and *Henry III.* fell Victims; the latter to revenge the Death of the former, whom he had caused to be inhumanly and shamefully assassinated.

We had likewise two other Parties, under the Minority

rity of King *Louis XIV.* I mean that of the *Mazarines*, and of the *Froudeurs*, occasioned by the Ambition of the Princes of the Blood, and the Hatred the *French* Nation had conceived, against that excellent Minister the Cardinal *Mazarine*, from whom one of those Parties borrowed its Name, which was given it by the opposite one, who were called *Froudeurs*, because they declared against the King, the Queen his Mother, and his Minister. This Party aimed at nothing less, in fact, than dethroning the King; but as they knew they could not effect their treasonable Designs, while he was assisted by the Advices of a Minister of the Capacity of Cardinal *Mazarine*, and to declare openly their real Scheme, had been running the Risk of revolting the whole Kingdom against them; they pretended that they aimed at nothing else but the Expulsion of Cardinal *Mazarine* out of the Kingdom, making all the while the greatest Protestations of their Loyalty to their Sovereign: But the Dexterity, Resolution and Courage of the Queen, assisted by the great Skill of her faithful Minister, dismounted all the Batteries they had levelled against her Son; and though the Cardinal thought proper for him to yield to the Torrent for a Time, he found the Secret, at last, to ruin that Party, by gratifying the Ambition of the Chiefs thereof, and oblige them thereby to approve his Conduct as openly, and with the same Zeal they had blamed it before.

Ever since the Extinction of the *Froudeurs*, we have heard of no Party in *France*. It is true, that there were then a great Number of *Huguenots* in the Kingdom, who had been very glad to find a favourable Opportunity to stir; but they had received so great a Blow by the Reduction of their great Bulwark, *Rochelle*, under the preceding Reign, where they had lost all their Chiefs, who had either been killed, or were returned sincerely to their Allegiance to their lawful Sovereign; that they were very sensible they could have undertook nothing with the least Appearance of Success. But however, as even in that weak Condition they were still suspicious to *Louis XIV.* who thought they would take the Advantage of the next favourable Opportunity of joining with his foreign Enemies, as they had done under *Louis XIII.* his Father, of glorious Memory, with the King of *Spain*, though a declared Enemy to their Religion; and having his Memory fresh yet, with the bloody Tragedy which their Brethren in Iniquity had so lately acted in *England*, judged proper to expel from his Dominions those Disturbers of the publick Tranquility; and those sacrilegious who made it a Principle of Religion to lay violent Hands on the Lord's Anointed. Though there be yet to my certain Knowledge a vast Number of *Huguenots* in *France*; the Provinces of *Poitou*, *Normandy*, *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, the *Vivarets*, &c. being full of them; but as it is a kind of new Generation, and that none of the Trumpets of Rebellion are suffered among them, to inspire them with the dangerous Principles of Fanaticism, Disloyalty, and Revolt; they behave as loyal Subjects, and enjoy all the Advantages due to their Loyalty, without being in the least oppressed, disturbed or molested; which must be a very great Subject of Satisfaction for a Prince, who ever since his Accession to the Throne having proved a tender Father to his People, is certainly pleased to find among them no refractory Children, to give him Occasion to use Severity towards them. So that there has been for a long while in *France* no other Party than that of the King, which is no Party at all; since that Word *Party* supposes always some Animosity, or Hatred; and could it be any Animosity or Hatred, where a King reigns in the Hearts of his Subjects with the same Power he does over their Persons? That Love alone of the Subjects for their King, renders all the Difficulties a Government is attended with supportable; and makes them supply with Pleasure and Alacrity the Wants thereof, and sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes, for the Support or Security of the Throne, without the least Reluctancy and Murmur.

There were also in *Italy* two famous Factions, distinguished by the Names of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. These two Factions filled all *Italy* with Blood and Carnage for many Years. The *Guelphs* stood for the Pope against

the Emperor. Their Rise is referred by some to the Time of *Conrad III.* in the twelfth Century; by others to that of *Frederick I.* and by others to that of his Successor *Frederick II.* in the thirteenth Century.

The Name *Guelph* is commonly said to have been formed from *Welfe*, *welfo*, on the following Occasion: The Emperor *Conrad III.* having taken the Dutchy of *Bavaria* from *Welfe VI.* Brother of *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Welfe*, assisted by the Forces of *Roger* King of *Sicily*, made War on *Conrad*, and thus gave Birth to the Faction of the *Guelphs*.

Others derive the Name *Guelph* from the German *Wolff*, on account of the grievous Evils committed by that cruel Faction: Others derive that Denomination from that of a German called *Guelph*, who lived at *Pistoya*; adding, that his Brother, named *Gibel*, gave his Name to the *Gibelins*.

The Generality of Authors affirm that the *Gibelins* arose about the Year 1240, upon the Emperor *Frederick the Second's* being excommunicated by Pope *Gregory IX.*

That Prince, say they, making a Tour among the Cities of *Italy*, gave the Name of *Gibelins* to such as he found well affected to him; and that of *Guelphs* to those who adhered to the Pope. But as to the Reason and Signification of these Words, there is a deep Silence; *Gibelin* might possibly be formed of *Gebister*, *Imperator*, whence *Gebisterisch*, *Imperioise*. Of *Gebister* the *Italians* might make by Corruption *Gibelin*, so that *Gibelin* in this Light should be the same with *Imperialists*, or such as followed the Emperor's Party.

Hernius refers the Names to the War in 1140, between *Henry* the proud Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Saxony*, and *Conrad III.* Duke of *Suabia*. The two Princes being preparing to engage near the Town of *Winsberg*, the *Bavarians* began to cry out *Guelph*, which was the Name of Duke *Henry's* Brother, as already observed under the Article *Guelph*, and the Partisans of the Emperor *Weibelingen*, the Name of the Place where that Prince was born and bred in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, whose Surname he bore: From which *Weibelingen* the *Italians* at length formed *Gibelin*.

This Account is confirmed by *Martin Crusius*: *Initium Gibelinae (Wibelineae a patria Conradi regis.)* *Conrad* being of *Weibelingen*, that Word, says *Crusius*, gave Rise to *Sibelline*, and that to *Gibelling*, *Gibelens*, *Gibellini*.

Others maintain, that the Emperor gave the Appellation *Gibelins*, to those of his Party, from the German Word *Gipffel*, signifying Ridge, or Top; by reason the Empire rested on them, as the Rafters of a House lean on the Ridge which join them a top.

Karus, a learned Canon of *Straßbourg*, in the Lives of the Emperors of the House of *Brunswick*, is of the Sentiment related under the Article *Guelph*, viz. that *Conrad III.* marching into *Italy*, in the Year 1139, against the *Neapolitans*, *Roger* Count of *Naples* and *Sicily*, in order to defend his States, called to his Assistance *Guelph* Duke of *Bavaria*; and that one Day when the two Armies were ready to join Battle, the *Bavarians* cried out in *High-Dutch*, *Hie, Guelph*; or, as others say, in *Flemish*, *Hier, Guelph*! that is, *Here, Guelph*! And that the *Imperialists* answered on their Side with the Word *bie*, or *Hier, Gibelin*! *Here, Gibelin*; calling the Emperor by the Name of the Place where he had been bred.

Yet others contend that the Word *Gibelin* is only a softning of the Word *Gibertin*, or *Guibertin*; and that it arose from *Guibert* an Anti-pope, set up by the Emperor *Henry the Third*, in the Year 1080.

Father *Maimbourg*, in his *Hist. de la decad. de l'Emp.* is another Opinion: The two Factions, and their Names, says he, arose from a general Quarrel between two ancient and illustrious Houses, on the Confines of *Germany*, that of *Henry's* of *Gibelin*, and that of the *Guelphs* of *Adorff*; which Account appears the most probable of them all. But let the Origin of the Names of those two Factions be what it will, it is certain that they spilt so much Blood, and desolated all *Italy* in such a Manner, that their Memory, like that of the Round-heads in *England*, is still detested in all Countries, and will be so to the latest Ages.

TRAVELLING.

TRAVELLING, is the Means of acquiring a perfect Knowledge of all Nations, States, and Countries; of their different Languages, Manners, Customs, Government, Commerce, and of all that's necessary to make an accomplish'd Gentleman.

It must not appear surprizing that I place *Travelling* among the Arts and Sciences; since it is in fact a very great Science, to know how to travel well, and in great measure the Source of all other Sciences: And since the *English* Nation is more inclined to *Travelling* than any other in *Europe*, especially the Nobility and Gentry; it is proper I should give them in this Place some necessary Rules relating thereto.

This Inclination for *Travelling* may have had for Origin that natural Inquietude, Inconstancy, and Curiosity, we are born with; and we may very well suppose, that the first *Travellers* had no other View in quitting their native Country than to change Place; it even seems that it was at first a kind of Malediction from Heaven, since God punished *Cain's* Fratricide, with that of being a Vagabond upon Earth; knowing perfectly well that nothing can render our Travels agreeable, but the Hope of returning at last to the Place which gave us Birth; and that that Hope once frustrated, all other Countries, even the most agreeable, and most proper to flatter our Curiosity, and indulge all our other favourite Passions, would soon become insupportable to us, as being then considered as Places of Banishment or Exile, for which we have all a natural Antipathy, though perhaps at the same Time far preferable to ours in every Particular.

But those who were not thus confined, and were not necessitated to travel, but undertook it only at first by no other Motive than that of flattering their Curiosity, or indulging their natural Inconstancy, with an entire Liberty of returning whenever they pleased, and without the least Notion of Banishment, or Captivity; could soon discover, when they consulted their Reason, the true Pleasure there is in travelling, and the great and signal Advantages they could reap from it, either for their own Country in general, or for themselves in particular. Agreeably surprized perhaps either at the Fertility of the Countries they first came at, or the Opulency of the Cities, or the Sumptuousness of the Buildings, or the Hospitality and good Manners of their Inhabitants, their Industry, their great Skill in the different Arts they professed, the flourishing State of their Commerce, their Piety towards God, their Equity and Impartiality in the Administration of Justice; their Probity in all their Dealings; they could not hesitate to proceed forwards, not by a Motive of Inconstancy, as they did at first, but a noble and reasonable Desire of knowing if all foreign Countries were agreeable alike; but how much greater was their Surprise, when they found in the next, though contiguous to that they had left, and under the same Climate, a barren Soil, deserted Fields, depopulated ill-built Cities, Inhabitants enervated by Idleness and Effeminacy, the Worship of God neglected, Ignorance, Perfidy, and Injustice, worshipped as Divinities, and all Vices indulged and approved. These among our Travellers born with vicious Inclinations, preferred, we doubt, such a Country so proper to feed them, to the former, and even to their own, if Vice was banished from it; but those among them who were born with more just Notions, and virtuous Inclinations, quitted with Scorn and Precipitation so despicable a Country, capable to debauch soon the best Principles; and travelling always forwards, were alarmed perhaps at their Entrance into another Soil, with the Sound of Trumpets, Kettle-drums, and other warlike Instruments, the Neighing of Horses, the Clashing of Arms, the Groans and Sighs of dying Men, the Shouts of the Victorious. Advancing still forwards, they see Fields running with Blood, and covered with dead Bodies, or Men expiring; afar off, Cities in Flames, or entirely ruined: The Inhabitants running here and there, not knowing where to

shelter themselves against the Rage of those that pursue them; Mothers in Tears with their Children expiring in their Arms; Virgins violated before the Eyes of their Parents, or the Parents falling under the Sword of the Victorious; and every where Desolation, Plunder, and Slaughter; astonished at so frightful and unexpected Spectacle, our Travellers return back, imagining, with a very great Appearance of Reason, that it was impossible there should be any Thing more beyond that Land of Destruction, and entertained their Countrymen with the different Qualities of the Countries they had seen, and the different Genius and Manners of their Inhabitants. Their Relations excited the Curiosity of others; and prompted them to undertake the same Journeys: Hence what was at first the Effect of pure Inconstancy, became in process of Time a Custom; and in some Countries a kind of Necessity.

It is true that all Nations are not equally inclined to *Travelling*: For some of them are deterred from it by mere Pusillanimity, or Cowardice; imagining falsely, that they could not leave their native Soil, without exposing themselves to the most imminent Danger; and others, infatuated with the Excellence of their own Country, falsely imagine, that there is nothing good, nothing great, nothing magnificent, nothing beautiful, but what is found among them; and that it is ridiculous to travel into other Countries, where nothing is found to be comparable to their own.

Though this be the Sentiment of a great Part of the *English* Nation, there is none, notwithstanding, in the whole World more addicted to *Travelling*; and an *English* Nobleman, or Gentleman, who can bear the Expences of it, would not think himself accomplished if he had not spent six or seven Years in making the Tour of *Europe*. A noble Emulation, which cannot be too much admired and commended, if the Traveller do it with a View of rendering his Travels advantageous to himself, and to his own Country; which to know, we must follow him closely on his Journey; and examine carefully his Conduct, and the Measures he takes to render himself an accomplished, and useful Gentleman; taking the Liberty sometimes to give him some Instructions, and to reprimand him when we shall find him guilty of some Faults.

The first Thing the Parents of a Gentleman, ready to set out on his Travels, into foreign Parts, are to mind, is to chuse him a Governor; which, in fact, should be their first Care; but they must be as careful in that Choice; and not be entirely influenced in it, either by the Recommendation of particular Friends, or the Inclination they have to serve a certain Person, preferable to all others, without the least Regard to his personal Merit or Capacity; which is an unpardonable Fault, always attended with very bad Consequences: For they should consider that *Travelling* is a Kind of School, where they send their Children to study all Sorts of Arts and Sciences; that the several Countries they pass through are so many different Books; as problematick, and unintelligible, as any other; if they have not a Master to explain them, and give them the Solution of the many difficult Problems they are filled with; but which, with that necessary Help, are soon and easily understood; most of them being accompanied with diverting and curious Demonstrations, which seize the Imagination, at the same Time they recreate the Sight. Therefore a Governor should be so thoroughly acquainted with those Sorts of Books (if I be permitted to call them so) as to know them perfectly by Heart, and to meet with them without Difficulty, without which he could not easily solve them to his Pupil.

The next Thing to be considered, in a Governor, is his Age; for he should be neither too young, nor too old; for if too young, it will be very difficult for him to assume over his Pupil that becoming Authority which is necessary to oblige him to mind his Lessons, either for his Instruction in the different Branches of Knowledge he

he is to acquire, either to refrain his Passions, or to reprimand him when he has committed any considerable Fault, with that Efficacy, as to prevent his being guilty of the same again: I say, with a becoming Authority, to give them to understand the Difference between the insupportable Arrogancy of a Pedant, which serves rather to harden the Pupil, make him hate the Company, and even the Sight of his Tutor, than to make him to mind his Advices and Lessons; and the gentle Severity of a Gentleman, which is always seasoned with some Complaisance, and good Manners: Besides, when a Governor is too young, he may flatter the Passions of his Pupil, to have Occasion to indulge his own; and instead of bringing home a Gentleman of Merit, Knowledge, and Probity, bring an ignorant and vicious one.

Neither is a Person too much advanced in Years proper for a Governor; for, most commonly, old Age renders a Man cross, peevish, and burthenome to himself, and to others, more especially to a young Gentleman who loves Mirth and Gaiety: That Age being besides but too often subject to several Infirmities, which are an Obstacle to *Travelling*; since it hinders a Governor from being as vigilant on his Pupil's Conduct as he should.

It would be also very proper that a Governor, if not quite of an equal Birth with his Pupil, should be born a Gentleman, which can claim that Respect from his Pupil, which otherwise he would be loth perhaps to shew him; for it is almost impossible a Pupil should mind his Governor, if he despises him. Neither are the Parents to insist, or even expect, the least menial Service from a Governor to his Pupil; since it is giving Occasion to their Son, to consider and treat as a Servant, a Person whom he must consider as his Father, while he continues in that Post, and treat him every where as such; since it is he who must appear first every where, in order to introduce him with the Honour due to his Rank: Therefore a Governor, who accepts that Employment on any other Conditions, and would suffer himself to be maltreated by his Pupil, is not worthy of it.

A particular Care must be taken, that a Governor should be addicted to no Vices, particularly Swearing, Gaming, Drinking; for as those Vices are always practised publicly, and cannot be hid from a Pupil, it would be a very bad Example for him; and as we have all a natural Propensity to Evil, he would be exposed to the Danger of contracting those ill Habits, of which we have an Example in *Charles IX.* King of *France*; who though born with an excellent Genius, and the best Inclinations, had notwithstanding contracted so great an Habit of Swearing, from those who had been intrusted with his Education, that he could scarce say any thing afterwards without it.

Piety and Religion are also very requisite in a Governor, especially in this Age, where Atheism and Impiety are so much in Vogue; but neither of those two Virtues should degenerate into Hypocrisy and Fanaticism, which always render a Man odious to the most sensible Part of Mankind; and makes him condemn the most innocent Mirth, and the most lawful Pleasure, as the greatest Imperfections, or even Vices; whereas, on the contrary, true Piety and Devotion is easy, agreeable, pleasant, and sociable.

A judicious Parsimony, which has nothing of a sordid Avarice; and a noble Liberality, without Extravagancy or Prodigality, are likewise two essential Qualities in the Governor of a young Gentleman; for as he most commonly has the Administration of the Money allowed for the Expences of his Travels, he should be as careful of it as of his own; without either appropriating it to his own Use, which is a Breach of the great Trust reposed in him, or perhaps a Theft, or expending it without Discretion; but as, mean while, he is obliged to support the Credit and Honour of his Pupil, and of his Parents, in foreign Parts, he should not be parsimonious to Excess; but, on the contrary, disburse liberally what is necessary to make him appear in a Figure suitable to his Rank, and to the Funds allowed for that Purpose, without being obliged to call for new Supplies, if he can possibly avoid it; and giving always good Reasons for it when he does it; keeping, like a trusty Steward,

a faithful Account of what he disburses, and what he receives, and how and for what expended, for the Satisfaction of those who have commissioned him:

A Governor should not be unacquainted with the Genius, Manners, Inclinations, and Customs, of the different Nations he must be obliged to converse with on his Travels, that he may modelize his Conduct, or Behaviour, and that of his Pupil accordingly, and not appear as if he was a perfect Stranger among them; which never fail of causing some Surprise, let the Nation be ever so polite, complaisant, or so well civilized, when they see Persons among them behaving quite otherwise than they do.

The next Thing, Parents take Care to settle, for the Journeys of their Children into foreign Parts, are the Funds to defray all necessary Expences; I say necessary Expences, for they should allow nothing for Luxury, and Extravagancies; otherwise, instead of a fine and accomplished Gentleman they could have expected at his Return, they might chance to have an extravagant or ridiculous Fop, or a Debauchee: For there are Parents so exceedingly fond, and so extravagantly indulgent to their Children, that they settle particular Correspondents to let them have Money unknown to their Governor, which is the surest Means they could take to render their Travels prejudicial instead of beneficial to them; since that Money can be of no other Use than to help them towards gratifying all their Appetites and most favourite Passions; which cannot happen when the Governor has the Management of all, since the Pupil must tell him the Use he designs to make of the Money he asks of him.

It is very needless to provide a great Number of Cloaths for a young Gentleman who is going to travel, since it is very proper he should follow in his Dress the Mode of the Nations he is to visit, especially if he designs to stay some Time among them, not to appear singular taking always of those Modes what is followed by Men of Taste and Judgment, and rejecting all that gives into Extravagancy, or smells the Comedian.

Having thus far provided all that is necessary for our Gentleman's Departure, he must, before he quits his native Shore, renounce entirely all his natural Prejudices, if he be infatuated with any; and consider himself as if he were of no Country, but rather as if he was to be of all the Countries he is to pass through; otherwise he will have no Opportunity of familiarising himself with the Inhabitants of those Countries, which Familiarity is absolutely necessary for his Instruction; for every body despise a Person who is continually extolling the Merit and Advantages of his own Country above all others, which is always a Mark either of Ignorance, or of a Weakness of Mind, bordering much on Stupidity and Folly. Nay, such an Infatuation is sometimes attended with very dangerous Consequences; for the Infatuated, is either laughed at, or elbowed in a Company, and sometimes worse used. Of which this is an Example, which I judge proper to quote, to caution Gentlemen Travellers against being guilty of the same; and which I know to be fact, since I was on the Spot when the Thing happened.

An *English* Nobleman of the First Rank (though I will not pretend to say that he was reckoned of a very sound Judgment) being in the Presence-Chamber of the late Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, his Highness gave the Right to an *Italian* Prince who was there present, and the Left to the *English* Nobleman; which he took so ill, that he told the Grand Duke that he was greater than any *Italian* Prince, and as such should have the Precedency; to which the Grand Duke made no other Answer than by turning his Back to him.

The same Nobleman being at *Leghorn*, at a Time when three Gallies of *Malta* were in the Mole, he expressed a Desire of going on board, where he was received with all the Honours which could have been done to the Grand Master himself; and splendidly entertained, though none of the Officers knew him otherwise than by his being an *English* Nobleman of the First Rank, and accompanied by the Chevalier *de Moye*, a Knight of *St. Michael*, then Consul of *France* in that Port, the Officers of the Gallies being likewise all *Frenchmen*. At Table, among other Things, he entertained

the Company with his naval Exploits (for he had been a Sea Officer) and among others with that of *La Hogue*, where he said he had beat those Officers there present; at first the Company took no Notice of it, till repeating too often that he had beat them; he that commanded in Chief answered him, that he was not born at the Time of the Affair of *La Hogue*, and that he never knew before that the Gallies of *Malta* were there; and the Nobleman insisting still on the same Point, the Commander quitted the Table, and was soon followed by his Officers; none being left with him but the *French* Consul, who could not leave him; so that he was obliged to return on Shore, without any body taking the least Notice of him, though they had proposed to do him the same Honours then, he had received when he came on board.

Our young Gentleman Traveller must likewise take the Resolution before his Departure, to keep his Religion within himself, and never bring that on the Tapis in any Company or Country whatsoever; abstaining above all other Things of turning other Religions into Ridicule, because different from his; for though others have as disadvantageous an Opinion of his as he may have of theirs; I can assure him, that he'll never hear Religion mentioned in any Company he may chance to be in, in foreign Parts; every body there considering religious Controversies as a Bane to Society. Nay, even in the Churches, if his Curiosity lead him thither, to hear some of the best Orators in the whole World, he'll find all their Discourses free from those Invectives and injurious Appellations, wherewith Preachers in some Parts of *Europe* season all theirs.

With these general Instructions we suppose our Gentleman Traveller already landed in some Parts of *France*, perhaps at *Calais*, or *Dunkirk*; if he designs to follow the Profession of Arms, he should begin here his Course of Study, and stay two or three Days in either of those Places, to see the Fortifications, if he be permitted to do it by the Governor or Commandant; which to facilitate, his first Visit should be to those Gentlemen, and let them know his Desire, which they'll certainly gratify if they have no positive Orders to the contrary; and accompany him themselves, or have him accompanied by some Officer of the Garrison. While he walks he should examine with a great Attention all the Works of the Place (for I suppose that he has already some Knowledge of Fortifications) and draw in his Memory a Sketch thereof; for he will not be permitted to do it otherwise, neither is he to let his Guide perceive that he is so attentive, lest it should occasion some Suspicion or Jealousy. Though there are some Officers, when they are afraid of nothing, who give freely their Opinion on the Strength or Weakness of the Place; and the Works which are, or could be added to it; which gives Occasion to the Traveller to ask Questions, and make Objections; though this seldom or never happens in Frontier Places; since there are most commonly positive Orders to the contrary; and the Court is even so strict on that Point, that it is positively forbidden to shew the Fortifications to Foreigners.

If our Traveller is not designed for the Field, he should not stay in those Sea-port Towns, where there is nothing to be learned, and nothing to be seen, but proceed on his Journey to *Paris*. Neither is he to stop in any Town of the Road, if he takes that of *Picardy*, since there is nothing capable to flatter his Curiosity, or that deserves his Attention, except the Woollen Manufacture, of *Vanrobe's* at *Abbeville*, and the Choir of the Cathedral Church of *Beauvois*, which is a good Piece, in the Gothic Taste.

At *St. Denis*, the Abbey, which is the Sepulture of the Kings of *France*, is worthy his Notice, as well for the great Number of its fine Monuments as for its rich Treasure, which is shewn to every body gratis, by a Monk of the Abbey, every Piece of Curiosity by itself, who explains what it is, by whom given, &c. suffer you to handle it, if you desire it, and answer in a polite Manner all the Questions you may be pleased to ask. If the Traveller takes Post he'll pass through *Chantilly*, a Seat of the Duke of *Bourbon*, which is one of the most sumptuous Edifices he'll meet with in all his Travels. The Furniture is also very magnificent and

rich, and the Gardens beautiful. If he passes through *St. Omers*, he must see the Abbey, *St. Bertin*, especially the Altar-piece, which is of Silver gilt, set all over with precious Stones; and the Treasure, where there is a Topaz of an extraordinary Bigness.

Arrived at *Paris*, he should lodge in what we call there *Hotel Garnie*; and if he designs to perfect himself in the *French* Language, which I suppose he began to learn in *England*, he must not frequent too much his own Countrymen, tho' we are all but too naturally inclined to it; but endeavour to be introduced into select Companies of *French* Gentlemen and Ladies, especially Ladies, provided they be not Gamesters, whom he must avoid as a most dangerous Plague, as well as those who are addicted to any other Sort of Extravagancy and Debauchery. I must also caution him against a Set of Sharpers, under the Appearance of Gentlemen, of whom there is a great Number at *Paris*, who force themselves into the Company of Foreigners, and accost them in the same free Manner as if they had been always acquainted, and with no other Design than either to sponge upon them or bilk them; for a true *French* Gentleman, though he does all the kind Offices he can to a Foreigner, scorns to put him to any Expences on his Account, but on the contrary, will be at any Expences himself to serve him, and even take it as a great Honour when he is pleased to accept of it. There are some Gaming-Tables at *Paris*, kept even in Houses of Persons of the First Rank, and where a great deal of good Company resort, which should be frequented but seldom by Foreigners; for though they may be suffered two or three Days to be Spectators only; they will scarce suffer them to be so much longer, but both Gentlemen and Ladies use all the Intreaties imaginable to entice them to play, which is a dreadful Labyrinth, out of which, when once engaged, it is very difficult to extricate oneself; and as those Persons are Gamesters of Profession, a Foreigner who is not so, may soon lose very large Sums of Money, for they most commonly play a high Game. This I know by Experience; for having been introduced into one of those Places, even by the Master of the House himself; they suffered me to be there two Days, when I designed to be always a Spectator; but after that Time my Introducer himself teased me so much to play, for which I had always a mortal Aversion (having for that Reason never learned a Game perfectly) that tired at last with his Intreaties, and his telling me that Ladies did not like the Company of a Gentleman who would not play; I answered him, I did not know how to play, and did not like it; but to oblige him and the Ladies, if he would tell me how much he would have me lose, as I was sure I must, if I should play, I would give the Money, and save myself the Trouble; which being not accepted, I quitted the Company, and never returned into it afterwards.

If the Traveller wants to be introduced at Court, not only at that of *France*, but also at all the other Courts he designs to see, the best Introducer is the Minister of his own Court, to whom he must pay the first Visit. If he travels incog. he may go to Court with his Governor, and he'll find always, especially at the Court of *France*, Gentlemen ready to introduce them, and shew them all that is to be seen, without being at any Expence. He should frequent often that Court to learn their Manners, which are easy, agreeable, without any Arrogancy and Affectation, and which are followed by all other Courts of *Europe*. For those affected Airs, attributed to the *French* by their Enemies, who do not see their own, which are much more ridiculous and insupportable, are not the Airs of the *French* Court, nor of the most sensible Part of the Nation; but only of a certain Number of young Fellows, distinguished from the rest by the Name of *petit Maitres*, or Fops; who are as much laughed at in *France* as any where else; tho' most Foreigners are more apt to imitate those than any body else, and by mimicking them, when they return into their own Country, appear still much more ridiculous than their Originals; for those have so much used themselves almost from their very Infancy, to those affected Airs, that they are become natural to them, and therefore are not so disagreeable, nor so much taken Notice of; whereas their Copies, who have but lately borrowed

rowed them, practise them in so awkward a Manner, that they render themselves quite ridiculous. I remember that I have seen at *Turin* one of those ridiculous Copies in the Person of a Nobleman from *Bohemia*, otherwise a Person of a very great Merit, but who had given so much into those *Airs of Petit Maitres* at *Paris*, where he had been lately, that he almost eclipsed, thereby, all his excellent Qualities, at least before those who were not acquainted with them, he had a Wig with a Tail almost as big as my Arm, and reaching farther down than the middle of his Back, with five or six Hairs on each Side his Face, seldom walking otherwise than in the Steps of a Minuet, and seldom without muttering some Song or other. We went once together to the Palace, and the first Thing he did, in entering the Apartments, was to run singing to a Looking-Glass, to put the few Hairs of his Wig in order, though the Place was full of Ladies and Gentlemen, who could not help smiling at it.

I hope my young Gentleman Traveller, will forbear learning those bad Manners of our *petit Maitres* of *Paris*.

The Things capable to flatter his Curiosity, at *Paris*, and in the Neighbourhood, are all the Royal Palaces; and those of the Princes of the Blood, viz. at *Paris* the *Louvre*, the *Palace of the Tuilleries*, that of the Duke of *Orleans*, call'd the *Royal Palace*, the *Luxembourg*, the *Hotel de Conde*, and several other *Palaces*, and *Hotels* of Persons of the first Rank, the *Hotel of the Invalids*, the *Observatory*, the *Sorbonne*, the *College of the four Nations*, &c. — and to feed his Understanding, all the different *Academies*, the public Libraries, &c.

In the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, *St. Cloud*, a Seat of the Duke of *Orleans*; *Versailles*, *Marly*, *Triannon*, *Meudon*, *Fontainebleau*, *la Meute*, *Choisy Mademoiselle*, &c. — for a noble Recreation, he may go to the Opera, and to the Comedy; where, in Winter, he is sure to see a very good Company.

He should not leave *France*, 'till he has made some Progress in the *French* Language; since it is spoke in all the other Courts of *Europe*; and on all the Roads; whereas after he has left *Paris*, he could scarce be understood any where else, if he speaks only *English*.

If he takes the Road of *Italy* through *Savoy*, and has no Equipage of his own; the best is, to take the Diligence of *Lyons*; besides that, there is always in that Coach a very good Company.

At *Lyons*, the two best Places to lodge at, are the *Hotel du Parc*, which is the most in vogue, and most frequented by Persons of Condition, because, perhaps, the dearest; and *notre Dame de Pitié*, which I think the best, because I have lodged in both; the most curious Thing to be seen there, is the Square of *Belle-Court*, which is very spacious, with the Equestrian Statue of *Louis XIV.* in the Middle, and whence one sees the Junction of the two Rivers, the *Soan* and the *Rhone*. There are also some very antique Buildings; and the *Castle of Pierre Encise*, deserves the Attention of the curious.

A Traveller may stay at *Lyons* as long as he pleases, without any Danger, either of Shapers, or Spungers, or any other Persons of that Kind; and meet at the same Time, with the same Civility, Complaisance and good Manners, which he has found at *Paris*; he may also buy here, at a very reasonable Rate, gold and silver Tissue, for Waistcoats, silk Stockings, and all other Sorts of silken Manufactures; and have his Cloaths as neatly made as at *Paris*; and can, if he pleases, take Letters of Credit upon all Parts of *Italy*. — Here are found Commodities for *Turin*, which are miserable Chaises, drawn by a Mule and a Horse; and which in my Opinion, are a very bad Carriage; though a Traveller is forced to take one of them, if he has none of his own, for there are no others. At your Arrival at *Lyons*, you are besieged by five or six Drivers of those dislocated Commodities, who call themselves *Voiturins*, who never cease importuning you till you have taken one of them; two or three of them thrusting into your Hand, each a Piece of Gold, which they call Earnest, for it is they that hire you, and not you them; there you take the Piece of the Person you like best, though for my Part, I like none of them; for they are a Pack of lazy impertinent Fellows; who would tire the Patience of an Angel upon the Road, and not mend their Pace, on any Consideration whatsoever; but go on the Pace of their Fellow Brutes, sometimes

sleeping on their Saddle, and sometimes singing to their Mules.

You pass over a Bridge, call'd the Bridge of *la Guillotiere*, which is a very long one to go to *Pont Beauvoisin*, where you lay that Night; and the next Morning you enter the *Alps*, and dine at a very indifferent Inn, or Public House, as you may be pleased to call it, in the Mountains, call'd *les Echelles*; and proceed afterwards on your Journey, where you meet with that famous Passage made by *Charles Emmanuel II.* Duke of *Savoy*, call'd the *Grottes*, which is very steep, and all paved, and where two Coaches may pass abreast; on the Left coming from *les Echelles*, is an Inscription, which informs you that what the *Romans* had attempted, *Charles Emmanuel* has accomplish'd. — You lay that Night at *Chambery*, which is the Capital of *Savoy*, and a pretty City, inclosed with a high Wall, but of no Defence, there are several antient Churches, and public Buildings, which are to be seen, if our Travellers have any Time to spare; otherwise, they are not of such Consequence, as to engage them to retard their Journey on Purpose for to see them only: The Inhabitants of *Chambery*, are very courteous, complaisant, good natured and hospitable, without Dissimulation or Deceit. Our Traveller must not suffer himself to be directed by his *Voiturin*, with regard to the Inn he is to lodge at, for he will not carry him to the best, but to that he is best acquainted with, which is often the worst; neither must he beat the said *Voiturin*, though he be never so much provoked to it by his Impudence, nor even threaten him; for most of them have certain offensive Weapons in their Pockets, call'd *Stilets*, though forbidden by the King of *Sardinia* under Pain of the Gallies; wherewith they may be capable enough to revenge themselves; those *Stilets*, are Pieces of Steel fastened in the Handle of a Pocket-Knife, about ten or twelve Inches long, and the sixth of an Inch broad; so that the Wound they make is incurable; and they always stab in the Back; though this is not so common since *Victor Amadeus*, the late King of *Sardinia*, made the wholesome Law against it.

There is nothing worthy our Traveller's Notice, throughout all *Savoy*, from *Chambery*, till he comes to *Montmellian*, which is a very pretty Town, and very strong, by its Situation; here is drank the best Wine of all *Savoy*, and on all the Road, as well, as here, a Traveller may make very good Cheer at a very little Expence, for all Provisions are very cheap, except Bread, which is not the best; for they gather but little Corn in the Valleys. The Money is very rare in those Parts, and the Coin very bad, except the Gold, for there are Pieces of Copper, which are so small that you can scarce feel them between your Fingers; and others of Bell Metal, call'd *Parpailolles*, which are very little bigger; their *Douxous*, which are Twelve-penny Pieces of Silver, are of a very bad Alloy, for I do not believe that there is a third of Silver in it.

When you come at the Foot of the Mount *Cinis*, as the Chaise cannot ascend that steep and high Mountain, you find Chairmen, who carry you in Chairs up the Mountain, over it, and down to the Foot thereof, on the other Side. There is a Sort of Inn on the Mountain, call'd the Post-house, where you may rest and refresh yourself; and an Hospital, for the Reception of the Poor that travel that Way. — When you are at the Foot of the Mountain, your Chair that had been dismounted on the other Side, and carried on the Horses Back, is put again on its Shaft, to carry you to *Turin*, which is a very neat City, though small, very well fortified, and has one of the best Citadels in *Europe*, with very handsome Souterrains, which are not shewn but by special Favour; the City is adorned with two handsome Palaces, viz. that of the King, and the other, call'd of *Madame Royale*, which was that of the Princesses of *Carignan*, while I was there, two Maiden Ladies, so far advanced in Years, as to be almost out of hope of ever being engag'd in the holy matrimonial State; tho', as far as I could judge, they had no Aversion for it; but it is the unhappy Fate of Princesses, that they are not allowed to marry when they will, and whom they please; so that several of them die, *Virgins and Martyrs*; however, those Princesses deserved a better Fate, for they were very amiable, affable, and complaisant.

The King's Palace, is magnificently furnished; and

a *Foreigner* may see it, but not like those of the King of *France*, *Gratis*; for the Person who shews it, expects a Gratification, and would even ask for it, if you should forget it: In this Palace, is a sumptuous Chapel, or rather Church, where they say, is deposited the Shroud of our blessed Saviour; round which burn continually several very rich Lamps; in this Place, and all others of the same Kind, throughout all the *Catholick* Countries, he must behave with a great deal of Modesty, otherwise he would excite the Indignation of Persons of all Ranks; who in those Countries, are much greater Bigots than in *France*; but as he is not necessitated to visit those Places, he must abstain from it, if he is conscious, that he cannot behave decently.

The Court of *Turin*, is one of the most polite in *Europe*, and imitates that of *France*, in its courteous, easy, and gentle Behaviour, Hospitality, Manners, and Modesty. The late Queen of *Sardinia*, Mother of this present King, was one of the most amiable, affable, and accomplished Princesses in the whole World; and gained the Respect of all who had the Honour to see her. I was told that the late King, when younger than he was then, was also very engaging; but for my Part I saw not the least remain of it; perhaps, because I was a little prejudiced against him; but, however, I was glad to see a Prince, who had always acted in so extraordinary a Manner; as to be suspected even by the Allies, with whom he had entered into a Confederacy to dethrone his own Daughter; a Politick which *Machiavel* himself was unacquainted with: I liked much better the Prince Royal his Son, and thought to find in his Face very great Signs of what he would be, a great Heroe. The *Piedmontese* Women are very agreeable, and not at all cruel. The Men, Nobility and Gentry excepted, are pretty much reserved, and not very ready to contract Friendship or Acquaintance with *Foreigners*. There are several very neat Coffee-Houses in the City, where there is a great Variety of very agreeable Liquors, and where a *Foreigner* is sure to find very good Company.

Near *Turin* is the magnificent Royal Palace, called *La Vanerie*, which was burnt by *M. de Catinat*, Marshal of *France*, but which has been rebuilt since. Our *Traveller* must not quit *Turin* before he has seen that Place.

The Service of the King of *Sardinia* is very fatiguing, even in Time of Peace, and the Pay both of the Officers and Soldiers very small.

There is at *Turin* several very handsome Monasteries of both Sexes, and a good University. There is also an Inquisition, as in all other Parts of *Italy*; and Spies of that Tribunal in all Companies, called Knights of the Inquisition; therefore a *Foreigner* should be very cautious how he speaks on religious Subjects; or rather should never touch that Cord. For I remember, while I was at *Leghorn*, that having spoke a little freely in a Company of the Body of *St. Catherine*, which is shewn at *Bologna*, the *French* Consul who was there present, asked me the next Day, if I wanted to be put in the Inquisition? To which having answered in the Negative, he told me that I should not then speak so freely as I did the Night before, and was the first who informed me of those Knights of the Inquisition; for, added he, if you was once there, it would be very difficult for us to take you out. It is true that the good Consul had not the same persuasive Arguments the late Duke of *Vendosme* had; for I have heard my Father say, that while that General commanded in *Italy*, my Father being then along with him, and one of his *Aid de Camps*, an Officer of the Army, was put in the Inquisition for having given the same Liberty to his Tongue, he would have given in *France*, without any Consequence. The Duke, as soon as he was informed of it, sent to demand his Officer; but the Inquisitors answered, that it was not in their Power, after a Person was taken, to set him at Liberty before he had had his Trial; which Answer not appearing satisfactory to the Duke, he ordered that some Field Pieces should be carried before the Palace of the Inquisition, to beat it down to the Ground; but the Inquisitors no sooner heard the Cannon roar, but they sent their Prisoner to the Duke, with Abundance of Submissions and Excuses for their Imprudence.

I had forgot to inform our young *Traveller*, that at his Arrival at *Turin*, he will be stopped at the Gate, and

asked, in a very civil Manner, whence he came, his Name, where he designs to go to lodge; which must be answered positively; and as he is a Person of Fashion, they will detain him no longer, but bring him to his Inn, in order to lodge there, which Trouble must be acknowledged with a Gratification in Money; though most commonly it is an Officer of the Place that brings that Order; for it was one that brought me my Order at my Arrival there; and as I knew it had been affronting an Officer in *France* to offer him Money on such an Account, I did not offer any; but he took Care himself to let me know the Custom of the Place, and asked for it; pleading, at the same Time, that their Pay was very small, which I knew perfectly well; so that our *Traveller* should be acquainted with this Particular, to prevent these Gentlemen, and not put them to the Trouble of asking, which really is not much becoming their Profession. The best Inn at *Turin* was then the Sign of the good Woman, or the Woman without a Head.

Our *Traveller* must not begin to learn *Italian* at *Turin*, because the *Piedmontese* do not speak it well.

This City is extremely well governed, and no Disorder committed in it, neither in the Day, nor in the Night Time; but there is a Sort of Ruffians here, as well as in all the other Cities or Towns of *Italy*, who loiter about the Gates of Inns, and get a Livelihood by procuring Ladies of Pleasure to *Travellers*, which I say to caution ours against them. It is forbidden there to carry lighted Flambeaux or Torches through the Streets at Night; in Lieu thereof, there are Lanterns of Paper, called *Cabafas*, carried by Children, who will light any Body for a Trifle. The Streets are extremely clean, and well paved, several of them with five Porches, or Piazzas on both Sides, to shelter from the Rain.

I must inform our *Traveller* before he quits *Turin*, that he must expect to find throughout all *Italy* a great Difference as to the exterior Worship, between the Religion of the *French* and that of the *Italians*, tho' it be in Fact but one and the same Religion; for the *Italians* observe a much greater Number of Ceremonies than the *French*, and among them a great many very ridiculous ones, which are not to be minded, since they do not affect the most essential Part of the Religion; for Example, he'll meet in the Streets idle Fellows, still much more lazy than the rest of their Countrymen, with a Box on their Breast, in which is a *Madona*, with two small wax Tapers lighted on each Side, and a Bell in their Hands, to give you Notice that you should kneel before the *Madona*, and contribute something towards the Maintenance of the *Luminary*, or rather to keep the Fellow in his Idleness. These are Superstitions which the Ignorance of the Rabble has introduced and supported, but which the most sensible Part of the *Catholicks* despise; but which it is very difficult to reform, particularly in those Parts. At Twenty-four o'Clock (for they tell the Hours throughout all *Italy* from one to Twenty-four) you'll see all on a sudden every body fall on their Knees, whether they be in the Streets, in the publick Places, or in Houses; either in Company, or by themselves, which would surprise a Person, who is not acquainted with it; the Reason of this is, that it is supposed, that at the same Hour the Virgin *Mary*, received the Message of the Angel, and a Bell is rung, then, in all the *Catholick* Countries, to inform the People that they should say their *Angelus*, which is a short Prayer, containing, in a concise Manner, the History of that great Event, which the *French* say standing, and the *Italians* kneeling; which different Manner of Saying makes no Alteration in the Prayer, which is very good of itself. He'll also find in the Churches several of those *Madona's* placed on a Table, with a Plate before them to receive the Offerings of the Ignorant, which is winked at by the Clergy, who, I suppose, have Part of the Booty. Though I must confess that it is a great Scandal to the Religion; and I have had often a Mind to kick both the Table and the Receiver of the Oblations; but the Inquisition interposed.

At his Departure from *Turin*, if your *Traveller* designs to go to *Milan*, he'll pass through *Chivas*, *Vercelle* and *Novarre*.

Chivas belongs to the King of *Sardinia*, and is very ill fortified. Here he'll begin to eat, if he pleases, some Soup, with *Vermicelli*, and some *Parmesan* Cheese (at least

least they call it so) rasped upon it, which makes a kind of Glue a-top, which spins, when you take it with your Spoon, two or three Yards long, and which, according to my Palate, is a very bad Dish. The *Vermicelli*, or *Vermichelly*, are a kind of Mefs, prepared of Flower, Cheese, Yolks of Eggs, Sugar, and Saffron; and reduced into little long Pieces, or Threads like Worms, by forcing it with a Piston through a Number of little Holes, in the End of a Pipe made for that Purpose. Though most of the *Vermicellies*, I believe, are only made with Flower and Water, and a little Saffron. They also put *Maccaroni* in their Pottage, which I believe are made of the same Composition, but are flatter and broader. From this Place to *Florence* our Traveller must always ask for *Vino vecchio*, otherwise they will give him a sweetish Wine, which is very disagreeable. Here you begin to lie in Beds without Curtains, and two or three Beds in a Room like an Hospital; and see no Women in the Inns, but Men-Servants, called Chamberlains, who in *Italy* do all the Offices of a Servant-Maid in *France* and *England*; Jealousy being there a predominant Passion, therefore it is dangerous to be even common civil to the *Italian* Women; there is no saluting them, not so much as touching their Fingers in publick. A Person who will travel cheap may eat *Al pasto*, which they call in French *Table d'Hôte*, and may do it for a Paulo, a Meal, which is Twelve-pence of their Money; for if a Traveller will eat by himself he'll pay very dear for it, and perhaps be no better treated than those that eat *al Pasto*. If our Traveller loves *Truffles*, of which there is great Plenty in those Countries, he may call for them, and in my Opinion it is one of their best Dishes.

Verceille, was a well fortified Town before it was demolished by the *French*, when they were Masters of the *Milanese* under *Louis XIV.* but when I passed there it was nothing but a Heap of Rubbish.

Novarre, is a good handsome City; they shew you there in the Cathedral Church, the Body of *St. Gauden-tius*, Bishop, which though he has been dead for several hundred Years past, is entire. Here they will visit your Portmanteau at the Gate of the City, unless to save that Trouble, you give some Money to the Officers.

From *Novarre* you go to *Milan*, which is a very large populous, and trading City, and very strong on account of its Castle, which appears like another Town, and where the Governor of the *Milanese* resides. The General Count *Dann* enjoyed that eminent Post when I was at *Milan*, to whom I had the Honour of being introduced by his Nephew, Count *Cocorsova*, with whom I was intimately acquainted. Our Traveller must pay his Respects to the Governor, or the Commanding Officer, if the Governor is absent, before he can expect to have Leave to see the Castle.

There are several very good Inns at *Milan*, where a Traveller may expect to be elegantly treated if he will pay for it. There are still rather in Proportion a greater Number of Coaches at *Milan* than at *Paris*; for you see scarce any Thing else in the Streets; so that I thought at first every House there kept a Coach. You may hire one for twelve or fourteen Pauls a Day. In all the Towns and Cities of *Italy*, besides your own Servants, it is customary to hire one of the Place, to whom you give half a Crown a Day, without Victuals, to shew you what is to be seen. Besides the Castle, I see nothing in *Milan* deserving much Notice, except the *Dome*, which is a Name given to all the Cathedral Churches in *Italy*; and some other Churches and Convents, &c. which your Guide knows by heart, and will shew you.

The Sex is not so reserved, or so circumspect at *Milan*, nor in any of the other trading Cities or Towns of *Italy*, as they are every where else; and the Men not quite so jealous.

Here, and in all other Places of *Italy*, if our Traveller loves Musick, he may be agreeably entertained gratis, in the Churches; sometimes in one, and sometimes in another; for as there is a greater Number of *Italian* Saints than of any other Nation; and as they always solemnize the Feasts of those Saints in an elegant Manner, there scarce passes one Day in the Week without some of these Solemnities in one Church or other. A Scaffold is erected at the Bottom of the Church, or in some other commodious Place, which is filled with a

great Number of Musicians, both Symphonists and Singers; who most commonly perform extremely well. All the Fault I find in those Ceremonies is, that they are very tedious; and the worst is, that before the Ceremony is half over, a very bad Orator mounts the Pulpit to pronounce the Panegyrick of the Saint, which is commonly very long.

The Opera in *Italy* is very magnificent, and well executed, in the Sentiment of those who have an *Italian* Ear, and an *Italian* Taste; but the Comedy is despicable; for it is scarce any Thing else but the ignorant Romances of four stupid Fellows, viz. *Dr. Balouardo*, *Pantalon di Bisignozzi*, *Bigarelli*, *Tracagny*, and a couple of *Dulcinea's del Toboso*, who entertain the Company with what comes uppermost in their Imagination, without Rhime or Reason. The Decorations, some painted Cloth, which, I believe, serves sometimes for that Use; and sometimes to cover Waggon; and the Theatre lighted with four yellow Flambeaux: So that if our Traveller has some idle Hours, during which he does not know where to bestow himself, or if he finds himself inclinable to sleep, he may go to the Comedy, and I promise him a very good Nap.

From *Milan*, our young Traveller may go to *Placentia*, from *Placentia* to *Parma*, and between those two Places there is nothing to be seen worthy his Curiosity, but *Colorno*, a Country Palace of the Dukes of *Parma*; which is a beautiful one, and where the late Duke, who was a very affable Prince, received very courteously all Foreigners of any Fashion; and lived in an elegant Manner; not like his Neighbour the late Duke of *Modena*, who would see no body, and whom no body cared to see. All those Cities, viz. *Placentia*, *Parma*, and *Modena*, being very antient, have yet some antique Remains worthy the Notice of our Traveller.

From *Modena* he'll go to *Bologna*, which is a very large and handsome City, full of magnificent Palaces; most of them built in a grand Taste; and where he'll find very good Lessons of Architecture, provided he has already some Notions of that Art; which he can improve there to a great Degree. There is Abundance of Nobility in this City; and I really believe that they are all Marquises, for I never heard any other Title mentioned all the Time I was there, which was pretty considerable, viz. *Marquis John Beccari*, *Marquis Peter Beccari*, *Marquis Paul Beccari*, *Marquis Davia*, *Marquis Paleoti*, &c. This Nobility assemble, both Gentlemen and Ladies, every Night in Winter, in a House hired by some of them for that Purpose, either for Gaming or for Conversation; for no body is obliged to play if he don't like it; but a Foreigner is not admitted into those Assemblies, unless he be introduced by some Person of Rank in the Place, who certifies that he knows him for a Nobleman, and afterwards he has free Ingress and Regress, without any more Introduction, into the Assembly whenever he pleases. But a Foreigner must take great Care to behave with a great deal of Circumspection towards the Ladies who frequent those Assemblies, was he even to be ever so well acquainted with them, while their Husbands are present; for a single Glance, or even a Smile, is criminal; the Ladies themselves, at that Time, appear as so many Vestals; but if the Husband happens to quit the Assembly without his Lady, which he seldom does, but on some urging Occasion, then the Scene changes, and the Lady appears as free as she was before reserved and circumspect. I must inform my Traveller likewise, that though the *Italians* be jealous of all Foreigners in general, they are still more so of an *Englishman*, or *Frenchman*; therefore if he desires to preserve the Friendship of the Husband, he must take no Notice of the Wife. They even hate you should ask to see them, or enquire after their Health. The Carnival is excepted of this general Rule; for in those Days of Mirth and Diversion, their Wives may go in Disguise with any body; as if Cuckoldom was frightened at a Mask? But, however, I would advise our Traveller to have no Commerce with the *Italian* Ladies, no more in the Carnival than at other Times; first to avoid the bad Consequences such a Commerce could be attended with; and because those Ladies being most of them interested, their Acquaintance is very expensive. In the Assemblies above-mentioned you meet with none but married

married Ladies, for the maiden ones are not suffered to appear there, most of them (not here only, but throughout all *Italy*) being kept in Monasteries as Nuns, till they are ready to be married, their Lovers being forced to court them at the Grate, and seldom suffered to speak to them without a third Person being present, who is most commonly a Nun, and which I suppose must be a very old one, otherwise the Courtship would chance to inspire her with Thoughts, capable perhaps to make her repent of her Choice.

Our *Traveller* may lodge at *Bologna*, either at the *Image of St. Mark*, or at the *Pilgrim*, which are the two best Inns in the City, and almost over-against one another in the same Street; and where he'll find a Coach to be hired by the Day, or by the Month; which are huge, heavy, ill-shaped, and very incommodious Commodities; as for the Table, it is very good in those two Places; but the Wine is bad, Firing very dear, and the Apartments intolerable; which last Inconvenience is an epidemical Distemper in almost all *Italy*.

There is a Legate of the Pope's in this City, whom our young *Traveller* would do well to visit, and by whom he'll be very well received; though his Eminence (for it is always a Cardinal who fills that eminent Post) and the Nobility are most commonly at Variance; because the *Bolognese* have still a Shadow of Liberty under the Name of Republick, of which they are very jealous, and afraid that the Pope's Authority will make it disappear at last; therefore they hate all those who exercise that Authority in their Territories. But the Politick of the Legates is to foment a Jealousy between the Nobility and the Commons, and to espouse the Interests of the latter against the former; otherwise, if they were both united, they could be capable perhaps, with the Assistance of some neighbouring Prince, to shake off some Time or other the *Romish* Yoke. I found by Experience while I was there, that those who frequent the Court of the Legate are not extremely welcome among the Nobility; but as I was extremely well received by his Eminence, who would have me every Day at his Palace, and found on the other Side, that the Nobility, few excepted, had not the same Complaisance, I preferred the Legate to them; cultivating at the same Time a Friendship I had contracted with the Count de Salles, natural Brother of the late King of *Sardinia*, and Knight of the *Annunciade*, a Nobleman of an extraordinary Merit, very affable, and very complaisant, without Affectation or Deceit, and who espoused no Party, and lived very much retired.

Besides the Assemblies heretofore mentioned, there is an Opera, and a miserable Comedy; and from Time to Time Races with *Barbary* Horses, the Beauty whereof consists in the great Number of Coaches full of Gentlemen and Ladies extremely well dressed, which go three or four Times processioning round the Place, where the *Barbs* are to run; and our *Traveller* may make one among them if he pleases, either in his own Coach, or in that of some Acquaintance. As for the Race, in itself it very little deserves Attention; for they only set loose two or three Horses, without a Rider, which strive of themselves to outrun each other, from the Place of their Departure to that where they are to stop; and the first arrived carries off the Prize.

On any of the solemn Feasts of the Year, viz. *Christmas*, *Easter*, &c. our *Traveller* may see, if he goes to the Dome at the Time of high Mass, the Senators of *Bologna* come thither in Ceremony, all dressed still in the antique *Roman* Fashion; which is one of the most agreeable Sight I have seen there; for it recalled to my Memory that great Hero, and unfortunate Man, *Anthony*, whose Patrimony *Bologna* was. In another Church on those same Days, he may see the Legate in all his Pomp, attended with all his Officers and Guards.

There are several very beautiful Churches to be seen at *Bologna*, and magnificent Palaces, particularly that of *Caprara*, which has a Gallery full of the Presents made by the Emperors to the famous General of that Name, consisting most of them in gold-hilted Swords set with Diamonds, and other precious Stones; and with Turbans, Cimetsars, and other Spoils which he got from the *Turks* in *Hungary*. None of these Palaces are inaccessible; for they are free enough to shew them,

and even leave you by yourselves, to examine all the Rarities thereof at Leisure; any Thing that can flatter your Curiosity you are welcome to see, their Wives excepted; though among these Persons of the First Rank, they are not over-scrupulous, and there is a more free Access to the Ladies than among others.

All the *Italian* Ladies of any Rank are dressed in the *French* Mode, without the least Change or Alteration; and have, on high Festivals, a great Quantity of Jewels about them, even Nosegays of Jewels at their Bosom; and these never wear Veils as the common Sort do, whose Dress is very unbecoming, for those Veils hide both their Face and Shape.

They shew at *Bologna*, in the Church of the Nuns of *St. Clair*, as a Miracle, the Body of *St. Catherine* of *Bologna*, which they say is yet entire. But it is so much loaded with Gold and Jewels, and the Place where it is kept is so dark, and it is seen at so great a Distance, that it is not very easy to discover what it is. Every body is allowed to think what he pleases of those Things; for my Part I think nothing of it, and it would be much better to keep them where they should be kept, than to expose them to publick View.

From *Bologna* our *Traveller* may go to *Florence*, which is a very fair and large City, but not paved with Marble, as Bishop *Burnet* has dreamed it, as well as several other Things of the same Kind.

Under the Princes of the House of *Medicis*, the Court of *Florence*, was one of the most magnificent of all *Italy*; and while I was there I thought the *Verfailles* had been transplanted into the Middle of *Italy*, in Affability, Complaisance, noble, good and easy Manners, and a becoming Familiarity; for Jealousy which reigns with so much Empire in most of the neighbouring Parts, seem'd to be quite banish'd from *Florence*, and especially from the Court; where a Foreigner was kindly received and entertained; it is true, that the considerable Alliances contracted from Time to Time between this Court and that of *France*, may have much contributed towards introducing *French* Manners into it; besides that, the House of *Medicis* was indebted for the greatest Part of its Grandeur to the Crown of *France*. But as the present Grand Duke, who is of another House, though much more illustrious, and no less magnificent than that of *Medicis*, does not reside in *Tuscany*, our *Traveller* cannot expect to find a great Court there; but yet there is something in the sumptuous Palace of the Grand Duke's, capable to entertain him for several Days successively, I mean the rich and magnificent Furniture; the beautiful Gallery, where most of the best Pencils of different Ages have exhausted their Strength; for there has been scarce any great Painter in the World who has not one of his Master-pieces in that Gallery, or in the Apartments of the Palace. There is likewise that sumptuous Chapel of Mosaick Work, which, when finished, will be one of the Wonders of the World. The Library of the same Palace is as rich, in a great Number of scarce and valuable Books, as the Gallery is in Paintings.

From *Florence* he may proceed to *Rome*, which is the Capital of all *Italy*, and of the whole World; and where he'll see some Ruins, of what Authors are pleased to tell us of its antient Grandeur; for with regard to it, it is very difficult to find *Rome* in *Rome* itself; tho' there is still enough of it left, to gratify the Curiosity of those who delight in having the Memory of beautiful Things revived by Demonstrations, let them be never so much obliterated.

There are Abundance of Nobility at *Rome* of the First Rank. And whereas *England* has no Minister there to introduce our *Traveller* at Court; he should have took Care on his Journey thither, to procure some Recommendation either to the foreign Ministers at the Court of *Rome*, or to some Person of Rank: Though he could introduce himself without it, but then he would not have the same Agreements. The *Roman* Nobility are pretty haughty, and do not familiarize themselves easily with Foreigners; their Quality of Princes, of whom there is as great a Number at *Rome*, as there is of Marquises in the other Parts of *Italy*, swells them with a certain ridiculous Pride, which is relished neither by the *English* nor by the *French*; and what is the most diverting, for Persons who are not concerned in it, is that they are almost

almost always at Variance among themselves on the Precedency; and that all their Visits, even the most indifferent, are always Visits of Ceremony: Though it must be confessed at the same Time that there are several very noble and antient Houses at *Rome*, but they have much degenerated from their antient Lustre; for they insist on what their Ancestors have been, but not a Word of what they should be themselves. They most of them live in an elegant Manner; and if our *Traveller* designs to introduce himself among them he must make a great Appearance, especially in his Cloaths and Equipage; otherwise he is looked upon by them with Contempt. He should likewise inform himself under-hand of what Party is the Company he wants to frequent, and if they are or not the Partizans of the Chevalier *de St. George*; for if they are, they will infallibly bring him soon into the Conversation, to feel the Pulse of their new Guest; and if they find that his Sentiments are different from theirs, they'll find Means to be rid of him, perhaps in a very disobliging Manner; of which I saw an Instance, not at *Rome*, for the Chevalier was not there then, but at *Leghorn*, in the House of the Marquis *de Sylva*, the *Spanish* Consul; where there was an Assembly every Night, into which an *English* Gentleman having been introduced by some body; and there being in the Apartment where the Assembly was kept, the Chevalier's Picture, with that of his Lady, and of his eldest Son, presented to the Grandmother of the Marquis by the Chevalier himself; and several of the Company who knew that Family, admiring those Pictures as extremely well done, and the *English* Gentleman looking at them himself, without saying any Thing; the old Lady, who was much in the Interests of the Chevalier, asked him, if he found any Fault in them, that he said nothing; to which he answered, that he could not be a Judge of them, since he had never seen the Originals; why, replied the Lady? Because, said he, *I hate the Pretender, and all that belongs to him.* Which answer disconcerted, and at the same Time irritated so much the old Marquess, and almost all those who heard it, that the poor Gentleman was elbowed from one Place to another all the rest of the Evening; and a Message sent to him the next Morning never to appear there again, for fear of worse Usage; tho' I am of Opinion that the Presence of Mr. *Skinner*, the *English* Consul, who was in the Assembly contributed much to that sharp Answer; notwithstanding which he could have moderated it, by contenting himself with the first Part thereof, *viz.* that he had never seen the Originals, because he had never been in Places where he could; reserving to himself his Sentiments, which though they had been much approved in *England*, were not of the Taste of the Company he was in; tho' even at *Leghorn* his Answer had been very well received among a great Number of other Persons of a quite contrary Party. Tho' I don't know if I should have been more prudent than the *English* Gentleman, in question, for I find that it is absolutely impossible for me to disguise my Love for my Prince; though it is sometimes necessary to do it, especially in indifferent Occasions, where neither his Person nor his Glory are attacked: Therefore a *Traveller* should avoid all Companies where he knows he runs the Risk of being put to the Test.

The best Opportunity to see the Pope, is when he gives publick Audience to Embassadors, for then one sees all the Ceremonies used on such Occasions; all the Magnificence of the Court of *Rome* appearing then in its greatest Lustre. Which I have never seen, because while I was there, there was then sitting in *St. Peter's* Chair that most excellent and pious Pope, *Benedict XIII.* who was an utter Enemy of Pomp and Splendor, as not much becoming *St. Peter's* Successors: Though I have seen him give Audience to very eminent Persons; but it was done with little or no Ceremony; and he would never suffer them to kiss his Feet. At the Gate of the City where the Chevalier *de St. George* resides, whether at *Rome*, *Albano*, *Bologna*, &c. a *Traveller* is stopped, and obliged to give his Name, and that of his Nation; which is written down, and immediately carried to the Chevalier's Palace, and if the Person be suspected, he is ordered to depart immediately; a Privilege he has throughout all the Pope's Dominions.

Here our *Traveller* may furnish himself, with An-

tiques of all Kinds, *viz.* Statues, Busts, Bas-relievs, Medals, and engraven Stones; but he must have a very great Knowledge of them, or be assisted by those who have it, otherwise he will be terribly cheated; for they know so well at present how to counterfeit all those Things, that unless a *Traveller* be a good Antiquary he'll be deceived in them; and buy Pieces very dear, which are worth nothing at all. He is most commonly besieged by the *Jews*, who will never take the first, second, third, &c. Refusal, but return again and again to the Charge, if not always with the same Merchandizes, at least with others; feeding the Servants of the House where he lodges, to have a free Access to his Apartment, as well to import as to export, if they find something under their Hand, which is of an easy Exportation. One may also buy here beautiful Paintings, though they are not so common at present, as they were when the Arts were better encouraged; and likewise fine Drawings and Prints, though I prefer the Prints of *Paris* to those of *Rome*, and so will all others who have any Taste for those Sorts of Works.

As the King of *France* names for Embassadors to the Court of *Rome* but Persons of the First Rank, who all live in a splendid Manner, a Foreigner of Note, of any Nation whatever, is sure to be very well received at his Palace, and of his Assistance if he wants it; therefore I would advise our *Traveller* to make his first Visit to him, since he can do it without much Ceremony or Introduction; and contract easily an Intimacy with him to see without a Difficulty the best Company. When the late Cardinal *de Polignac* was Embassador at *Rome*, I know perfectly well, that he was the Refuge of all Foreigners of any Note; having almost always some of them in his Coach, or at his Table.

There are a great many Sharpers of all Nations at *Rome*, who are always full of Protections of Friendship, and of Offers of Service; whose Company must be avoided; though most of them are only Spungers, who do not know very well how to live otherwise. Others are Gamesters by Profession, who are the most dangerous, for if they can once get one unacquainted with their black Dealings, into their Clutches, they will not leave him till they have eased him of all his Money. This Sort of Gentry is most commonly found either in the publick Inns where they make a great Figure, or loitering about the Places which they know *Travellers* have the Curiosity to see. They accost one, by how do you like this Place, my Lord, if they suppose him an *Englishman*? Thinking that that Quality of My Lord, especially if he is not one, will ingratiate them to him: Then they go on with reasoning on the Beauty, or Imperfection of the Architecture, if it be a Piece of Building, or on the History of the Foundation, if it be a Ruin, &c. Next they offer to accompany you to other Places; from thence to your Inn or Lodging, where you think yourself obliged in Gratitude to invite them to Supper; and thus introduced you are sure of their Visits every Day, if they be Spungers only, and among them there are really Persons of Merit, whom Necessity, not their Choice, has reduced to that despicable Way of living, and whose Company cannot be disagreeable to a Person who does not mind a Meal. The most troublesome of this first Kind, are those who not contented with your Table, attack your Purse likewise, and borrow Money, which they know they'll never be in a Capacity to return.

Gamesters will trepan you insensibly among their Fraternity, where under Pretence of treating you with Liquors, Sweetmeats, and the like, or perhaps with an elegant Supper, for which you'll pay dear in the End, they engage you at Cards, or other Game, which was their first End, and send you home much lighter than you was when you came.

The *Italians* are pleased to call this City *Roma la Santa*, which must be understood only of the vast Number of Martyrs which sanctified it with their Blood, during the several Persecutions of the *Pagan* Emperors; and of the great Number of Churches it contains at present; but not of the Manners of the Inhabitants, which are much depraved and corrupted, since there is no City in Christendom, where Debauchery and Vices of all Kinds, even the most atrocious, and those which were

were punished once with Fire from Heaven, reign with more Impunity; though there are many very good Laws made for their Suppression, but they are seldom put in Force.

From *Rome* our Traveller may go to *Naples*, which is the wholsomest Climate of all *Italy*; and one of the most fertile Soils. The *Neapolitan* Nobility are magnificent, but retain yet something of the *Spanish* Gravity. They are very hospitable, and receive Foreigners with much Affability and Politeness; but they are as inconsistent in their Friendship as in their political Maxims, and are as great Admirers of new Faces as of new Governors. As for the common People there is no trusting to them; tho' perhaps at present that they have a King of their own, and one of the greatest Princes in *Europe*, Things are much altered; however our Traveller will have the Pleasure of seeing a splendid Court at *Naples*, which had not been seen there ever since that Kingdom had been made a Branch of the *Spanish* Monarchy, under *Alphonfus* the First, King of *Arragon*, who was the first who took the Title of King of *Naples*. *Charles VIII.* King of *France*, conquered that Kingdom in Person, and defeated at his Return, near *Fornioie*, with 8000 Men, an Army of 50,000 of his Enemies assembled to oppose his Passage. *Naples* being a very trading City, there is a great Number of Merchants of all Nations settled there, particularly *English*, who have in it very large Warehouses, and a Consul, as well as the *French*, *Spaniards*, *Dutch*, &c. But the Consulship of *England* is worth almost all the others put together; therefore a War with the King of the *Two Sicilies* would be very prejudicial to the Commerce of the *English* Nation. If our Traveller be in a precarious State of Health, or of a weak Constitution, there is not a Place in the whole World more proper for his Recovery; but he should retire further into the Country, and not stay at *Naples*, where it would be impossible for him to enjoy that Tranquility necessary in those Occasions.

I would not advise him to pass into *Sicily*, since it can be of no Service either for his Instruction or Pleasure; unless he wants to see the most fertile Soil in the whole Earth, and the most deceitful and perfidious Nation.

But if our Traveller will not follow the Road we have marked from *Milan* to *Florence*, he may go from thence to *Genoa*, called by the Italians *Genua la Superba*, by reason of its magnificent Buildings. Here he'll find likewise a great Number of *English* Merchants, and Abundance of very tame Ladies of all Ranks, which it is very dangerous to frequent. The Buildings, and the Beauty of the Port excepted, there is nothing here capable to detain him long; but before his Departure, he may furnish himself with some Pieces of fine Velvet, at a much more reasonable Price than in any other Part of *Italy*.

From *Genoa* he may go to *Venice*, where he'll find some of the best Nobility of all *Italy*; and both Gentlemen and Ladies very affable and complaisant. He'll see likewise at *Venice* a great Number of *Greeks*, *Turks*, and other eastern Nations, in their different Dress. There is a great deal of Diversion at *Venice*, both on Land, and Water in magnificent Gondola's; which are to be hired as Pleasure-Boats here on the River; though it is dangerous to go too far from the Shore, for fear of being taken by the Pirates of *Barbary*.

All sort of honest Liberty is allowed at *Venice*, and one may say what he pleases, provided he does not speak against the State. Though the noble *Venetians* have most of them very considerable Estates, and some of them very rich; they all live, notwithstanding, with a great deal of Economy, and are not much addicted to Liberality. The *Venetian* Ladies, are reckoned the handsomest of all *Italy*; and in my Opinion they are really so; but Love Intrigues with them are very dangerous; for *Venice* is never without secret Assassins capable of any bad Action for a Reward; so that though the Sex at *Venice* be very fond of Foreigners, Foreigners should not be very fond of them; we may admire them, and see them in publick Company; but never a *Tête à Tête* with them.

One of the Thing I have admired most at *Venice* is the Arsenal for the Gallies of the Republick, which is a very magnificent one; for by this Time our Traveller

has seen so many magnificent Buildings, that he can take but little or no Notice of them, since it is seeing the same Thing over and over again; but we cannot say the same Thing of Painting; since those he'll see here are of a Taste quite different from those he has seen already at *Bologna*, *Florence*, and *Rome*; for he'll see at *Venice* the most celebrated Pieces of the *Georgion*, *Titian*, *Tintoretto*, &c. both in the Churches, and the publick and private Palaces.

From *Venice* our young Traveller may go into *Poland*, where there is nothing to be seen but large and desart Cities; and where a Traveller meets with little or no Accommodation on the Road, not even the most necessary; for the Inns every where in that vast Kingdom are miserable Places, not fit to lodge a Servant, much less a Master; and when you are arrived at one of them, perhaps much fatigued, and very hungry, you'll find nothing to eat; so that if it is at Dinner-time, you are obliged to go forward, on the same Uncertainty of meeting with any Thing, which is twenty to one you will not; so that you run the Risk, after having travelled all Day, to be obliged to go starving to Bed at last; unless you follow the Example of the *Polish* Nobility, and carry along with you not only Provisions, but likewise a Cook, and all the Utensils of a Kitchen. It is true that the *Polish* Nobility are very hospitable, and receive Foreigners extremely well; and are never better pleased than when you visit them at their Country-Seats, where they entertain you in a splendid Manner; but who would be subject to that Way of *vicarying*, as they call it in *France*, from one House to another; I am sure that will never suit an *English* Stomach. Therefore he may leave *Poland* where it is, and pass into *Germany*, where he'll find Food, Company, good Cheer, and good Accommodation of all Kinds; and as a good Ally he should visit first the Court of *Vienna*, where he'll find the greatest Princess, and one of the best Princes of the Age.

The Court of *Vienna* has been for several Centuries the Court of the Emperor of *Germany*; and as such the most magnificent of all those Parts; where all Foreigners without Distinction, were kindly received; for, national Prejudices a-part, we must all confess, that almost all the Princes of the House of *Austria* were naturally extremely good, and extremely pious, even beyond what could reasonably be expected from them; and when they have appeared otherwise, it was their Council who acted then, not they; for some of them have been very much imposed upon by their Ministers.

I do not at all question that our young Traveller will be still more kindly received than usual, considering the great Services the *English* Nation has done her ever since the Beginning of this War, in supplying her with Money, without which it had been impossible to resist so long to the formidable Powers confederated against her.

But however, notwithstanding all those Obligations, he must use a great deal of Circumspection at the Court of *Vienna*; for all the Persons of the First Rank there, at the Example of their Prince, are much addicted to Piety and Devotion; the least Freedom, either in Speech or Actions, which might have the least Tendency towards Immorality or Irreligion, could not be approved, no more than those against the Catholick Religion, which would be there a capital Crime; for though the House of *Austria* has much Consideration for the Persons of the Protestants, when they are worthy of it, there have never been Princes in Christendom ever since *Luther* made his first Appearance, more averse to their Religion; which has never been so much as tolerated in their hereditary Dominions.

Musick is very much admired, and encouraged at *Vienna*; and there have been always there as good Musicians, as in any Part of *Italy*: Therefore if our Traveller loves Musick, he'll be very well entertained. The Palace is full of Paintings of the best Masters of all the Schools; and the Cabinet, commonly called the Emperor's Cabinet, adorned and enriched with Curiosities of all Kinds.

The Place is very well fortified, and could never be taken by the *Turks*, though they have several Times attempted it.

From *Vienna* he may go to the Emperor's Court, and be very well received; for though the *English* Na-

tion in general has not shewed much Affection for his Imperial Majesty ever since his Accession to the Imperial Throne, he has too much Generosity, to shew his Resentment to any particular Person of that Nation.

From *Bavaria* he may proceed to the Court of the Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, to that of *Saxony*; and from thence to that of the King of *Prussia*; though he may chance of having not the Honour to see his *Prussian* Majesty, who is oftener found at the Head of his Armies than in his Palaces among Courtiers and Favourites.

If our young Traveller designs to follow the Profession of Arms; he may tarry in *Germany*, and learn to defend a Place of the famous General *Damnitz*, and take the Field under what General he pleases, but always under the Queen of *Hungary*'s Standards; since he'll not be permitted to do it under any other.

As I suppose he cannot be there, but in the Quality of a Volunteer, he should notwithstanding search all Occasions of signalizing himself as much as possible, under the Eyes of the General, desiring to be of all the Expeditions where there is the most Danger, and following then the Impulses of a Courage, directed by a noble Prudence, and not the Sallies of an impetuous Temerity; for true Bravery does not consist in going without Reflection to knock one's Head against a Wall, or exposing oneself at the Mouth of a Cannon, or running head-long on the Sword or Bayonet of the Enemy; for if an Army was composed of none but such, it would be always beaten; but true Bravery consists in following punctually the Orders of the Commanding Officers, in advancing when he judges proper towards the Enemy, with that becoming Intrepidity, which neither Showers of Bullets, nor the Number of Men falling continually before us, and even at our Sides, can in the least disconcert; never faster than it is commanded; for the too great Impetuosity of young Men led rather by a Desire of Glory than by a noble Discretion, have often put a whole Army into Confusion; and sometimes been the Cause of the Loss of a Battle. For they imagine that they have gained a compleat Victory, by driving two or three Batalions, or two or three Squadrons before them; while perhaps on another Side the greatest Part of their Army is routed, or cut to Pieces. He should mind likewise how a good Retreat is managed; for a good Retreat is sometimes worth a Victory, especially when a General finding himself in Sight of an Army, much superior to him in Strength, more advantageously posted, and ready to engage him; avoid the Engagement by making a glorious Retreat, without Confusion or Disorder, without losing but few Men, though he has the Enemy close at his Heels. He should also examine how Defiles are guarded or forced; how Lodgments and Posts are carried off. As for conducting a Siege he could have no better Masters than the *French*, if he was allowed to follow them in those Expeditions; for they seldom or never lay Siege to a Town without carrying it.

Voluntiers, to be the more taken Notice of, go most commonly upon Parties; for as those Parties are composed but of few Troops, every Person of Note who distinguishes himself in a particular Manner is better seen.

The Campaign over, our Traveller may pass his Winter Quarters at the Court of any of the ecclesiastick Electors, since they are all three either Neuters, because at present some of them do not dare to be otherwise, or his Allies; but if some of them do not observe the Gospel better than they have done their Neutrality, as I really believe they don't, they are in a poor Way.

The Court of the Elector of *Cologne* was under that excellent Prince *Joseph Clement* of *Bavaria*, Uncle of the present Elector, the most splendid of all the three, and where Foreigners were most chearfully received; for the Prince himself was all Complaisance, all Mirth and Gaiety; but I know nothing else of the present, but that some imagine he loves Money.

Before the Accession of the august House of *Hanover* to the Throne of *Great Britain*, I had willingly made three Tabernacles there; for the Princes of that House have always been very kind to Foreigners, and to the *French* in particular; but it cannot be expected that there should be the same Court there at present as there was then; though all the Nobility of that Electorate, and even all the other Subjects, have always followed the

Example of their Princes, with regard to Hospitality, which is as well practised there as in any other Part of *Europe*.

Our Traveller must not learn to drink in *Germany*; for the *Germans* in general are reckoned *Bacchus*'s Favourites.

From *Germany* our Traveller may pass into *Holland*, which is the chief Magazine, of all the Lampoons, Satyrs, defamatory Libels, Falshoods, Impostures, false and ignorant News, which are sold there wholesale with Impunity, by their Novelists, to be retailed afterwards throughout all *Europe*; and for which their whole Country itself has sometimes severely smarted; though most of the Authors of those scandalous Writings are *French* Monks, or Fryars, who have changed their Frock for a Petticoat; for the first Inventor of the Supplement to the *Gazette* of *Amsterdam*, was a *French Benedictine* Monk, who married *du Brueil*'s Daughter, and which he invented on purpose to fill it with such infamous Satyrs against the late King of *France* and his Ministers, that even his greatest Enemies were ashamed to read them, and that one would have thought that they were vomited from Hell itself; wherefore it was called originally the *Lardon*, because the Author pretended that he larded severely the King of *France*; but *M. Colbert* found the Secret to coop the Larder, for he had him carried off from *Amsterdam*, even in Time of War; and conducted to Mount St. *Michael*, on the Coast of *Normandy*, to an Abbey of his Monks, where he was shut up in a wooden Cage prepared for that Purpose, and where he died; whence my Pupil Traveller will learn, that it is always very dangerous to attack crowned Heads, especially in so outrageous a Manner, and with so much Obstinacy as that insolent Fellow did; and I hope he'll take Care to avoid in *Holland* the Company of those infamous Satyrists, which is neither honourable nor advantageous; and who, though we despise them ever so much, are capable notwithstanding to give us some bad Impression, especially if we be infatuated with some national Prejudices.

There is nothing to be learned in *Holland* but Commerce and Industry; and nothing to be seen but neat Cities and neat Houses. Though the *Dutch* are possessed of an inestimable Treasure, but which can be valued by Foreigners without their going into *Holland*, and that Treasure is their Government; and the great Dexterity and Craft wherewith they manage their Interests at the respective Courts of *Europe*, sometimes negotiating, sometimes soliciting or intreating, sometimes threatening, and sometimes cringing, according as it suits best their Turn; humble Suitors to *France* when they wanted its Assistance, either to shake off entirely the *Spanish* Yoke, or to oppose an Invasion; and deserting that Crown on the advantageous Terms offered by their Oppressor, to engage them to turn their Arms against their Deliverer: And at another Time, keeping all *Europe* in Suspence, and pretending Friendship to all, till they have found a favourable Opportunity to play their own Game with Safety. That's the true Maxims in Politicks of their High Mightinesses, which our Traveller should not be unacquainted with, but which he'll never learn; for Things are represented there in a quite different Light from what they are in Reality. Another good Maxim of theirs is, that Religion does not exclude from Preferments, except only from the most eminent of the Republick; so that a Catholick, for Example, is excluded from being made one of the States General; not in Hatred of the Religion, but because they are afraid that if the *Roman* Catholicks were at the Helm, they would perhaps bring once more the *Spanish* Monarchy on their Back; but a *Roman* Catholick who has proved himself a gallant Man, is preferred in the Armies of the States General equally as a Protestant.

If instead of coming into *Holland*, our Traveller wants to visit the northern Courts, he may go, if he pleases, from *Brandenburg* into *Pomerania*, and from *Pomerania* to *Sweden*; where he'll find that there is very little Difference between the Manners of the *Swedish* Nobility and that of the *French*; the *Swedes*, for the Generality, being very civil and hospitable. The Court of *Sweden* was never very splendid and magnificent; which is owing perhaps to the martial Inclination of their Princes, who,

who, for several Ages successively, were oftener seen in the Fields than in their Palaces, and at the Head of their Armies than in a Drawing-room; always employed either in extending the Limits of their Dominions, or repulsing their ambitious Neighbours.

From *Sweden* he may pass into *Muscovy*, and visit the Court of that vast Country, which has been much civilized ever since *Peter I.* but he must be very cautious how he behaves there, for it is a very slippery Place; witness the Fate of the poor *Cbetardie*, who had been received in Triumph, and was turned out as a Vagrant. Poor unhappy *Phaeton*, who had Courage enough to mount the Chariot of the Sun, but wanted Prudence to guide it: For I never believe that there was the least Pretence, on his Side, of shedding Blood; and am persuaded, that all that has been said on that Subject were mere Calumnies, invented by his Enemies. But, however, let it be how it will, our Traveller may inform us, at his Return, of the real Truth of that Affair; though, without being a Prophet, I guessed at it the first Time it was made public, and blamed much the Indiscretion of my Countryman: What, a great Politician and not Master of his own Secrets! sly upon it.—He'll find a great Difference at the Court of *Russia*, between the Nobility who have never gone out of their own Country, and those who have Travelled; for the former are sullen, unsociable, without Politeness or Manners, infatuated with a stupid Pride or Haughtiness, ignorant, indolent, and enamoured with their antient Customs, which borders much on Brutality; whereas the latter are as polite, complaisant, generous, sincere, and accomplished as any in *Europe*. With these he may endeavour to be acquainted, which is not very difficult; but he must neglect those as utter Enemies of a civil Society. The Fair Sex, in those Parts, are not very cruel, and even meet a Foreigner half Way, of whom they are very fond, and well they may, when they compare them to some of their Bears; and though there is not the least Danger in those Love Intrigues, the *Muscovites* being not much addicted to Jealousy, I would advise, notwithstanding, our young Traveller, to avoid them as much as possible, for fear he should enervate himself in those Engagements, and impair his Health. For if young Noblemen, who go to travel into foreign Parts, were careful to follow the salutary Advices relating to Love Intrigues, and other Excesses, which I have given them throughout this Treatise, we should not see so many bring nothing home, for the whole Fruit of their Travels, but a broken Constitution; which is the Cause that their Posterity appear rather like walking Skeletons than Men; whereas, if they would lead a sober Life, during the whole Time of their Travels, and avoid carefully all Occasions of Debauchery, as well as the Company of Debauchees, they would bring, at their Return into their native Country, Health and Strength; which in Time would produce a new Generation of strong and healthy Men; which is one of the most beautiful Ornaments of a Country. It is true, that a Governor should hinder his Pupil from abandoning himself to Debauchery or Excesses, since he is given to him, in part, for that purpose; all the Faults he commits being most certainly laid to his Charge, tho' sometimes very unjustly; for there are People who are not to be governed, and will not be governed.

From *Muscovy* our Traveller may pass into *Denmark*, which is the most polite and most splendid Court of the North; and where he'll have the Honour and Satisfaction to see, in the present King, a Prince of an extraordinary Merit, and a Nobility, who have not the least of the Imperfections of their Neighbours, I mean of the *Muscovites*; besides, there should be a certain Sympathy between the *English* and the *Danes*; since there is yet in *England* a vast Number of Families whose Origin was *Danish*, ever since the *Danes* conquered *England*; which makes me wonder that the *English* should hate Foreigners, since they have all, without Distinction, a foreign Origin from the different Nations who have conquered the Country, some *Danish*, others *Saxon*, and others *Norman*.

From *Denmark*, he may return among my good Friends the *Germans*, which I say from the Bottom of my Heart, since there is no foreign Nation in the whole

World I love better; for I have found among them neither Dissimulation nor Deceit, but an open and free Heart, which was really what it appeared to be; and as he has not seen yet the Court of the Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, whom I expect to see soon an Elector of the Empire, in Gratitude for his generous Assistance to the Head thereof, he will do very well to take a Tour thither, since it is one of the most polite in *Germany*, though not the richest; and where he must expect to be the better received, since a Princess of *England* is married with the hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*.

Then he may come to *Holland*, from *Holland* to *Brussels*; here he may stay, if he chuses to make a Campaign in *Flanders*, among his own Countrymen, and under his own Generals; or return into *England*, to the great Joy of his Family, who will be agreeably entertained for a considerable Time, with a succinct Relation of his Voyages, free from those monstrous Romances and Fashions most Travellers season theirs with, imagining falsely that the more Incredibilities their Relations are stuffed with, the more they are admired, which is a scandalous Notion, since none but the ignorant Rabble can be entertained with such ridiculous Fables. Therefore, it is not surprising if Cobblers, in Matters of Writing, are continually employed in supplying them with such Stuff, with no other View than to pick their Pockets, which should be punished both as a publick Theft and an Imposture.

If *England* had not been at War with the Catholick King, I should have led my Traveller into *Spain*, and accompanied him to the Court of *Madrid*; though few Travellers, especially those who are said to make the Tour of *Europe*, care to put into *Spain*, under the false Supposition that there is nothing there worthy the Curiosity of a Foreigner; the *Spaniards*, besides, having always been esteemed the most inhospitable Nation of *Europe*. But it is a Mistake, for the Times are much changed there, ever since the Accession of *Philip Vth.* to the Throne. The *Spaniards* of our Days are a quite new Generation, more affable, sociable and complaisant, and that insupportable Gravity which afforded Matter of Laughter to all other Nations, is at present moderated by a *French* Gaiety, which renders it very agreeable. They are no more so formal in their Manners, nor so much bigotted to their antient Customs and Modes; even the few among them who could never be persuaded to renounce them quite, have reformed them so as to render them less ridiculous. The Palaces of the Grandees are no more inaccessible to Foreigners, neither do they keep them at so great a Distance; for antiently the Grandees of *Spain* were as so many petty Kings, and even claimed, in proportion, greater Homages than the King himself; but at present their insupportable Pride is reduced to keep their own Rank, whereby the Gates of their Palaces are opened to Foreigners, who before, would have scorned to have entered them, on the mean Condition of worshipping *Spanish* Haughtiness.

As Ladies have not been so much confined in *Spain*, under the Reign of this King, as they were before, our Traveller may be easily introduced into their Company, and favoured with their Conversation, which is extremely engaging, for they have a great deal of Sincerity and ready Wit, and a very agreeable Manner of expressing themselves.

The Arts are not much encouraged in *Spain*, because the common People are naturally very lazy, and hate Industry; neither are their Universities in a very flourishing State, and the Sciences much cultivated.—He'll see there holy Bishops who lead very pious and exemplary Lives; but the Conduct of the inferior Clergy is quite different, and their Lives a Scandal to their Profession.

From *Spain* it is worth his while to pass into *Portugal*, if it was but only to see the present King, who is one of the greatest Princes of the Age. All these Courts are so extremely pious, that there is not much Mirth at them, and that a Foreigner used to it, is soon tired of them: But our Traveller has this Advantage, that he may spend the greatest Part of his Time with his own Countrymen, of which there is a great Number settled at *Lisbon*.—At *Lisbon* he can embark for *England*, since there is always a great many *English* Ships in that Port; the *Portugal* Trade being one of the best Branches of the

the *English* Commerce ; for a great deal of Gold, is imported into *England* from hence.

A very essential and necessary Advice, and one of the first I should have given my young *Traveller*, is, that he should never make a Shew of his Money like Children, especially in the Inns where he lodges on the Road ; for as all Persons, without Distinction, resort to those publick Places, and are well received and entertained in paying ; he does not know, if there are not some Thieves among those before whom he shews his Money, who may wait for him on the Road, on purpose to rob him, and perhaps cut his Throat ; there is, besides, another Inconveniency attending this silly Indiscretion, which is, that the Inn-keepers, naturally inclined to impose on *Travellers*, fleece a Person whom they see frosted with so much Money ; and not him only, but likewise, those of his Nation, who come after him ; for, in some Parts of *Europe*, where some young *English* Noblemen have made Parade of their Money, the Inn-keeper believes, that it is enough to be an *Englishman*, to be loaded with it ; and therefore, make them extravagant Bills accordingly, which they season with twenty *My Lords*, thinking that that noble Title will make it be paid without Deduction ; though they know very well, at the same Time, that the Person they speak to is no Lord ; but however, Lord, or not, no-body is obliged to throw his Money away ; and our *Traveller* must not think it beneath him, to curtail the Bills of those Sharpers ; in giving them only what is reasonable and just, and no more, it is not at all mean to bargain with them ; for if they were once used to it, and their Bills dealt with, very near in the same Manner, we do with those of Apothecaries in *France*, they would make afterwards, more reasonable ones. To avoid these Impositions, our *Traveller* should have a faithful and trusty Servant with him, who should bargain for every Thing before it is carried to his Master's Table ; for when the Repast is over without making that Bargain, there is no going back from it, it must be paid ; but when you bargain before, rather then lose you, they'll be much more reasonable ; and I can assure you, that in a long Journey, you'll find it, at least half in half Difference ; and be treated besides, in a much more elegant Manner ; for when you don't take those Precautions, they'll cover your Table with any Thing ; I mean, that they'll make up a Number of Dishes, and perhaps, not a good one among them all ; but when you cheapen Things, and bargain for it, they must dress them, or else not be paid. — There is another Manner of dealing with Inn keepers, which has diverted me much, and which I learned from a Captain of Cavalry in the King of *France*'s Service ; in whose Company I have travelled for very near three hundred Leagues ; he made a Bargain, before we sat out, that I should let him deal with the Inn-keepers, which I accepted with Pleasure ; therefore he used to call for the Bill, and after he had looked over it, and examined all the Articles, and reduced them to what he thought was honestly due, he used to tell me to lay down so much for my Share, laying down his at the same Time ; then ordered our Horses to be brought, making no other Answer, to all the Arguments of the Inn-keeper, than two or three, that's enough, you shall have no more, then we mounted our Horses, and away we went. But one must have a great deal of Resolution, and a certain imposing Air, as he had, to act in that Manner ; though at the same Time he acted very honourably and justly, for he scorn'd to do a mean Action, but he would not be imposed upon : I have tried since to follow his Example, especially on the Road from *Calais* to *Paris*, which the *English*, by being lavish of their Money, have rendered a very expensive one ; but our Hearts in *Britanny*, being most commonly greater than our Purse is deep, I could not withstand the Importunities of the Inn keepers ; therefore I prefer'd my former Manner to it, of bargaining for every Thing, which prevents all Disputes ; but in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, when I went thither for Pleasure, for which they made me pay an extravagant Price, I followed always the latter ; for they make one pay there, even for what they call the *Coverts*, i. e. for covering the Table with a Table-cloth, Plates and Napkins, which is an abominable Imposition ; as if one could do without it ; therefore, I always retrench that from their Bills.

There have been *Travellers*, whose Curiosity being not satisfied with seeing all *Europe*, have led them to the Eastern Courts, viz. those of *Constantinople*, *Persia*, *China*, *Siam*, and the *Great Mogul* ; but there are few at present, whose Curiosity is so great : The most famous *Travellers* we have had of this Kind, were the celebrated *Tavernier*, *Petit de la Croix*, *Sir John Chardin*, and several Jesuits, who have enriched the learned World with the Relations of their Voyages. Though we have several others Relations printed, but most of them are so much stuffed with Romances, that it is impossible they could gratify the Curiosity of a judicious Reader : Those fabulous Relations have given Occasion to this Proverb, a great *Traveller*, a great *Liar*. I suppose, that some of them imagine that their Voyages would not be admired, unless they were seasoned with a great many Wonders or Prodigies ; which is a gross Mistake, for if such Things gain Credit among an ignorant Rabble, they surfeit a rational Mind. The rare Product of those Countries, the Form of their Governments, the Manners of their Inhabitants so different from ours, are sufficient to gain our Attention, and gratify our Curiosity. Among a Heap of Relations of Voyages which are printed, those which please me most, are of *Sir John Chardin*, and of *M. Petit de la Croix* : Those of *Father Tachard* to *Siam*, though not of so great an Extent, are also very well wrote, and contains nothing incredible : I admire particularly in them, the great Character he gives us of the celebrated *M. Constance*, a *Portuguese* Gentleman, who was then prime Minister to the King of *Siam* ; for he lets us see in him, a very great Politician, an honest Man, and very religious besides ; three Qualities almost incompatible in Persons raised to that eminent Post ; and who, while he consults the Interest of the King his Master, and the Welfare of his Subjects, neglects his own ; and prefer'd the Advancement of his Religion, to all human Views whatever.

I have myself travelled into some of those Countries, viz. in *Turkey*, and in the States of the *Great Mogul*, but could not find any of those incredible Things, which other *Travellers* have entertained us with. Nay, I have even discovered in *Turkey*, that several Particulars mentioned in *Calchondil*, though accounted a very good Historian, are false ; perhaps, because the *Turks* have been much civilized since : I have found in the *Turks*, among several Eastern Manners, which are natural to them, a great deal of the *European* Politeness, especially among Persons in high Posts : I went thither with *Mahomet Reis Effendi*, who was then returning from his Embassy at the Court of *France*, during the Regency, and under the Minority of *Louis XV.* who was an extremely well bred Gentleman, before he came to *Versailles* ; for he behav'd in as genteel a Manner at his first Arrival, as if he had been educated at that Court ; and I found, while I was at *Constantinople*, that he was not the only polite Gentleman in the *Ottoman* Empire ; for he did me the Favour to have me introduced to several *Bashaws*, who treated me in the same polite Manner, and with the same Affability himself always did ; he would even have engaged me to have staid there much longer ; and when I told him that my Finances would not allow it, he answered in a generous and obliging Manner, which I have found no where since, that that should not be an Obstacle to it, while it should be in his Power to supply that Want ; but a certain unhappy Fate which has always accompanied me every where, made me refuse his Offers. I was indebted for his Friendship to my Acquaintance with his Son, who was as Secretary to the Embassy, a Gentleman of a very promising Genius, with whom I had been acquainted accidentally, in the Apartments of *Versailles* ; and who parted from me at *Constantinople*, in the same Manner as two Brothers, who love tenderly one another, would have done ; he accompanied me on board the Ship, where he sent me all Sorts of Refreshments, and came to see me twice afterwards, before we set sail ; which was a great deal from the Son of the high Treasurer of the Empire. I was as elegantly entertained at their Table, and very near in the same Manner, I could have been at that of a Person of the first Rank in *France* ; where I drank all Sorts of the best Wines, both *French* and *Greek* : The Father would even force me to accept a Present, which defray'd

defray'd nobly all the Expences of my Voyage, both coming and going back, with a rich *Turkish* Habit; whereby I saw that Haughtiness and Avarice, were not Vices inseperable from a *Turk*. It is true, that I did all in my Power, to express my Gratitude to the Son; to whom I had given some Insight into the Manners of the different Courts of *Europe*, their different Sorts of Governments, the Genius, Laws, Customs, &c. of the People; all which he learned with so great Facility, that he soon become my Master in those Things. I promised him I would return to *Constantinople* on the first Opportunity, which I have never found: I have done much more Service to Christians, and even to some

English Persons in foreign Parts, who to exempt themselves from shewing me their Gratitude, have loaded me with Calumnies and Inveclives; which, as they came from Persons who affected much Religion, have done me some Prejudice; though if I had been as ungenerous as they are, I could have revenged myself, in a Manner, which could make them repent all their Life Time of their Ingratitude; but I have learned from my very Infancy, never to be revenged of a mean Action, by another mean Action; which Maxim, I have always practised since; and will do it as long as I live, notwithstanding all the Provocations which could engage me to act otherwise.

T R E A T I E S.

TR E A T Y, is a Covenant between several Nations, of the several Articles, or Conditions, stipulated, and agreed upon between sovereign Powers.

There was never an Age more fertile in *Treaties* than ours; for many Years successively, we have scarce been entertained with any Thing else, but Preliminaries, Conventions, *Treaties*, Counter-Treaties, Plans, Ground-plots, and all the other Terms of a modern Politick, which had been a Kind of Algebra, for the most consummate Politicians of past Ages; all that used to be decided in the Fields, under warlike Princes, has been of late treated in the Cabinet; which is certainly the most judicious and salutary Means, to compose Differences between Sovereigns; since it spares both the Lives and Fortunes of their Subjects, smothers the Jealousy or Animosity, which subsisted between the Nations rival in Glory, and keeps others in Amity; maintains the Fields in their usual Fertility, but too often desolated by the great Disorders which War carries after her; and renders Commerce flourishing, by making the Navigation free, which in Time of War, is obstructed by publick Plunderers and Robbers.

But what has deprived most of those *Treaties* of the Advantages, which the Prince and his Subjects could reasonably have expected from them, and has left room for so many *Treaties*, Counter-Treaties, &c. which at last have all proved inconclusive; it is perhaps, that some of the Ministers, appointed to manage these Affairs, had neither Skill nor Experience enough, to treat them as they ought to have done; for I would be loth to suspect them of having treated as some Generals fight, who spin out a War, to be continued longer in their Post; though want of Capacity in a Minister is as great an Evil, as a perfidious Temporization; and the Publick suffers equally by the one as by the other; if he be ignorant, the *Treaties* he concludes are fill'd with so many Blunders committed by him, that the Prince or Nation, whose Interest he was intrusted with, find themselves forced to break them as soon almost as they are concluded; otherwise, they would prove more dangerous and oppressive than the most destructive War.

Therefore, the whole Merit of a *Plenipotentiary* should not consist in the Favour of a Prime Minister, or Secretary of State, as it but too often happens; but the Favour aside, none should be preferred to that great Trust, on which the Honour and Glory of the Prince, and the Welfare and Security of his Subjects and Dominions depend, but those who (besides a perfect Knowledge of the Rights, Pre-eminences, and just Claims of their Sovereign, and of those of all the other Princes they are to treat with) have a great Sagacity to discover all the Finesses, and Artifices of the other Ministers; Fidelity, Probity, and Disinterestedness, to execute punctually all the Articles of his Instructions, without being biassed by any View whatever; a noble and becoming Courage, and Resolution, to insist on what he proposes, without Haughtiness, and to oppose all Sorts of Encroachments; a great Presence of Mind to answer *à propos* all Objections, and solve all Difficulties; and a great Dexterity, accompanied with a becoming Complaisance, to manage all the Minds, and bring them insensibly to his own Terms.

A *Plenipotentiary*, as he represents the Person of his Sovereign, must insist on all the Honours and Precedencies due to him, by the other Princes, without departing in the least from any of them; which requires a great deal of Attention, and that he should be always upon his Guard, on that Respect, lest he should be surpris'd by the other *Plenipotentiaries*, who are continually attempting to encroach on those Rights, and Pre-eminences, to make if possible those Encroachments serve as Precedents in future Negotiations: He is even allowed to attempt the same on his Side, to gain as much as he can for his own Master; but he must never insist on ridiculous or insignificant Punctilio's, which serve only to retard a Negotiation, and keep thereby the contracting Parties and their Subjects longer in Suspence.

He should never give up any Point, which is not given up already in his Instructions, on no Consideration whatever, without having received new ones from his Court on that Subject, unless he has *Charte blanche*, and even then he must have Recourse to it, if the Point in Controversy is of great Importance, lest he should be called to an Account for it afterwards, if his Condescension should chance to be found disadvantageous; for he is always allowed to go as far as he pleases, and as he can beyond his Commission, in favour of his Principals, but he cannot act with too much Caution in giving up any material Point; for those Condescensions are but too often the fatal Cause of new Disputes, and sometimes of new Troubles. He must also take Care that no Evasion and mental Reservations, should be inserted in the *Treaties*, unless it is by himself for the Advantage of his Principals. For though he is indispensably obliged to put all in Use to baffle the Finesses and Artifices of the other Ministers, he is not forbid to have Recourse to them himself, and make them subservient to his Purposes if he can; so that he is allowed to consider in himself, as an Effect of his great Dexterity, what appears to him as a Want of Probity in others; provided, however, that the Artifices he uses be not a flagrant Breach of Honour, capable to render his Conduct odious to all *Europe*, and make his Principals ashamed of it, or disapprove it.

He ought not to suffer the *Treaties* to be conceived in ambiguous Terms, which could be interpreted to the Disadvantage of those who have intrusted him with the Care of their Affairs; but, on the contrary, procure that every Thing inserted in them to their Advantage, should admit of no Interpretation, Gloss, and Difficulties; though he may endeavour to do it on his Side, if thro' the Necessity of the Times, and to put an End to a War, in which his Principals have not been successful, he is forced to give up some material Points, which may be recalled in a future Treaty, by interpreting the Articles whereby they were given up; for in those Cases it is reasonable, and even just, to leave Room for future Negotiations; since it is but too common, that in a *Treaty* of Peace, those who have been victorious during the War, take all the Advantage they can of their Successes, by making those who have been beaten, and they know incapable of keeping the Field any longer, buy the Peace at a very dear Rate; as it was proposed

proposed to make the *French* do it in the *Treaty* of *Gertrudenberg*, which the late King of *France*, *Louis XIV.* would never submit to; and rather chose to abandon his whole Kingdom to the Caprices of an inconstant Fortune, though she had often frowned upon him during the Course of the War, than to accept unjust and unreasonable Terms from his victorious Enemies. But when a *Treaty* is set on foot between Parties, very near on a level, and with no other View than to maintain Peace and Tranquility in *Europe*, the Ministers are obliged in Conscience and Honour to concur together, to render such a *Treaty* as clear and intelligible as possible, that he who shall break it first may have all the Blame on his Side; and those who have kept it religiously, just Reason to complain, and to use all the Means God has given them, to force him to fulfil his Engagements.

I cannot believe that it is Prudence in a Prince, or agreeable to his Interests and those of his Subjects, to make particular *Treaties* and Alliances in Time of Peace, unless he sees himself in an imminent Danger of being attacked; for those private *Treaties* and Alliances seldom fail alarming the other Powers, and make them often think of Enterprizes, which otherwise they had never dreamed of. Those private *Treaties* or Alliances are always a Mark either of an unquiet Mind, or of Jealousy, or that the Faith of other Princes is suspected. Hence the Counter-*Treaties* made by those Princes to strengthen themselves on their Side; hence those unexpected Invasions made by those among them who are the most sensible of the Affront, and the least inclinable to Peace; for which they cannot be blamed by an impartial Mind; since it is but too just we should prevent our Enemy, if we be in a Condition to do it, when we see him strengthen himself to attack us with Advantage. Temporizations in those Affairs serve only to render the Case more dangerous; for if we attack our Enemies while they are meditating to attack us, we may chance by such an unexpected Blow to disconcert their Measures, and force them either to break their private Negotiations, or to fight with great Disadvantage: For those they treated with seeing the Enemy at their Gates, before they are in a Condition to repulse him, are forced to drop the Negotiation, and leave the Negotiator to be the Victim of his Jealousy; who often, incapable to fight alone his own Quarrel, is obliged to listen to any Proposals of an Accommodation, and sometimes to very disadvantageous ones.

A Prince should never make private *Treaties* with two Powers rival in Glory, and whose respective Interests are incompatible; for as those Powers cannot be long at Peace, the Prince who has treated with both, is obliged to espouse the Quarrel of one of them and desert the other; which cannot be done without hazarding his Honour, and making of the Power he deserts without Cause his irreconcilable Enemy, who often is glad of an Opportunity, let it be ever so little favourable, of treating with his principal Enemy, to be more at Liberty to be revenged of his false Friend.

A Prince should never refuse to enter into a *Treaty*, on honourable and equitable Terms, to put an End to a destructive War, let that War be ever so glorious on his Side; since, none is sure that Victory, which is as great a Gilt as Fortune itself, shall always accompany his Arms; and that favourable Opportunity once neglected, a Turn may happen in the Affairs, which will force him perhaps to make a dishonourable Peace. That *Treaty* of *Gertrudenberg*, above-mentioned, is an Instance of it; for if the grand Alliance had not been then so much elevated with their Successes, and had not rejected the Terms offered by the King of *France*, and proposed them such as he could by no Means accept, they had made a more glorious Peace than they did afterwards. But the Affairs changing Face in *Spain*, by the great Successes of the Arms of *Philip V.* under the Command of the Dukes of *Orleans*, and of *Berwick*; and the Marshal de *Villars* routing the Allies at *Denin* in *Flanders*, made *Louis XIV.* gain the Point at *Utrecht*, which he was willing to give up at *Gertrudenberg*.

We have had of late an Example of the same Kind, for if the Queen of *Hungary* had accepted the Terms proposed to her by the Emperor, and had not been too much elevated by the Successes of her Arms in *Ger-*

many, which were in Part owing to the pacifick Dispositions of the late Cardinal *Fleury*, who did not push the War at first with Vigour as he could have done, in view of bringing that great Princess for whom he had all the Consideration imaginable (and not more than she deserves) to his Terms by other Means, very likely that she had made a better Market than she can expect to make at present.

As there is seldom any considerable *Treaty* made, without *Mediators*, the mediating Powers should be very careful in whose Hands they put that *Mediation*; never intrusting it with ignorant and unskilful Ministers, nor those who are infatuated with national Prejudices, and inclinable to Partiality; for as they are there to compose Differences, and reconcile the Parties at Variance, they must consult the Equity of the Cause, and not their own Inclination, or natural Penchant, never espousing the Interests of the one to the Prejudice of the other; otherwise than they are agreeable to Justice and Reason; behaving in all Occurrences with that Integrity, Moderation, and Impartiality, Affairs of that Importance require. I have always admired the prudent Conduct, Calmness, gentle Behaviour, and great Dexterity of Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, one of the Ministers Mediator of the King of *Great Britain*, *Charles II.* at the *Treaty* of *Nimeguen*. For though he had to compose the Differences of two powerful Houses rival in Glory, one of which, *viz.* that of *France*, on account of her uninterrupted Successes during the whole Course of the War, carried her Pretensions very high; and the other, tho' always beaten, had that natural *Spanish* Haughtiness, which is always loth to descend to any Condescensions, he found Means notwithstanding to compose their Differences without rendering himself suspect to either of them. For though he had three Colleagues in the Mediation, *viz.* Mess. *Hyde*, who was the Chief of the Embassy, *Berkeley*, and Sir *William Temple*, he did alone all the Business, and had all the Honour of the Conclusion of the *Treaty*. All the Plenipotentiaries doing him in publick all the Honours due to the high Dignity of his Royal Master, and to his good Offices as Mediator; and having for him in private all the Deference which his personal Merit deserved; though he had to deal then with some of the ablest Ministers of those Times. And I am apt to think that it was in View of his great Dexterity, that he was alone intrusted with the whole Secret of the Negotiation, which Dexterity appeared in its greatest Lustre, by his engaging the *Dutch* to make a separate *Treaty* with *France*, while his Colleagues were intrusting them to stand by their high Allies, *viz.* the Emperor and *Spain*, to the last, and conclude nothing without them.

I cannot approve those Visits of Ceremony made between the Plenipotentiaries at a Congress; as being of no other Service than to defer the Conclusion of a *Treaty*, and occasion Disputes between them; some of them starting always some Difficulties on the Precedency; as it happened at that *Treaty* of *Nimeguen*, between the *French* Plenipotentiaries, and those of the Emperor, and of the Elector of *Brandebourg*, where those of *France* pretended that the Imperialists had failed in the Respect due to the King their Master, and refused to treat the other Embassadors of the Elector, in the same Manner as they would do the first; which caused some Trouble to the Mediator *Jenkins*, who found Fault likewise in the Conduct of the *Spanish* Plenipotentiaries on the same Subject with regard to himself, having visited the Imperialists before him, to whom he thought the first Visit was due as Mediator.

All *Treaties*, of any Consequence, are commonly guaranteed by some Powers, who enter into Engagements to see them punctually executed; and even oblige, by open Force, the contracting Parties to do it, and punish the Infringers: But they are not to come to those Extremities, till after they have used pacifick Means to no Purpose; unless they are persuaded, that the Delinquents make a common Practice of breaking *Treaties*, and there is no other Means to bring them to Reason but by Arms.

There are different Sorts of *Treaties*, *viz.* *Treaties* of Peace, of Marriage, of Confederacy, of Neutrality, of Capitulation, and of Commerce and Navigation; and

to gratify the Curiosity of the Reader, I'll give here one of each, (not of those lately concluded, for Reasons which my Subscribers may be informed of hereafter) beginning *with a Treaty of Peace, concluded at Westminster, the 9th of February 1673, between the King of Great Britain, Charles II. and the States General of the United Provinces.*

'The Fire of the War which has been kindled for some Time between the most serene and most potent Prince the Lord *Charles II. King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.* and the high and mighty Lords the *States General of the United Provinces*, having still the same Heat, not only almost all Christendom have asked by their Vows and Sighs, that it should be soon extinguished; but above all, the most serene Queen and Regent of *Spain*, in View of the ancient Alliance which has reigned, at all Times, between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, to quiet the Differences excited between the Kingdom of *England*, and the *States General of the United Provinces*, and restore Peace in them as soon as possible. And as the said *States General* have required as well by Letters, as by repeated Dispatches, that it should please his *Britannick Majesty* to hear favourably the Conditions of Peace, and have given (to facilitate the happy Success of the Negotiation) to his Excellency Don *Pedro Fernandez de Joñar*, and *Velasco Marquis of Fresno*, Lord of the Bed-Chamber to his Catholick Majesty, and Ambassador Extraordinary of the most serene and most potent Prince, the Lord *Charles II. King of Spain, &c.* to the Court of the King of *England*, and have given him already full Power to treat on their Part, and in their Name, and to conclude a Peace for them with the most serene King of *Great Britain*: His *Britannick Majesty* having undertook that War with no other View than to procure a solid and permanent Peace, has had such a Regard for the Mediation of Madame the most serene Queen and Regent of *Spain*, that he was pleased to gratify on that Point the Desires of the said States-General. Having named for that Effect, and to begin and conclude the Treaty of Peace between his Majesty and the said States General, Commissaries, and Procurators intrusted with full Powers; he has given that Commission to his trusty and beloved *Heneage Baron Finch of Daventry*, Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*: His trusty and beloved *Thomas Viscount Latimer*, High Treasurer of *England*; *James Duke of Monmouth*, Captain of the Life-Guards of his Majesty; *James Duke of Ormond*, High Steward of the King's Household; *Henry Earl of Arlington*, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State; and his trusty and beloved *Henry Coventry*, another of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. Which Commissaries and Deputies having received from the said *States General of the United Provinces* the same Power given to the said *Marquis de Fresno*, have assembled there, and have agreed on the following Articles.

I. That there shall be henceforward between the said Lord most serene, and most potent King of *Great Britain*, and the high and potent Lords the *States General of the United Provinces*, a firm, sincere, and inviolable Peace, Union, and Amity, and between their Subjects respectively, as well within as without *Europe*, in all the Countries and Demains of the one and the other Party.

II. And to the End that that Union between the said Lord the King, and the *States General*, may have its full and entire Effect, they have concluded, and agreed on, that all Acts of Hostility should cease on both Sides immediately after the Publication of this Treaty of Peace; and that no Letter, Commission or Instruction shall be delivered, or countenanced under-hand, or openly, by direct or indirect Means by one of the Parties, to ravage, attack, besiege the other, or to divest him of his Goods and Demains, or his Subjects; But on the contrary, it shall be strictly enjoined to the Subjects of the one and the other Nation, to live together peaceably and amicably, in what Place soever they meet.

III. And because the Distances of Places are such, that it is impossible that the Subjects of the one and the other should receive, at the same Time, the Orders of their Masters, it has been judged proper to prevent the Hostilities and Violences which could be committed a-

gainst one or the other Party, to fix the following Terms; viz. That twelve Days after the Publication of this Treaty, no Hostility shall be committed Westwards, from one of the Ends of the *British Channel*, vulgarly called the *Soundings*, to the other End called *Naza* in *Norway*; nor seven Weeks afterwards in the *Mediterranean*, or elsewhere, from the said *Soundings*; nor in any Place of the World, eight Months afterwards. That if it should happen that after the said Terms, any Act of Hostility was committed, in Virtue of some former Commission, by Right of Reprisals, or under any other Pretence whatever, the said Acts of Hostility shall be reputed unlawful, and the Infringers of the Peace publicly punished.

IV. The said *States General of the United Provinces* acknowledge, as they ought, the Right which the said King of *England* claims, that the Honour due to his Flag in the Seas under-mentioned, shall be done to it; and shall declare as they declare at present, and agree, as they agree that all Sorts of Ships and Vessels belonging to the said *United Provinces*, whether equipped in War or not, whether separately or in a Fleet, in the other Seas, from the Cape esteemed the Land's End, to the Middle of the Cape called *Van Staten* in *Norway*, to pass under the Wind of the Ships belonging to the said Lord King of *England*, whether they be in a Fleet or separate, and carry the Flag or Standard of his Majesty called *Jack*, the said Ships of the *United Provinces* shall bring down the Main Sail, and do to the Ships of his Majesty, the same Honour, which the Ships of the said *United Provinces* have always, and in all Places, done to the Ships of his Ancestors.

V. As to the Colony of *Surinam*, the Articles made on its Rendition, in the Year 1667. between *William Biam*, then Chief of the said Colony, on the Part of the King of *Great Britain*; and *Abraham Quirini*, on the Part of the *States General*, having occasioned many Disputes and Differences, when they were to be executed, and ever served of Pretext to the last Misunderstanding happened between his *Britannick Majesty* and the *States General*; to prevent those Sorts of Inconveniency, the said *States General* consent, by these Presents, and agree with his *Britannick Majesty*, that not only the said Articles shall have their full and intire Effect, without any Evasion or Equivocation, but likewise it shall be free for his *Britannick Majesty* to depute to that Place one or several Persons to see in what Condition are his Subjects settled there, and to fix with them the Time of their Departure. Moreover, his Majesty will be at Liberty to send two or three Ships to transport from thence the Subjects of his Majesty, with their Goods, Effects and Servants; and the Chief who shall command there, at that Time, for the said *States General*, shall make no Laws whereby it could be enacted that the buying or selling of Lands, the Payment of Debts, or the Exchange of Goods should be made with regard to the *English*, than according to the Usage and Customs which have always been observed, with regard to the other Inhabitants of that Colony; but that while they stay there, they may enjoy the same Laws and Privileges which the other Inhabitants commonly enjoy, and have the same Right with them to bring Actions and intent Processes for the Payment of what is due to them, and to make all other Records, Contracts and Stipulations. And his *Britannick Majesty* has asked of the *States General* competent and authentick Letters, directed to the Chief of that Colony, as well for the Departure of the *English*, as for the Admission of the Ships which shall be sent thither, for the Reasons above-mentioned; the said *States General* shall deliver to the Chief of the said Colony, in the Time prescribed, the said Letters, and other sufficient Instructions, as well for the free Admission of the said Ships, as to permit the Embarkation of those of his Subjects, who shall want to quit the Place, with their Goods and Servants, to transport them according to the Ordinance of his Majesty.

VI. It is also mutually agreed, that all the Lands, Isles, Cities, Ports, Castles or Forts, which one of the Parties shall take, or may have taken of the other, since the Beginning of this last and unhappy War, either in *Europe* or elsewhere, and before the Expiration of the Terms above-mentioned, with regard to the Cessation of all Acts of Hostility, shall be restored to the Proprietor

prietor and first Master, in the same Condition they'll be found at the Time of the Publication of the Peace. From which Time the Inhabitants shall neither be plundered or robbed; neither shall it be permitted to demolish the Fortifications, carry away the Powder and other Ammunitions which were in the Castle or Fort at the Time of the Capture.

VII. That the Treaty of *Breda*, made in the Year 1667, and likewise all other former Treaties, confirmed by the said Treaty, shall be renewed, and remain in their full and entire Vigour, as they contradict in no Manner to the present Treaty.

VIII. That the Treaty of *Marine*, made at the *Hague* between the said Parties, in the Year 1668, shall be continued nine Months after the Publication of this; unless it be provided otherwise by the following Treaty. That, moreover, what must be changed in that Affair, shall be referred to the Commissioners, who shall decide in the following Articles, what regards the Commerce which shall be carried on in the *East-Indies*. That if those Commissaries, three Months after their meeting, cannot agree on the Conditions of a new Treaty of *Marine*, then that Affair shall be referred to the Arbitration of the most serene Queen of *Spain*, as in the following Articles the Advice of her said Majesty shall be followed, with regard to the Regulation of a Commerce in the *East-Indies*.

IX. And as not only the Plenty but the Peace likewise, of the one and the other Nation, depends much on both Sides on a Liberty of Commerce and Navigation, the one and the other Parties must have nothing more at Heart, than to make a good Regulation for the said Commerce, particularly for that of the *East-Indies*. And because the Thing is of a great Consequence, there shall want much more Time to make Articles which may be firm, permanent and proper to establish the Repose and Security of both Parties; but especially the State of *Europe* being such, that most of its Countries fight as much after the Peace, as the two Parties engaged in the present War; in that Consideration, the said Lord King of *Great Britain*, willing to favour the Desires of the said *States General*, has consented that an equal Number of Commissaries should be named on both Sides, and that those of the *States General* be sent to *London*, to treat with those of his *Britannick Majesty*, and that in three Months after the Publication of this Treaty; which Commissaries shall be to the Number of Six on each Side. That if three Months after they have conferred together, their Negotiation is not so happy as to bring the Treaty to a Conclusion, the Decision of the Difficulties happened between them, shall be referred to the most serene Queen Madame the Regent of *Spain*, who shall name eleven Commissaries, with an Obligation to both Parties, to follow, indifferently, what the greatest Number of them shall have determined; on Condition, notwithstanding, they give their Advice in six Months Time, to reckon from the first Day of their meeting, and three Months since the most serene Queen and Regent of *Spain*, shall have accepted that Arbitration.

X. Things being thus agreed, by the Care of the most serene Queen Regent of *Spain*; it has been concluded, that the said *States General*, shall pay to his *Britannick Majesty*, the Sum of eight hundred thousand Patacoons in the Manner following, *viz.* the fourth Part thereof, immediately after the Exchange of the Ratifications of this Treaty; and the rest, in equal Portions, the three Years following.

XI. That the said Lord King of *Great Britain*, and the said high and mighty Lords the *States General* of the united Provinces, shall observe sincerely, and faithfully, all, and every one of the Articles contained in this Treaty, and take Care to cause them to be observ'd by their Subjects, without any direct or indirect Contravention to it, on their Part, or on that of their Subjects or Inhabitants. As likewise, they shall ratify all and every one of the Points, here above agreed upon, by Letters Patent, signed with their Hands; sealed with their great Seal, and conceived and written in good and due Form, and shall deliver them reciprocally, after the Publication of the Presents, or sooner (if possible) or shall cause them to be delivered faithfully, really, and effectively.

XII. Lastly, immediately after the mutual and re-

ciprocal Exchange of the said Ratifications, the Peace shall be published in four and twenty Hours, after the Ratifications exchanged, and delivered.

Done at *Westminster*, the 9th of *February* 1673 4.

It was signed and sealed,

(L. S.) *H. Finch.*

(L. S.) *Latimer.*

(L. S.) *Monmouth.*

(L. S.) *Ormond.*

(L. S.) *Arlington.*

(L. S.) *Coventry.*

M. Marquis d'el Fresno.

(L. S.)

SECRET ARTICLES of the preceding Treaty of Peace.

That the Alliance and Amity between the most serene Prince the Lord *Charles II.* King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. and the high and mighty Lords the *States General*, may be the much more firm and better founded, and to facilitate the Overture of a secure and lasting Peace in *Christendom*; besides all the Points agreed upon by the Treaty of Peace, lately made and concluded between the two Nations; it has been agreed by this secret Article, that none of the said Parties shall give, nor suffer to be given by their Subjects and Inhabitants, Succours, Favour, or Advice, directly or indirectly, either by Sea or Land, or fresh Water; moreover, that he shall not furnish, nor allow that his Subjects and the Inhabitants of his Lands and Demains, shall furnish to the Enemies of the other Party, of what Quality or Condition whatsoever, Soldiers, Sailors, Provisions, Canons, Gun-powder, or other Ammunitions of War, and the present Article shall have the same Force and Vigour, as if it was inserted in the aforesaid Treaty of Peace, provided, notwithstanding, that it be in Case it does, in no Manner, derogate to any of the Clauses contained in the said Treaty: Moreover, it shall be ratified and confirmed by the aforesaid most serene King of *Great Britain*, &c. and the said Lords, the *States General* at the Time of the Ratification of the Treaty, which has been concluded this Day.

Done at *Westminster*, the 9th of *February* 1673-4.

Sign'd and sealed, as above.

It is to be observ'd here, *en passant*, that the Parliament of *England*, composed then, in part, of the Offspring of the glorious Assertors of the good old Cause, who had cut off their King's Head, to establish among them the Reign of King *Jesus*; and had been glad of an Opportunity of restoring that Kingdom by the same Means, forced *Charles II.* to make this Treaty with the *Dutch*, contrary to all Sentiments of Honour and Justice; since he was at that Time in Alliance with *France*, which he had not the least Reason to break, since his most Christian Majesty, on his Side, had faithfully and religiously fulfilled all the Engagements he had entered into, and had excused his *Britannick Majesty* from fulfilling several of them, conscious that his Parliament refused him the Supplies necessary to do it. But those zealous Patriots knew, that if they could be capable once to break the strict Union and sincere Friendship, which subsisted then between the two Kings, they could be soon in a Condition to execute their pernicious Designs against their Sovereign, and make him share, perhaps, the unhappy Fate of his Royal Father. But they were happily disappointed; for though King *Charles* made this separate Treaty with the *Dutch*, which was a formal Breach of the Treaty of Alliance between him and the King of *France*, that Breach did not cause the least Alteration in their Friendship; his most Christian Majesty knowing perfectly well, that the King of *Great Britain* had been forced to it by a Parliament of Factious and Republicans, who were entering the Road to Rebellion, which their Parricide Ancestors had shewed them: Therefore, those who expected to outwit their King, were themselves outwitted at last, by his faithful and wise Ministers; for under the Auspices of that Treaty with the *Dutch*, and in hopes of a sudden Rupture with *France*, for which great Preparations were made, they granted the Supplies necessary to carry it on with Vigour, which was what the King

King wanted most; for till then they had almost always took Care to keep him very poor, as they had done his Father before him; while, at the same Time, he negotiated, under Hand, another separate Treaty between *France* and the *Dutch*, which was concluded before his Forces could take the Field, and which was a very good Excuse for him to keep his Forces at home.

I cannot help blaming the Conduct of a Nation who while they have a good King careful of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, and to make them enjoy the Fruits of their Labours, and Industry, without Fear and Danger, endeavours to live in Amity with the Princes his Neighbours, and disarm his most formidable Enemies, clog the Wheels of his Government, and tired of their own Happiness, call to Arms, with no other View than to make him sit uneasy on his Throne, when they know at the same Time that War carries after her Slaughter, Devastation, and Horror; and that if their Prince suffers by it, they must themselves suffer a great deal more; since, without mentioning the vast Expences they must be at to carry it on, they are exposed daily to be plundered by the Enemy, and their Lives or those of their Fellow-Countrymen, to the most imminent Danger. I am not surprized to see an ambitious Prince undertaking every Day new Conquests, and sacrificing the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, and gathering his imaginary Laurels, in Fields which have been overflowed with their Blood; but I cannot conceive how the Subjects who are conscious (unless their unjust Prejudices have darkened their Understanding or silenced their Reason) that they must be the most exposed, and bear the whole Burthen, can wish for a War, which in all Ages has always been represented as a Scourge from Heaven. There are just Wars, it is true, but they are never so but when undertaken to defend our own Frontiers, assert an unquestionable Right, when it cannot be done otherwise, repel Force by Force, and take a just Revenge of a gross Affront: All other Wars are unjust, and those who have been accessary to it, accountable to the Tribunal of that just and impartial Judge, where Disloyalty will find no Access, for all the Disorders it has caused.

To prevent the Conclusion of this separate Treaty of Peace, between *England* and *Holland*, the Marquis de *Ruvigny*, then Envoy extraordinary of *France* to the Court of *England* presented the following Memorial to his *Britannick* Majesty.

The Marquis de *Ruvigny*, Envoy Extraordinary of the most Christian King to the King of *Great Britain*, having made Reflection on the Solicitations of the *Dutch*, to break the Union between *France* and *England*, and on the Declaration of the Intentions of his *Britannick* Majesty to this present Time, as well by the Speeches made by his Majesty to both Houses of his Parliament, as by his Answer to the Letter of the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, finds himself obliged to represent to his Majesty, that the King his Master having made a strict Alliance with him, by the Treaty of the 12th of February 1672, to bring down the Pride and formidable Power of the *Dutch*, in which all the World knows, that *England* is much more interested than *France*; his *Britannick* Majesty knows better than any body else, that his most Christian Majesty has failed in none of his Promises with regard to the War by Land, nor to joining his Forces to those of the *English* by Sea, nor to the large Sums of Money he had promised to ease the *English* of Part of the Charges of the Maritime War, having not only observed punctually, and satisfied to every Thing, but exceeded besides all his Promises; because his *Britannick* Majesty being obliged by the Treaty to raise and maintain at his own Expence 6000 Land Forces; his Most Christian Majesty, at his Request, excused him of that Succours, for the first Campaign, but did bear almost alone all the Charges, and was at all the Expences to transport the *English* Forces to carry on the War by Sea and Land; nothing having been done on the Part of his Most Christian Majesty, nor likewise of his *Britannick* Majesty, but jointly by the Advice and Consent of the two Kings, and in concert with their Ministers. And his most Christian Majesty, in particular, has always publicly declared, that he would make neither Peace nor Truce, but with the Consent of *England*, as the two Kings were obliged by the Treaty; and to

the entire Satisfaction of his *Britannick* Majesty. The *Dutch*, on their Part, instead of following the accustomed Ways in semblable Negotiations of Peace, acted very indirectly to cause a Division, not only between *France* and *England*, but likewise between his *Britannick* Majesty and his Subjects. The first thing they did, was to publish in *England*, by Means of their Spies, (some of whom were taken afterwards) that the Intention of the two Kings was to introduce in the Kingdom a despotick and arbitrary Power, (*the usual Cant to this Day*) and change the Religion. And the other, they made several Propositions to his *Britannick* Majesty, to induce and engage him to treat with them separately, to the Exclusion of *France*, with general Offers of part of the Conditions which *England* could have insisted upon. On which his Majesty having remarked, with Justice, in his Answer to their first Letter, that such Propositions were directly contrary to his Honour, since they wanted to engage him to treat separately to the Exclusion of so considerable an Ally, as his Most Christian Majesty, whose Alliance he had so much Reason to be satisfied with; while themselves declared they could not treat to the Exclusion of some Allies, with whom they had contracted an Alliance some Months before. And on the other Part his *Britannick* Majesty, to prevent all Fear and Jealousy which the Enemies wanted to give him of his Alliance with *France*, declared publickly to both Houses of Parliament, the Sincerity of his Intentions against those Intrigues, desiring them to appoint a Committee of both Houses, to whom he could declare the true End of that Treaty, that after having been thoroughly acquainted with what has happened on either Side, they might make a serious Reflection upon it, and give him their Advice and Assistance, as much for the Honour of his Majesty, as for the Advantage of the whole Nation; recommending them at the same Time to provide all Things necessary for the Continuation of the War, or to make an advantageous Peace. During that Time the *Dutch*, who searched only to amuse his Majesty with Propositions and Writings, were strengthening themselves with Ships and new Allies, and endeavoured to prevent the Naval Forces being put to Sea. After they had sent to the *Spanish* Ambassador a first Reply to the first Answer of his *Britannick* Majesty, in Terms which obliged that Minister to send it back, without presenting it; they sent him a second, conceived in more civil Terms than the first, whereby they had the Assurance (to say nothing more) to insist, contrary to the Declaration his *Britannick* Majesty had made in the View of all *Europe*, to enter into no Treaty without *France*; and to press him on that Point; pretending against all Truth, and against the Assurances of his Majesty, and of their Proceeding at the Assembly of *Cologne*, that the most Christian King had offered to treat to the Exclusion of his Majesty; when he never heard, and has never listened to any Propositions of Peace, but with the Consent, and in Concert with his Majesty, and on Condition that the *Dutch* should give him, and to the *English* Nation, an entire Satisfaction. And as his *Britannick* Majesty, agreeable to his Prudence, and to the Confidence he has in his Parliament (as in his great Council) has found proper to communicate to them the Letter and Propositions of the *Dutch*, as he has done likewise the Treaties with *France*, recommending to them his Honour, and that of the *English* Nation, which he confesses interested in that Affair.

Things being in that Condition, and the Parliament ready to deliberate on that Point, the said Envoy will not put to the Test, whether it be the true and royal Interest of his Majesty, his Obligation, and that of the Nation, to continue the War against the *Dutch*, and lose no Opportunities to reduce them to such Conditions, that it will not be in their Power afterwards to dispute and make War (as they do) for the Power and Domination of the Sea, and to encroach all the Commerce to themselves. Or if it be more advantageous for *England* to make a Peace, if the Conditions which the *Dutch* propose are satisfactory, since they seem to limitate the Honours of the Flag in the *British* Seas, by general Terms; that to this Day they postpone the Conclusion of the Regulations in the *East-Indies* and other Places, to other Times (as they did at *Breda*) without any precise Pro-

Proposition, which could engage them to any Thing: And they have offered nothing lately relating to the Fishery, revoking in some Manner the Declaration they had made to the Mediators at *Cologne*, that they would not refuse to submit themselves on that Point, to the Parliament of *England*.

These are the Interests of the *English* Nation who know very well how to examine and keep *Treaties*, and that they are not to interfere otherwise in the Affairs of their Allies, but by supporting and assisting them in their just Pretensions.

But the said Envoy finds himself obliged to intreat his *Britannick* Majesty, as he actually intreats him, and asks him in the Name of the King his Master, that in Conformity to what his Majesty has declared to the whole World, and particularly to the *Dutch*, he would declare more expressly to his Parliament, that his Honour and his Reputation do not permit him to treat to the Exclusion of *France*; and while they'll examine the *Treaties* made between the two Crowns, and the Propositions of the *Dutch* which his Majesty has communicated to them, that he may take more becoming Resolutions; he would recommend to them again that without any Delay, they advance what is necessary for the Continuation of the War, in order to make an advantageous and sure Peace, was it only but to prevent the rash Enterprizes of the *Dutch*, and hinder them from acting in the same Manner they did, while the *Treaty* of *Breda* was on the Point of being concluded and signed. And the said Envoy declares, on his Part, to his *Britannick* Majesty, and he to his Parliament, and to the whole Nation, that the Most Christian King remains always in the same Sentiment of keeping faithfully the *Treaty* of the strict Alliance with *England*, either to continue the War, as it shall be judged more advantageous for the Nation, or to make a Peace in Concert, on such Conditions which could be adjusted by the Advice of the same Parliament, and which shall be judged more advantageous to the two Kingdoms; and to a Suspension of Arms by Sea, while the *Treaty* lasts. His Most Christian Majesty wishing no less the Advantage of his *Britannick* Majesty and his Subjects, than his own.—*London*, the 30th of *January*, Old Style, 1674.

This Memorial was only for Form's Sake; for the separate *Treaty* with the *Dutch* was near concluded, when it was presented; and the King of *France* did it with no other View than to shew to the most sensible, and less prejudiced Part of the *English* Nation, that nothing but Fanaticism, and a Spirit of Disloyalty could engage the Parliament to force the King to break his Alliance with *France*, against his Honour and Reputation in particular, and that of the whole Nation in general.

The *Dutch*, who have always been very great Negotiators, had concluded two Years before, the following *Treaty* of Alliance, Amity, Confederacy, Commerce, and Navigation, with his Most Christian Majesty, to whom they have always proved very ungrateful, since they were indebted for all their Grandeur to his Grandfather *Henry IV.* called the Great.

A Treaty of Amity, Confederacy, Navigation, and Commerce, concluded between the King of France, and Mess. the States General of the United Provinces; Paris, April 27, 1662.

The Affection which the Most Christian King at the Example of the Kings his Predecessors has always had for the Good and Prosperity of the State of the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries*; and the Passion which the *States General* of the *United Provinces* have always preserved for the Grandeur of *France*, with Sentiments of Gratitude for the Obligations and considerable Advantages they have received; have maintained in such a Manner the good Intelligence between his Majesty, and the said *Lords States*, and so free and perfect a Correspondence between their Subjects for several Years past, &c.

In which Preamble it is found, 1. That the *States General* confess themselves the Obligations they have to the Crown of *France*: And 2. That they were not stiled yet by his Most Christian Majesty, *High and Mighty Lords*; but only the *Lords States General*; which was

a Title higher than that they had under his Father *Louis XIII.* who in all the *Treaties* he concluded with them (which are in great Number) called them only *Messieurs the States General.* The *Treaty* being in no manner interressing, I pass it over in Silence to come to the famous one of *Pisa*, concluded in that City the 22d of *February* 1664, between the Pope *Alexander VII.* and *Louis XIV.* King of *France*, on Occasion of the Insults done to the Lady of the Duke of *Crequi*, the *French* Embassador at the Court of *Rome*; where the Curious will see, that the Court of *France* is not so much bigotted to that of *Rome*, as to suffer patiently its Insults.

TREATY OF PISA, between our holy Father the Pope Alexander VII. and the most high, most excellent, and most potent Prince Louis XIV. by the Grace of God, most Christian King of France and Navarre.

The DETESTABLE OUTRAGE, committed in *Rome* by the *Corfican* Soldiers the 20th of *August* 1662, against M. the Duke of *Crequi*, Embassador Extraordinary of the Most Christian King, having given to his Majesty a just Subject of Displeasure, and caused a very great Sorrow to his Holiness: His said Holiness, as a Father jealous of the Honour of his Child, desiring to repair entirely such an Injury done to the first-born of the Church in the Person of his Embassador, in order to maintain on his Side, as well as his Majesty on his, a perfect Intelligence, and prevent all the Evils which Christendom could suffer from the Sequel of that Accident, has given full Power and entire Faculty to M. *Rasponi*, to agree with the Plenipotentiary of the most Christian King, of the Satisfactions due to his Majesty for so great an Outrage. And M. *de Bourlemont* being furnished with the same full Power from his Majesty, for the same Ends; the said Plenipotentiaries, after the respective Communications of their Powers, of which they are remained satisfied, have adjusted, concluded, and determined the following Articles.

I. His Holiness, to shew his paternal Affection to his Most Christian Majesty, and in Consideration of what shall be stipulated, and settled by the present *Treaty*, immediately after the signing thereof, with Deliberation, and with the Consent of the sacred College, shall *disincamerate*, i. e. revoke, and annul the *Incamation* of the States of *Castro* and *Ranciglione*, and of all their Annexes, Appurtenances, and Dependences, and grant at the same Time to M. the Duke of *Parma*, a Delay of eight Years, conformably to that which was granted him by the Contract passed between the Reverend Apostolical Chamber and him, in which Time he will be allowed to recover and redeem the said States, in returning and paying effectually one Million six hundred and twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and fifty Crowns, due to the Apostolical Chamber according to the said Contract; and moreover, to oblige the King, shall give to the said Duke the Power of making that Redemption, and to pay the said Sum in two different Payments; in such a Manner that having made the first Payment one half of the said States shall be accounted redeemed, and he'll be intitled to take Possession of them, and enjoy them freely; the other half remaining in the Power of the Apostolical Chamber, till the Payment of the Surplus. And that the Division which is to be made of the said Estates into two equal Portions, may be made soon, in two Months, reckoning from the Day of the Ratification of the present *Treaty*, the Parties shall agree on Viewers to make that Partition with a common Accord, and declare the Appurtenances and Annexes of each Portion, leaving to the Choice of the said Duke to redeem the Part he pleases; and if the Viewers do not agree in six Months after their Election, either the said Duke shall regulate himself the Partition of the said Estates in two equal Portions, which being thus made, it shall belong to the Apostolical Chamber to prescribe to the said Duke the Proportion he shall redeem first, paying half the said Sum; the other Portion remaining in the Power of the Chamber, till he has paid the Surplus of the said Sum in the Time granted to him; or the said Duke refusing to make himself that Partition, and to accept that Offer; in that Case the Chamber shall make the two Parts, and it will be free for the said Duke

Duke to chuse which of the two he'll be willing to redeem first, and shall be obliged to declare in two Years whether he design'd to make the said Partition, or leave it to be made by the Apostolical Chamber.

II. His Holiness likewise, in favour of his Majesty, and in Consideration, and to account for the Valley of *Comacchio*, and all other Pretension and Reason which M. the Duke of *Modena* and the House of *Este* could have against the Apostolical Chamber, in what Manner soever, shall take upon him the Mount *D'Este* amounting to three hundred thousand Crowns, or thereabouts, with all the Commodities and Incommodities which may attend the Extinction of the said Mount, together the Arrears due, and not paid, amounting to very near the Sum of fifty thousand Crowns, and shall give besides to the said Duke forty thousand Crowns ready Money, or a Palace in *Rome* of the like Value, at the Choice of his Holiness, and to the Satisfaction of the said Duke; provided, and on Condition notwithstanding, that all the Reasons and Pretensions, as well of the said Duke against the Chamber, either in virtue of *Fideicommiss*, or Primogeniture, or of some other Chief, Nature, Quality, and Condition whatever; as of the Chamber against the said Duke, of what Nature, Quality, or Condition they be, shall remain extinct on either Side, by means of the present *Treaty*, which the said Parties, their Heirs, and Successors respectively, shall never be allowed to retract or dispute under what Pretext soever; and that a publick Act thereof shall be passed by Madame the Duchess of *Modena*, and other lawful Tutors of the said Duke, with the necessary Clauses and Solemnities, even for the Security of the Primogeniture, or other Obligations ordered by the Predecessors of the said Duke, and with Promise to have them ratified by his Highness, so soon as he shall be of Age to do it, mean while his Majesty has for agreeable to give his Word that all shall be executed, to render the Accommodation contained in the present Articles perpetual and inviolable.

And to oblige still more his Majesty, his Holiness shall grant to the said Duke and his Successors for ever, the Right of Patronage to the Abbey *della Pomposa*, and *Della Pieve del Bondeno*, with Power to present to them freely, were they even to become vacant *in curia*; as likewise with a Decree that they should not be comprised under the Rules of the Chancery, nor subject to any apostolical Reservations, and that at the Concession of the aforesaid Rights of Patronage, may have all the same Prerogatives as if they were to proceed from Donation, Erection or Foundation: His Holiness derogating for that Effect to all the Constitutions, Privileges and Customs which might be to the contrary, and to all the Derogations of Derogatories, of which shall be expedited a Brief in good and due Form; declaring besides his Holiness, that neither he, nor his Successors to the Pontificate, for what Cause soever, shall ever contravene to the present Treaty; the said Duke declaring the same for himself, his Heirs and Successors.

III. M. the Cardinal *Chigi*, shall go in the Quality of a Legate into *France*, and in the first Audience he shall have of his Majesty, say to him in proper Terms what follows.

SIRE, His Holiness has felt with a very great Grief the unhappy Accidents which have happened; and the Subjects of Discontent your Majesty has had from them, have caused him the most sensible Displeasure he was capable to receive; assuring him that it was never the Thought or Intention of his Holiness, that your Majesty should be offended, nor M. the Duke of *Crequi* his Ambassador, his said Holiness desiring that for the future there may be on both Sides the same good and sincere Intelligence that has always been. In my own Particular, I protest to your Majesty, with the most profound Respect I am capable of, the Joy I have to be thus freely admitted to let your Majesty know by the most submissive and sincere Actions of my Obedience, the Veneration I have, and all my House likewise, for the glorious Name of your Majesty; with what Fidelity and Zeal I profess all the true Laws of Servitude to the Royal Person and House of your Majesty, how much the Accidents happened at *Rome* have been far from our Sentiments; and with what bitter Sorrow I have learned that myself and my House have been, in that charged with sinister Imputations, and very remote from that Reverence and De-

votion we profess, and which we'll have always a particular Desire and Ambition to profess towards your Majesty. On the contrary, if myself or our House had had the least Part in the Outrage of the 20th of August, we would judge ourselves unworthy of the Forgiveness which we would, and had been obliged to ask your Majesty; desiring him to believe that these Words and these Sentiments are expressed with a very sincere Heart (let who will believe it, for my Part I don't) and inclined, as well as all those of my House, to have always a singular Veneration and perfect Devotion for your Majesty.

IV. The Cardinal *Imperiali* having intreated his Majesty that he would be pleased to admit him to bring himself in Person to his Majesty his most humble Justifications, he shall acquit himself of it immediately; his Majesty having for agreeable at present that he should do it.

V. His Holiness, in favour of his Majesty, shall permit presently the Cardinal *Maldachini* to return to *Rome*, where he shall enjoy for the future all the Prerogatives of his Dignity, and exercise the Functions of the Cardinalship without the least Disturbance or Molestation, by reason of any Prejudice he may have incurred for quitting the ecclesiastical Dominions, in Obedience to his Majesty, who had let him know that it was his Intention he should do it. On which, for a greater Security, a Brief shall be expedited, according to his Majesty's Desire; and he shall be reintegrated in his Estates, in case he had suffered some Losses on account of his leaving the Ecclesiastical State.

VI. The Lord *Dom Mario* shall declare in Writing, on the Faith of a Chevalier, that he has had no Part in all that happened at *Rome* the 20th of August 1662. And that Writing shall be accompanied with a Brief of his Holiness, where he shall testify that the said *Dom Mario* is truly innocent of all that was done the said Day. And to shew still better the Desire his Holiness has to do all Things capable to satisfy his Majesty, he shall order the said *Dom Mario* to keep out of *Rome*, till after the said Cardinal *Chigi* has seen his Majesty, and presented to him his Excuses, in the Name of all his Family.

VII. The Lord *Dom Augustin* shall go to meet M. the Ambassador at *St. Quiricio*, if he comes through *Tuscany*, and at *Civita Vecchia* if he comes by Sea, and at *Narni*, if he comes to *Romagna* or *Lombardy*, and shall express to him the Displeasure of his Holiness, for the Accident happened the 20th of August.

VIII. The Day of the Arrival of the Lady Embassadors at *Rome*, the Signora Donna *Berenice*, or the Princess *Farnese*, shall go to meet the said Lady Embassadors as far as *Pontemole*, and express to her the extreme Displeasure she has, and likewise all those of her House, for the Accident of the 20th of August, and the Joy she feels at the Return of her Excellency, (though she had been better pleased to keep that Joy within herself).

IX. His Holiness shall order in a precise and efficacious Manner to all his Ministers, to bear to the Embassadors of his Majesty the Respect due to him who represents the Person of so great a King, the first-born of the Church, and so much loved and esteemed of his Holiness.

X. His Holiness, in Consideration of his Majesty shall cause to be cancelled and annulled all the Proceedings made against M. the Duke *Cesarini*, without any future Molestation. As to the Damages which the Ministers of his Holiness have caused him, he shall order that they be repaired in four Months after the Ratification of the present Treaty, according to the just Estimation which shall be made of them.

XI. All Decrees and other Acts, which may have been made in Consequence of the Accident of the 20th of August, against the *Roman* Barons, and any other Persons of what Nation and Condition they be, will be cancelled and made void, and neither shall they henceforward receive any Prejudice, nor be troubled, nor called to any Account on any Pretence whatever after the said Accident.

XII. The whole *Corsean* Nation shall be declared incapable of ever serving, not only in *Rome*, but likewise in the whole Ecclesiastical State; and the Barigel of *Rome* shall be deprived of his Post and banished.

XIII. A

XIII. A Pyramid shall be raised at *Rome* over-against the old *Corps de Guard* of the *Corficans*, with an Inscription on the Terms concerted, which shall contain in Substance the Decree given against the *Corfican* Nation.

XIV. The Most Christian King, immediately after the Legate shall have been seen of his Majesty, shall restore to the Pope and the holy apostolical See, the City of *Avignon* and the County *Venaissin*, with all Appurtenances, and Dependencies, and cause to be cancelled, and made void all Acts and Arrests, and all that has been done by the Parliament of *Aix* relating to that Affair, causing all Obstacles to be raised, that the holy apostolical See may enjoy it as before.

The Inhabitants of the City of *Avignon*, and of the County *Venaissin* of what State, Quality, Condition and Sex they be, as well Ecclesiastick as Laicks, Nobles, or Plebeians, without Exception, or any Person, whether he be born in the said City or County, or settled there, &c. shall not be troubled under what Pretence, or questioned about any Thing happened in the said City or County, from the 20th of *August* 1662, to the Day of the Restitution of the said City and County, by the Most Christian King, to the Pope and the holy See.

The said Inhabitants shall enjoy a full, peaceable, and undisturbed Security, in virtue and by the Benefit of the present *Treaty*; and his Holiness shall give faithfully, without any Reservation, either tacit or expressed, all the Orders, Edicts, Declarations, and Assurances, which shall be desired by his Majesty, that the Inhabitants of *Avignon* and of the said County, directly or indirectly, virtually or expressly comprized under the Clauses affixed at the Beginning of the present Article, as well of the City of *Avignon*, and other Cities of the said County, as of the Commonalties, Boroughs, Castles, and other subaltern Places of the Extent thereof, may not receive any Trouble, Pain, and Condemnation of the Officers of his Holiness, either in Judgment or without, neither in their Goods nor Persons, in Hatred, Resentment, or Revenge of all that has been done, and passed in the said City, and the said County, in Consequence of the Affair happened at *Rome* the 20th of *August* 1662, and for the Execution of all the Clauses here above, his Holiness shall give all the said Expeditions, in the best Form, and most authentick, which his Most Christian Majesty shall judge necessary for the Security and Indemnification of the City of *Avignon*, and of the whole County as above-mentioned.

And his Holiness, considering that there is but one Judge in *Avignon*, and another for the whole County, shall give them Assessors, that Justice be better administered.

XV. The said Plenipotentiaries having likewise made Reflection that the Intention of his Most Christian Majesty was always that the Disincameration of *Castro*, with the Concession of a new Delay, should serve of Preliminary to the whole Accommodation which could be made, and that likewise in this *Treaty of Pisa*, the Intention of his said Majesty is to restore the City of *Avignon*, and the whole County to the Pope, and to the holy See; declare for a *Eclaircissement* of the Things aforesaid, that they have agreed among themselves, that the Disincameration of *Castro*, with the Concession of a new Delay, shall be executed in the Form stipulated, and agreed upon in the first Article, before the Exchange and reciprocal Delivery of the Ratifications; and respectively likewise, the Most Christian King shall restore to the Pope and to the holy apostolical See the City of *Avignon*, and the County *Venaissin*, in the Form settled in the fourteenth Article, immediately after the Legate shall have had his Audience of his Majesty.

The said Plenipotentiaries have promised, and promise in virtue of their Commission, and full Powers (a Copy thereof shall be affixed at the End of this present *Treaty*) that as well his Holiness and the holy See, as his Most Christian Majesty, shall fully, and without either direct or indirect Contravention, execute the present *Treaty*, and keep afterwards really and faithfully the Conventions thereof; that all the Points and Articles agreed upon, and settled among them the Plenipotentiaries, shall be without any Modification, Diminution, and Reformation, purely and simply, accepted, confirmed and ratified reciprocally by his Holiness, and by

his Most Christian Majesty; and that their Letters of Ratification (in which the present *Treaty* shall be inserted Word for Word) will be dispatched in the most authentick and best Form, viz. by his Holiness in the Term of ten Days; and by his Most Christian Majesty in the Term of thirty Days, after the signing of this present *Treaty*, and even sooner if possible: Which Ratifications, shall be exchanged on either Side in the said Space of thirty Days. In Faith thereof, the said Plenipotentiaries have signed the present *Treaty*, and have caused to be affixed to it the Seal of their Arms, at *Pisa* the 22d of *February* 1664.

Signed,

CÆSAR RASPONI, Apostolical Plenipotentiary.

LOUIS DE BOURLEMONT, Plenipotentiary of the Most Christian King.

We see in this *Treaty*, *St. Peter*, repenting once more at the crowing of the Cock; the holy Father prostrated at the Feet of his First born, and imploring his Mercy, and the *Roman* Pride and Insolence, punished in the most violent, tho' the most just Manner. Under a King who had been more bigotted to the Court of *Rome*, more meek, and less jealous of his Honour, than was *Louis XIV.*, the Vatican had thundered, and the *French* had employed nothing else to it, but Prayers and Supplications to divert the Tempest; but *Louis* knew by Experience that Prayers were not always efficacious in those dangerous Cases; but on the contrary had served sometimes rather to increase the Storm than to appease it; therefore he had recourse to a sure Preservative in those Cases, viz. Iron, whereof he made a very quick and very good Use. All the Pope's Kindred mentioned in the *Treaty*, and obliged by it to make Satisfaction to his Most Christian Majesty, had been either Actors or Accessaries to the Insult done to the Dukes of *Crequi* the *French* Embassadors, and Pope *Alexander VII.* then sitting on *Peter's* Chair, who was not thought well affected to the Court of *France*, was suspected of having connived at it: The first Thing the King of *France* did to attain a just Satisfaction of that Affront done to him in the Person of his Ambassador, and which he knew could never be expected otherwise, was to seize on the City of *Avignon*, and on the whole County *Venaissin*, and forbid all his Subjects to send Money to *Rome* on any Account whatever, either for Bulls, Dispensations, &c. threatening even the Pope with a Visit, which had not been very agreeable to him, appealing at the same Time to a future Council, from all the ecclesiastical Censures which the Pope could fulminate against him. This had soon the desired Effect, and brought the Pope to all these Submissions, which till then the Court of *Rome* had thought impracticable, as unbecoming the Dignity of sovereign Pontif, some of whose Successors had been infatuated with the vain and chimerical Idea, that they could dispose of Crowns and Diadems, and trampled on them whenever they pleased. But those Times of a pious Ignorance were no more: For though *Louis XIV.* knew very well the Respect he owed the holy See, for the spiritual; he knew as well what he owed to his royal Dignity, which he holds immediately from God alone; that the Government of the Pope over the Christian World was purely spiritual; and when he attempted to extend it further, he was an Usurper, and deserved to be treated as such. In the former Case his Most Christian Majesty considers himself as the first-born of the Church, and would be loth to vex his holy Mother, and his good Father; but in the latter he has no Notion of such Affinity; and thinks it not a Want of Respect, to resist him when he is unruly, and falls into the Paroxysms of a phrenzical Pride. The Erection of the Pyramid was the most bitter of all those Pills, notwithstanding which the holy Father was obliged to swallow it; and continued standing, till at the Intreaties of Pope *Clement XI.* for whom the King of *France* had a very great Veneration, he permitted that it should be pulled down.

Having done entertaining my Reader with the Differences between the Pope and the King of *France*, and given them the *Treaty* made in consequence thereof; I'll give them another concluded between the *French* Huguenots and the King of *Spain*, though the most implacable.

implacable Enemy of their Religion; to shew the *English* Nation, that the greatest Part of them were more actuated by a Motive of Rebellion, than by one of Religion; and that they wanted to establish the Kingdom of *Jesus* in *France*, on the same Foundation, and in the same Manner their Brethren did afterwards in *England*. —Therefore,

A TREATY made between the King of Spain and the Duke of Rohan, in the Name of the Rebels of France, at Madrid in Spain, the 13th of May 1629.

M. de *Clauzel* being come to this Court from the Duke of *Rohan*, to represent to his Catholick Majesty the State of Affairs, and of those of his Party and Adherents, and the Desire they have to serve his Catholick Majesty, the said *Clauzel* has made the following Demands and Offers.

I. That the *Sieur de Rohan* most humbly intreats his Catholick Majesty, supposing that the Reason of State should permit him, to succour and assist him with some Sums of Money, to maintain the War he waged in *France* for several Years past, by means whereof he offers his most humble Services to his Catholick Majesty, who then may employ him, when, and how he shall think fit.

II. The said Duke of *Rohan* offers to maintain the War, and continue it for all the Time it shall please his Catholick Majesty, provided he be pleased to assist him with 600,000 Gold Ducats, to be paid in ready Money in two Payments, the first before-hand, on account thereof he shall be obliged to entertain commonly 12,000 Foot, and 1200 Horse, to make what Diversion it shall please his Majesty, either in the Higher or Lower *Languedoc*, *Provence*, *Dauphiny*, at the Choice of his Majesty.

III. Offering besides the said Duke of *Rohan* to his Catholick Majesty, to support at any Time, and with all his Power the Designs of his said Majesty.

IV. Promise besides the said Duke of *Rohan*, to maintain, and give full and entire Liberty of Conscience, as well in the Cities which himself and those of his Party hold, as likewise in all the others which they may acquire hereafter, and in all the Boroughs, Towns and Villages, and other Places possessed at present, and that he or those of his Party may possess afterwards.

V. Promise besides, the said Duke of *Rohan* to preserve the Convents of Religious in the Condition they are, making them enjoy peaceably their Churches, Goods, Possessions, Fruits, and likewise all other Ecclesiasticks, without disturbing them in any Thing.

VI. And the Case happening that the said Duke of *Rohan* and those of his Party, could render themselves so strong, as to be able to canton themselves and form a separate State, in such a Case they promise likewise a Liberty of Conscience, and the free Exercise of their Religion to the Catholicks, and to that Effect the said Exercise can be made in all the Cities, Villages, and other Places they hold, as in those they shall acquire afterwards.

VII. The Catholicks shall enjoy all their Goods present and to come, and shall be treated in all the Charges and Impositions equally with the others, and those of the said Party shall be obliged to preserve all the Religious and Nuns, in their Possessions, Dignities, and Honours.

VIII. The Catholicks shall enter into all the Employments of the Cities, and be admitted to them like the other, and shall be received into all the Presidials, Seneschallies, Parliaments, Chambers of Accounts, and into all other Offices of Justice. Finally the Catholicks shall be maintained in all their Possessions, Honours, and Dignities, like those of the other Party, except in what regards the Security of those of the said Party.

IX. Offering besides the said Duke of *Rohan* to render all Sorts of Services in his Power, and with a very great Affection to his Catholick Majesty.

X. And Case happening that the said Duke of *Rohan* should treat of Peace, with the Knowledge, and Consent of his Catholick Majesty, he shall be obliged to break it, whenever his Catholick Majesty shall think fit, and to continue the War by means of the same Favours, and Help of 600,000 Ducats yearly, so long as it shall please his Catholick Majesty.

XI. And to that End he humbly intreats his Catho-

lick Majesty, that he be pleased to grant him the Graces and Favours, which had been offered to him the preceding Wars, to give him a Pension, to enable him to maintain the Officers, Nobility, and Governors of Places, keep them at his Devotion, and make them play the Game he'll be willing they should with regard to the Service of his Catholick Majesty.

XII. And whereas the said Pensions, Estates and Benefits, are to render himself for ever a faithful and hired Servant of so great a King and foreign Prince, and that he the said Lord runs a Risk, if this was discovered to be declared guilty of High Treason, and lose his Estate, the said M. *Clauzel* humbly prays his Catholick Majesty, in the Name of the said Duke of *Rohan*, that he be pleased to augment his Pension, which was of 40,000 Gold Ducats, of 3 or 4000; and that of M. *de Soubize*, which was of 8000, increase to 10; and that which was of 8000 for the Officers, Nobility, and Governors, increase it likewise to 10,000 particularly at present they are going to serve his Majesty, in such a Manner that they have not perhaps heretofore done it.

XIII. For all which Offers above written, the said M. *Clauzel* engages the Word of a Prince of Honour, and very religious (*mark that gentle Reader, how much Honour and Religion could a Prince have who attempted to dethrone his own Sovereign, and involve his own Country in Desolation and Blood*) signed with the Name of a Scoundrel, I should say a Gentleman sent by the said Duke of *Rohan*, who most humbly prays his Catholick Majesty to believe that all this Treaty shall be observed exactly by the said Duke of *Rohan*, who will call himself eternally the humble Subject and Servant of his Catholick Majesty.

Signed, CLAUZEL.

His Majesty having seen the Propositions and Offers above-written, made on the Part of the Duke of *Rohan*, by the said *Clauzel*, being, as it is certain, his Catholick Majesty strictly obliged to procure the Preservation of the Estates and Kingdoms, which it has pleased God to give him, and to that Effect make use of all proper, lawful, and necessary Means that offer; considering likewise the great Losses and Damages which his Dominions have received, and receive daily, by means of the Favours and Assistance which the Kings of *France* have given for several Years past, and give the Vassals of his Majesty in *Holland*, against their natural and legitimate Lord; considering besides, that the said Kings seem to have no other End than to protect at all Times, and in all Places against his Majesty, those against whom he is forced by Reason and Justice to employ his Authority and Power, to have restored what belongs to every one, without any other Interest than that of the greatest Glory of God (*mark likewise this Manner of jesting with Heaven*) the whole without his Catholick Majesty having given any Subject to *France* to act thus, and without *France* having any Pretext to do it, as if something was detained from her which belongs to her lawfully, which is not; or that his Majesty had Intention to wrong his Allies, which God forbids; and therefore having his Majesty communicated all this to his Council of Conscience (*which seldom has any*) composed of Persons of great Integrity; they have judged that it was expedient to provide for the just Defence of his Dominions against so unjust an Action as is that of the King of *France* done against all Right and Justice. In that Consideration having resolved to accept, and conclude a Treaty between the said Duke of *Rohan*, and those of his Party at their Request, has granted to them the following Capitulations.

I. That's to say, that his Catholick Majesty accepts the Offer of the said Duke of *Rohan* to continue the War he wages at present in *France* for all the Time it shall please his Catholick Majesty, who will pay yearly for that Effect, to the said Duke of *Rohan*, 300,000 Ducats of twelve Reals of *Castille*, to be paid in two Terms of six Months each.

II. His Catholick Majesty accepts likewise, the Offer of the said Duke of *Rohan*, of maintaining by means of the said 300,000 Ducats, an Army to the *pro rata* thereof, *viz.* 6000 Foot and 600 Horse, which those of the said Party of the Duke of *Rohan* shall keep for the same Effect,

Effect of the War, which, to make Diversion, they shall wage in *Provence, Dauphiny, Languedoc*, or other Places which shall be judged more convenient for the just Designs, and the Defence of the Dominions of his Catholick Majesty, and he shall order; provided notwithstanding, and on expresse Conditions, that the Catholicks shall in no Manner be disturbed or molested by those of the Party of the said Duke of *Roban*, in their Religion.

III. And the Case happening that those of the said Party could form a Government a part, in that Case his Catholick Majesty will, and it is his Intention, that those of the said Party shall be obliged to keep all the Articles above-mentioned, with regard to the said Catholicks.

IV. The said Duke of *Roban*, and those of his Party, shall not treat or conclude a Peace without the Knowledge or Consent of his Catholick Majesty; and the Case happening that such a Thing should be done, even with the Consent of his said Majesty, the said Duke of *Roban*, and those of his Party, shall be obliged, notwithstanding, to break all the said Treaties, and renew the War whenever it shall please his Catholick Majesty, on consideration of the Payment of the aforesaid three hundred thousand Ducats, and others under granted; and continue it at the Pleasure of his Catholick Majesty.

V. His Catholick Majesty grants, and will cause to be paid to the said Duke, forty thousand Ducats of yearly Pension; and to *M. de Soubize*, his Brother, eight thousand Ducats yearly likewise; which the said Duke may divide among his Captains and Officers, as he'll judge proper.

VI. Of the three hundred thousand Ducats, his Catholick Majesty shall cause to be paid to the Duke of *Roban*, an hundred and fifty thousand at the Place required by him, either in ready Money, or in Bills of Exchange, at the same Time that the said Duke of *Roban* shall return the present Treaty by him sworn to, signed with his own Hand, and sealed with the Seal of his Arms, to the Person who shall be sent to him.

VII. The said Duke of *Roban* shall procure with all his Power, and faithfully, that the Deputies of his Towns shall swear and approve the present Treaty, and submit themselves to the Obedience of his Catholick Majesty, so that no other Consideration may deter them from it, before the second Payment.

VIII. Declaring his Catholick Majesty, that the present Treaty shall be kept; and observed inviolably on both Sides; and that it shall begin to be in Force from that Day it is signed by the said Duke of *Roban*; to which said Duke his Catholick Majesty promises to execute all that is contained in the said Treaty, &c.

All above has been concluded, and settled by Order of his Majesty, by the said *M. Clauzel*, and *Don Juan of Billela*, of the Council of State of his Catholick Majesty, and his first Secretary in all his Chanceries.—I have signed the present Treaty in the Name of his said Majesty, as likewise the said *M. de Clauzel*, in the Name of the said Duke of *Roban*; which the said Duke shall ratify, swear and sign, as above-mentioned.

Done at *Madrid*, the Third Day of *May* 1629.

Signed *DON JUAN BILLELA*, for his Catholick Majesty, and *DE CLAUZEL* for *M. de Roban*.

We do not find in this Treaty, that the *Huguenots*, and their Chief, cloak their Rebellion with the usual Pretext of Religion; which, in Fact, had not been a persuasive Argument at the Court of *Madrid*; but insist all along on the Desire they have to serve the King of *Spain* against their lawful Sovereign, and to forfeit their Allegiance, by becoming the faithful Subjects of a Prince, whom they knew, at the same Time, to be the most mortal Enemy of their Religion; and who, had he succeeded in his Enterprises against *France*, had treated them with the greatest Severity; while under their own natural King, they enjoyed more Privileges, considering their frequent and dangerous Rebellions, than they could reasonably have expected; therefore we can justly conclude, that their Religion, which they had pleaded at the Court of *England*, to execute their sacrilegious Enterprise, at the

same Time they were offering to become the faithful Subjects of the Catholick King, which was a declared Enemy of it, was nothing else but a damnable Hypocrisy, and no Religion at all; and the real Truth was, that their whole Design was to dethrone their legitimate Sovereign, as they exprest in plain Terms, in their second Article, where they say, that *the Case happening that the said Duke of Rohan, and those of his Party could become so strong, as to be able to canton themselves, and FORM A STATE A-PART*; which they had certainly done long before that Time, if the greatest and most sensible Part of the *French* Nation had been so little affected to their King, as the *English* were to King *Charles I.* But praised be Heaven, our Kings have all had the Happiness to reign in our Hearts, with a still greater Power, than over our Persons, and a few ambitious Princes and Nobles excepted, who made the Ignorance of the Rabble who marched under their rebellious Standards, subservient to their Ambition, all the rest of their Subjects have always been ready to expose their Lives and Fortunes in their Defence.

Note, That all the Treaties heretofore mentioned being only particular Treaties, I'll give here the famous general one of *MUNSTER in Westphalia*, concluded the 24th of *October* 1648, which has served for a Basis for almost all the other general Treaties which have been made since.

TREATY OF MUNSTER.

IN the Name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity.

May it be known to all and every one whom it concerns, or may, in any Manner, concern hereafter, that Discords and civil Dissentions having been excited in the Empire for several Years past, which have increased in such a Manner, that not only all *Germany*, but likewise the neighbouring Kingdoms, and *France* in particular, have been enveloped in the Disorders of a long and cruel War, which was a Sequel thereof; and first, between the most serene and most mighty Prince and Lord *Ferdinand II.* of happy and glorious Memory, elected Emperor of *Germany*, always *Augustus* King of *Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Arch-Duke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Syria, Carinthia, Carniole, Marquis of Moravia, Duke of Luxemburg*, of the Upper and Lower *Silesia*, of *Wittenberg* and *Tuke*, Prince of *Suabia*, Count of *Hapsbourg*, (which last is the first Title of the House of *Austria*) of *Tyrol*, &c. &c. and the most serene and most mighty Prince and Lord *Louis XIII.* of happy and glorious Memory, most Christian King of *France* and *Navarre*, with their Allies and Adherents on the other Part. And after their Decease, that then the most serene and most mighty Prince and Lord *Ferdinand III.* elected King of the *Romans*, always *Augustus* King of *Germany*, &c. &c. (all the other Titles as above) with his Allies and Adherents on one Part, and the most serene and most mighty Prince and Lord *Louis XIV.* most Christian King of *France* and *Navarre*, with his Allies and Adherents on the other Part; whence has followed a great Effusion of Christian Blood, and the Desolation of several Provinces. It has happened, at last, by an Effect of the divine Goodness, seconded by the most serene Republick of *Venice*, which, in those bad Times, while all Christendom was in Trouble, has never discontinued to contribute, by her good Advices, to the publick Tranquility, that the Thoughts of a general Peace have been conceived on all Sides, and to that Effect, by a mutual Agreement and Convention of the Parties, that in the Year of our Lord 1641, the 25th of *December*, N. S. and the 15th. O. S. it was resolved at *Hamburg*, to make an Assembly of Ambassadors Plenipotentiaries, who should resort to *Munster*, and to *Osnaburgh* in *Westphalia*, the 11th of *July*, N. S. and the 1st of the same Month, O. S. 1643, the Ambassadors Plenipotentiaries on either Part duly appointed, appearing then, at the same Time, and on the Part of his Imperial Majesty, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord *Maximilian*, Count of *Trautsmundsdorf* and *Weinsberg*, Baron of *Weithenberg*, &c. &c. Knight of the Golden Fleece, Privy councillor, Chamberlain of his sacred Imperial Majesty, and high Steward of his Household. The Lord *John Lewis* Count of *Nassau, Catzenellebogen, Vianden*, &c. &c. Privy councillor of the Emperor,

Emperor, and Knight of the *Golden Fleece*; and M. *Isaac Volunamarus*, Doctor in Law, Counsellor, and President in the Chamber of the most serene Lord, the Archduke *Ferdinand Charles*. And on the Part of the Most Christian King, the most high Prince and Lord, *Henry of Orleans*, Duke of *Longueville*, and *Estouteville*, Prince and sovereign Count of *Neufchâtel*, &c. Knight of the King's Orders, &c. as likewise the most illustrious and most excellent Lords, *Claudius de Mesmes*, Count d'*Avaux*, Commander of the King's Orders, one of the Superintendants of his Finances, and Minister of the Kingdom of *France*, &c. and *Abel Servien*, Count of *La Roche*, &c. Likewise one of the Ministers of the Kingdom of *France*. And by the Intervention and Mediation of the most illustrious and most excellent Ambassador, and Senator of *Venice*, *Aloysius Contarini*, Knight, who for the Space of five Years, or thereabout, has with a great Diligence, and an entirely disinterested Mind carried himself as Mediator in those Affairs. After having implor'd the divine Assistance, and in a reciprocal Communication of the Letters and Commissions of the Plenipotentiaries, the Copies thereof are inserted Word for Word, at the End of this Treaty, as it should be present, approving, and consenting, the Electors of the sacred *Roman Empire*, the other Princes and States, to the Glory of God, and for the Good of the Christian Commonwealth, it has been consented, and agreed on the reciprocal Conditions of Peace and Amity, in the following Manner.

That there may be an universal Christian Peace, and a perpetual, true, and sincere Friendship between the sacred Imperial Majesty, and the sacred Most Christian Majesty; as likewise between all, and every one of the Allies, and Adherents of the said Imperial Majesty, the House of *Austria*, and her Heirs and Successors, but particularly between the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire on one Part; and all, and every one of the Allies of the said Most Christian Majesty, and all their Heirs and Successors; particularly between the most serene Queen of *Sweden*, the Electors respectively, the Princes and Electors on the other Part. That that Peace and Amity may be observed and cultivated with such Sincerity and Zeal, that each Part endeavours to procure the Utility, Honour, and Advantage of one another; that thus, on all Sides, the Good of that Peace and Amity may be seen to flourish in the *Roman Empire*, and in the Kingdom of *France*, by maintaining a good and faithful Neighbourhood.

That there shall be, on either Side, a perpetual Oblivion and Amnesty, or Forgiveness of all that has been done since the Beginning of those Troubles, in what Place or Manner soever the Hostilities have been committed; so that henceforward, neither for any of those Causes, nor under any other Pretence, shall be committed against one another, any Act of Hostility, or any unfriendly Office done, or any Hindrance given, either with Regard to the Persons, or to the Condition, or to the Goods and Security, and that either by oneself, or by others, secretly, or openly, directly, or indirectly, under Appearance or Right, by Way of Fact, either within or without the Extent of the Empire, notwithstanding all contrary Commotions made before. That no Injury or Wrong shall be done, or permitted to be done to any Body: But that all that has happen'd on either Side, as well before, as during the War, either by injurious Words, Writings, or Actions, by Violences, Hostilities, Damages, and Expences, without any Regard to the Persons, and Things, be entirely forgotten, so that what one could ask or pretend on the other, on that Account be buried in an eternal Oblivion.

And that the reciprocal Love between the Emperor and the most Christian King, the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, be stronger, and still more sincere (without touching, yet, to the Article of Security, which shall be mentioned hereafter) one shall never assist the Enemies present, or to come of the other, under what Title or Pretence soever, either with Arms, Money, Soldiers, or other Sorts of Ammunitions; and shall not suffer to pass through his Territories, retire, sojourn any Forces Enemy of either of the contracting Parties, and who is a Member of this Pacification. That the Circle of *Burgundy* be, and remain Member of

of the Empire, after the Disputes between *France* and *Spain*, comprised in this Treaty, shall be terminated. That, notwithstanding, that neither the Emperor, nor any of the Estates of the Empire, shall meddle in the Wars which are waged at present. That if, hereafter, Disputes should arise between the two Kingdoms, the Necessity of the aforesaid reciprocal Obligation, which is to not help the Enemies of one another, shall always remain firm between the Empire and *France*. That it shall be free, notwithstanding, for the States, each of them in particular, to assist, without the Limits of the Empire, such and such Kingdom; but always according to the Constitutions of the Empire. That the Controversy, with Regard to *Lorrain*, be referred to Arbitrators, named on both Sides, or shall be terminated in the Treaty, between *France* and *Spain*, or by some other amicable Means; and that it shall be free, as well for the Emperor, as for the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, to help and forward that Agreement by a friendly Interposition, and other Offices of Pacification, without using, notwithstanding, of Arms and warlike Means.

According to this Foundation of a reciprocal Friendship, and general Amnesty, all, and every one of the Electors of the sacred *Roman Empire*, the Princes, States, (the Nobility which relieve immediately from the Empire included) their Vassals, Subjects, Citizens, Inhabitants, to whom, on Occasion of *Bohemia*, or of the Troubles of *Germany*, or of the Alliances contracted here and there, some Damage or Prejudice has been done by either Party, in any Manner, and under what Pretence soever, as well in their Lordships, Fiefs, Underfiefs, Allodiations, as in their Dignities, Immunities, Rights, and Privileges, be restored, on both Sides, fully in the Ecclesiastical or Laick State, which they enjoy'd, or which they may have lawfully enjoy'd, notwithstanding all Changes, which, in the mean while, have been made to the contrary, which shall remain void.

That if the Possessors of the Estates to be restored, believe, that they have lawful Exceptions, those Exceptions shall not hinder the Restitution, which being made, their Reasons and Exceptions may be examined, afterwards, before the competent Judges, to be determined.

And though by that preceding general Rule, it is easy to judge who are these, and how far Restitution is to be made; however, at the Instance, and in Favour of some Causes of very great Importance, which follow, it has been found proper to make a particular Mention thereof; without, notwithstanding, those who are not expressly named, should be consider'd as excluded and forgotten.

Whereas the Arret, which the Emperor has heretofore caused to be given in the provincial Assembly, against the moveable Goods belonging to the Prince Elector of *Triers*, and transferred to the Duchy of *Luxembourg*, though given up, and abolished, has, notwithstanding, at the Instance of some, been renewed, and a Sequestration added to it, which the said Assembly has made of the Jurisdiction of *Burch*, belonging to the Archbishoprick, and of half the Lordship of *St. John*, belonging to *John Rheinbard* of *Saßeren*, which is repugnant to the Concordates, made at *Ausbourg*, in the Year 1548; by the publick Intervention of the Empire, between the Electorate of *Triers*, and the Duchy of *Burgundy*. It is agreed, that the aforesaid Arret and Sequestration shall be speedily taken out of the Assembly of *Luxembourg*, that the said Jurisdiction, Lordship, and Electoral and Patrimonial Goods, with the Fruits sequestered, be given up, and restored to the Lord Elector; and if by Chance something was missing, it shall be fully restored to him; the Impetrators being referred to obtain the Administration of their Right, to the Judge of the Prince Elector, who is Competent in the Empire.

As to what regards the Castles of *Ebrubstein*, and of *Hamerstein*, the Emperor shall withdraw, or cause to be withdrawn, the Garrisons, at the Time, and in the Manner, defined hereafter in the Article of the Execution, and shall restore those Castles to the Lord Elector of *Triers*, and to his Metropolitan Chapter, to be in the Guard of the Empire, and of the Electorate; wherefore the Captain, and the new Garrison, which shall be put in

in them by the Elector, shall take, likewise, an Oath of Allegiance to him, and to his Chapter.

After which the Assembly of *Munster*, and of *Osnabrug*, has brought the Palatine Cause to these Terms, that the Dispute which was so long in Agitation, has been terminated in the following Manner.

And first, as to what regards the House of *Bavaria*, the Electoral Dignity, which the Palatine Electors have heretofore enjoyed with all their Regalia, Offices, Precedencies, Arms, and Rights whatsoever, belonging to that Dignity, without Exception, as likewise all the *Upper Palatinate*, and the County of *Cham*, with all their Appurtenances, Regalia, and Rights, shall remain, as heretofore, likewise, for the future, to the Lord *Maximilian*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and to his Children, and to all the Line of *William*, while there be in it Male Children.

Reciprocally, the Lord Elector of *Bavaria* shall renounce entirely for himself, and for his Heirs and Successors, to the Debt of thirteen Millions, and to all his Pretensions in the *Higher Austria*, and immediately after the Publication of the Peace, shall give all Acts and Arrets obtained on that Account, to his Imperial Majesty, to be cancell'd, and made void.

As to what regards the *Palatine* House, the Emperor, and the Empire, for the Good of the publick Tranquility, agree, that in Virtue of the present Agreement, there shall be established an eighth Electorate, to be enjoy'd for the future, by the Lord *Charles Louis*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and his Heirs and paternal Kin descending from the Branch of *Rudolph*, according to the Order of Succession, expressed in the *Golden Bull*, and that by that Investiture, the Lord *Charles Louis*, and his Heirs shall have no Right, on what has been granted with the Electoral Dignity, to the Lord Elector of *Bavaria*, and to all the Branch of *William*.

Again, that all the *Lower Palatinate*, with all, and every one of the ecclesiastical and secular Goods, Rights, and Appurtenances, which the Princes, and Electors *Palatine* have enjoyed before the Troubles of *Bohemia*; as, likewise, all the Documents, Registers, and Papers, relating to that, shall be fully restored to him, concealing all that has been done against it, and that by the Authority of the Emperor; so that neither the Catholick King, nor any other that retain something of it, may oppose, in any Manner whatever, that Restitution.

But because certain Jurisdictions of *Berg-Strass*, belonging antiently to the Elector of *Mentz*, were in the Year 1463, mortgaged to the *Palatines* for a certain Sum of Money, on Condition of a perpetual Redemption; it has been agreed, that the same Jurisdictions shall remain to the present Lord Elector of *Mayence*, and to his Successors in the Bishoprick of *Mayence*, provided the Price of the Mortgage be paid in ready Money, in the Time prefixed to the Execution of the Peace concluded, and shall ratify all the other Conditions to which he is obliged by the Tenor of the Acts of the Mortgage.

It shall be free, likewise, for the Elector of *Triers*, as Bishop of *Spire*, and for the Bishop of *Worms*, to claim, before the competent Judges, the Rights they pretend to have on certain ecclesiastical Goods, situated in the Territory of the *Lower Palatinate*; unless those Princes should agree among them in an amicable Manner.

That if it should happen that the masculine Branch of *William* should be entirely extinct, the *Palatine* one subsisting still; not only the *Upper Palatinate*, but likewise the Electoral Dignity which belonged to the Duke of *Bavaria*, shall return to the said surviving *Palatines*, possessed at that Time, of their Investiture; but then the eighth Electorate shall be entirely suppressed. That in Case, notwithstanding, of the Return of the *Upper Palatinate*, to the surviving *Palatines*, the Heirs of some allodial States, of the Electors of *Bavaria*, shall remain in Possession of the Rights and Benefices, belonging to them lawfully.

That the Contracts of Family made between the Electoral Houses of *Heidelberg*, and of *Newburg*, relating to the Succession to the Electorate, confirm'd by the preceding Emperors, as likewise all the Rights to the *Rudolphin* Branch, as far as they are not contrary to that Disposition, shall be preserved and maintain'd in full.

Moreover, that if some Fiefs in *Juliers* are found open by lawful Ways, the Questions moved on them, shall be determin'd in Favour of the *Palatines*.

To ease, besides, in some Manner, the Lord *Charles Louis* of the Trouble of providing his Brothers with Appennages; his Imperial Majesty shall cause to be paid to the said Brothers, four hundred thousand Rixdollars in four Years to come, beginning the first of the Year 1648; the Payment to be made of a hundred thousand Rixdollars every Year, with the Interest at Five per Cent.

Moreover that all the *Palatine* House, with all and every one of those who are, or have been in what Manner soever affected to her, especially the Ministers who have served her in this Assembly, as likewise those who have been exiled from the *Palatinate*, shall enjoy the Amnesty above promised, with the same Rights with those comprized in it, or of whom a particular and more ample mention is made in the Article of the Grievances.

Reciprocally the Lord *Charles Louis* and his Brothers, shall pay Obedience, and keep Fidelity to his Imperial Majesty, like the other Electors and Princes of the Empire; and renounce their Pretensions to the High *Palatinate*, as well for themselves as for their Heirs, and that while any legitimate and male Heir of the Branch of *William* remains.

And on the mention made of giving a Dowry, and a Pension to the Widow Mother of the said Prince, and to his Sisters, his sacred Imperial Majesty according to the Affection he bears to the *Palatine* House, has promised the said Widow Mother, for her Food and Subsistence, to pay once for all, twenty thousand Rixdollars, and to each of the Sisters of the said Lord *Charles Louis*, when they shall be married, ten thousand Rixdollars. The said Prince *Charles* being obliged to satisfy to the Surplus.

That the said Lord *Charles Louis* shall give no manner of Trouble to the Counts of *Leiningen*, and of *Daxburg*, nor to their Successors in the *Low Palatinate*; but shall leave them to enjoy peaceably their Rights, obtained for several Centuries past, and confirmed by the Emperors.

He shall leave inviolably in their former State the free Nobility of the Empire, found in *Franconia*, *Suabia*, and along the *Rhine*, and its Appurtenances.

That the Fiefs given by the Emperor to the Baron *Gerhard* of *Waldenburg*, called *Schenk-beezen*, to *Nicolas George Reygersberg* Chancellor of *Mayence*, and to *Henry Brombser* Baron of *Rudesheim*. Likewise by the Elector of *Bavaria*, to the Baron *John Adolphus Wolff*, called *Metternich*, shall remain firm and stable; that, notwithstanding those Vassals shall be obliged to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Lord *Charles Louis*, and to his Successors, as to their direct Lords, and to ask him the Renewal of their Fiefs.

That those of the Confession of *Ausburg*, and namely, the Inhabitants of *Oppenheim*, shall be re-established in the Possession of their Temples, and in the Ecclesiastical State they were in, in the Year 1624. As likewise the others of the same Confession of *Ausburg*, that will require it, shall be left in the free Exercise of their Religion, as well in publick in the Temples, and at the Hours appointed, as in private in their own Houses, or in others chosen for that Effect by their Ministers, or by those of their Neighbours preaching the Word of God.

That the Paragraphs, *the Prince Louis Philip*, &c. *the Prince Frederick*, &c. and *the Prince Leopold Louis*, &c. be understood as inserted here in the same Manner they are contained in the Instrument or Treaty of the Empire with *Sweden*.

That the Dispute in Question between the Bishop of *Bamberg*, and of *Wirtzburg* on one Side, and the Marquis of *Brandenburg Culmbach Onolzbach* on the other, with regard to the Castle, City, Jurisdiction, and Monastery of *Kitzengen* in *Franconia* on the *Main*, shall be determined either in an amicable Manner, or by the Law, in two Years; under the Penalty for him who shall use Delays to lose his Pretensions; and that, meanwhile, the Fort of *Wiltzburg* shall be restored to the said Lord Marquis, in the same Condition it was taken, as it is agreed and stipulated.

That the Convention made with regard to the Maintenance of the Lord *Christian William* Marquis of *Brandebourg* shall be considered as reiterated in this Place, as stipulated in the 14th Article of the Treaty between the Empire and *Sweden*.

The Most Christian King shall restore in its Time, and in the Manner to be deduced hereafter, where we'll speak of withdrawing the Garrisons, to the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, the Towns and Forts of *Hohenwil*, *Schorendoff*, *Tubingen*, and all the other Places, without Reservation, where there is Garrison in the Dutchy of *Wurtemberg*; as to the rest, the Paragraph, *the House of Wurtemberg*, &c. be understood as inserted in this Place, in the same Manner as it is contained in the Treaty of the Empire and *Sweden*.

That the Princes of *Wurtemberg*, of the House of *Montbelliard*, be re-established in all their Domains in *Alsace*, and wherever they be situated; but particularly in the two Fiefs of *Burgundy*, *Clerval* and *Passavant*, and that on both Sides he may be restored to the Estates, Rights and Prerogatives, he enjoyed before the Beginning of those Wars.

That *Frederick* Marquis of *Baden*, and of *Hackberg*, and his Sons and Heirs, with all those who have served him in what Manner soever, or serve him still, of what Condition they be, shall enjoy the Amnesty contained above, in the Second and Third Articles, with all its Clauses of Benefits; and that in virtue thereof, they be re-established in the ecclesiastical or secular State, in which they were before the Beginning of the Troubles in *Bohemia*, the Lord *George-Frederick* Marquis of *Baden*, and *Hackberg*, as to what regards the low Marquisate of *Baden*, vulgarly called *Dourlach*; and likewise as to the Marquisate of *Hackberg*, and to the Lordships of *Rotte-len*, *Badenweiller*, and *Sausenberg*, notwithstanding, and annulled all Mutations happened to the contrary. Moreover shall be restored to the Marquis *Frederick* the Jurisdictions of *Stein* and *Renchingen*, without being burthened with the Debts which the Marquis *William* has contracted during that Time, on account of the Fruits, Interests, and Expences, mentioned in the Transaction made at *Ettlingen* in the Year 1529, and yielded to the said *William* Marquis of *Baden*, with all the Rights, Documents, Writings, and other Things belonging to it: So that all that Action concerning the Expences and Fruits already received, or to be received afterwards, with their Damages and Interests, reckoning from the Time of the first Occupation, be entirely taken off and abolished.

That the yearly Pension of the low Marquisate, to be paid to the high Marquisate, according to the former Custom, be, in virtue of the present Treaty, entirely taken off and annihilated, and that henceforward nothing may be pretended, or exacted, neither for the Time past, nor for that to come.

That henceforward the Precedency, and Sitting in the States, and Circles of *Suabia*, and other general or particular Assemblies of the Empire, and some others whatsoever, be alternately in the two Branches of *Baden*, viz. in that of the high, and in that of the low Marquisate of *Baden*; but notwithstanding that Precedency shall remain at present to the Marquis *Frederick* while he lives. With regard to the Barony of *Hobengerostregk*, it has been agreed, that if Madame the Princess of *Baden* verifies the Rights of her Pretensions on the said Barony by authentick Documents, so soon as the Sentence given, Restitution shall be made to her according to the Right and Strength of the said Documents: That the Cognizance of that Cause shall be ended in two Years after the Publication of the Peace. Lastly, that no Actions, Transactions, or Exceptions, either general or particular, nor Clauses comprized in this Treaty of Peace (and by which it might be wanted to derogate to the Strength of this Article) shall be at no Time alledged or admitted by any of the Parties against this special Convention.

The Paragraphs, *the Duke of Croy*, &c. as to the Controversy of *Nassau-Siegen*, &c. to the Counts of *Nassau-Sarrepoint*, &c. the House of *Hanaut*, &c. *Jehan Albert* Count of *Solms*, &c. as likewise, be restored the House of *Solms*, *Hohenfolms*, &c. the Counts of *Isenburg*, &c. the *Rheingraves*, &c. the Widow of the Count *Ernest* of *Sainen*, &c. the Castle and County of *Falckenstein*, &c. be likewise re-established the House of *Waldeck*, &c. *Joachim Ernest* Count of *Ossingen*, &c. likewise the House of *Hohenlo*, &c. *Frederick Louis*, &c. *Ferdinand Charles*, &c. the House of *Rerbac*, &c. the Widow and Heirs of the Count of *Brandenstein*, &c. the Baron *Paul Kevenbiller*, &c. be

sub-understood inserted in this Place Word for Word, as they are set down in the Instrument or Treaty between the Empire and *Sweden*.

That the Contracts, Exchanges, Transactions, Obligations, Treaties, made by Force, or Menaces, and unlawfully extorted from the States and Subjects, as in particular, those of *Spire*, *Weisemberg* on the *Rhine*, *Landau*, *Reitlingen*, *Heilburn* complained of, be in such a Manner cancelled and abolished, so as to be no more enquired after.

That if the Debtors have recovered by Force some Obligations of their Creditors, they shall be returned, and the Actions shall remain on foot.

That the Debts, either by Purchase, Sale, Revenues, or by what Name soever they be called, if they have been violently extorted by one of the Parties who was at War, and the Debtors alledge, and offer to prove, that they have been really paid, shall be no further pursued, till those Exceptions have been previously determined. That the Debtors shall be obliged to produce their Exceptions in the Term of two Years after the Publication of the Peace, under the Penalty of being condemned afterwards to a perpetual Silence.

That the Law Suits which have been hitherto carried on for that Subject, together with the Transactions and Promises made for the Restitution of the Debts, shall be held null, except notwithstanding the Sums of Money which during the War have been exacted honestly, and with a good Intention, by giving them to others, to avoid greater Dangers which threatned the Contributors.

That the Sentences given during the War on Matters purely secular, unless the Defect of the Proceedings be wholly manifest, or cannot be immediately demonstrated, shall not be entirely null; but the Effect thereof shall be suspended, till the Pieces of the Proceedings (if one of the Parties ask the Space of six Months from the Publication of the Peace for the Revision of his Suit) be revised, and weighed in the competent Court, and according to the ordinary or extraordinary Formalities used in the Empire, that thus the former Sentences be either confirmed, or corrected, or cancelled, in case of Necessity.

Likewise, if some royal or particular Fiefs have not been renewed since the Year 1618, nor the Homages payed to whom they belonged, that shall bring no Prejudice, and the Investiture shall be renewed from the Day of the Conclusion of the Peace.

Finally, all and every one of the Officers, as well military Soldiers, as Men of the Gown, and Ecclesiasticks of what Condition they be, and shall have served in one or the other Party among the Allies, or among their Adherents, either in the Gown or in the Sword, from the greatest to the meanest, and from the meanest to the greatest, without Difference or Exception, with their Wives, Children, Heirs, Successors, Servants, as to Persons and Goods, shall be restored on both Sides to the State of Life, Honour, Reputation, Liberty of Conscience, Rights and Privileges, they enjoyed before the said Troubles: That no Prejudice shall be done to their Goods and Persons, that no Action or Accusation shall be brought against them; and again, that under any Pretence whatever, no Pain be inflicted on them, nor any Damage caused to them; all which shall have its full Effect with Regard to those who are not Subjects and Vassals of his Imperial Majesty, nor of the House of *Austria*.

But as to those who are hereditary Subjects and Vassals of the Emperor, and of the House of *Austria*, they shall enjoy the same Amnesty as to their Persons, Lives, Reputation, Honours, and may return in Safety to their antient Country; but they'll be obliged to make it up, and submit themselves to the particular Laws of the Kingdoms and Provinces where they'll reside.

As to other Goods, if they had been lost by Confiscation, or otherwise, before they embraced the Party of the Crown of *France*, or of *Sweden*; though the Plenipotentiaries of *Sweden* have long insisted on, that they should be restored to them; his sacred Imperial Majesty, notwithstanding, being to receive the Law from no Body; and insisting strenuously on that Point; the States of the Empire have not thought proper, that for such a Subject the War should be continued; and therefore, that

that those who have lost their Goods, could not recover them to the Prejudice of their late Masters and Possessors: But that the Goods which have been seized on account of having taken Arms in favour of *France* or of *Sweden*, against the Emperor and the House of *Austria*, should be restored such as they are, and without any Restitution of the Fruits, or Disdamagement.

Moreover that in *Bohemia*, and all the other hereditary Provinces of the Emperor, Right and Justice shall be administered without any Regard, as it is done to the Catholics; to those of the Subjects, Debtors, Heirs, or private Persons of the Confession of *Ausbourg*, if they have some Pretensions, and bring or pursue some Actions to have Justice done them.

But of that general Restitution, shall be excepted the Things which cannot be restored, as Things moveable, Fruits perceived, Things diverted by the Authority of the Chiefs of Party, Things destroyed, ruined, and converted to other Uses for the publick Security, as publick and particular, sacred and profane Buildings, publick or particular Depositions, which have been by Surprise of the Enemy plundered, confiscated, lawfully sold, or voluntarily given.

And forasmuch as the Affair of the Succession of *Ju-liers*, among the interested, if it was not regulated, would one Day cause great Troubles in the Empire, it has been agreed, that the Peace being concluded, it shall be determined without any other Delay, either by the common Way before his Imperial Majesty, or in an amicable Manner, or by other lawful Means.

And whereas, for a greater Tranquility of the Empire, in these general Assemblies of the Peace, an Agreement has been made between the Emperor, the Electoral Princes and States of the Empire, which has been inserted in the Instrument and Treaty of Peace made with the Plenipotentiaries of the Queen and Crown of *Sweden*, with regard to the Differences on the ecclesiastical Goods, and the free Exercise of Religion, it was esteemed expedient to confirm and ratify by this present Treaty, in the same Manner the aforesaid Agreement has been passed between the said Crown of *Sweden*, likewise with those called Reformed, as if we were to relate here Word for Word, the Terms of the said Treaty.

With regard to the Affair of *Hesse-Cassel*, it has been agreed upon as follows.

First, The House of *Hesse-Cassel*, and all the Princes thereof, especially Madame *Emilia-Elizabeth*, Landgravine of *Hesse*, and her Son *William*, and his Heirs, his Ministers, Officers, Vassals, Subjects, Soldiers, and others who are affected to his Service, in what Manner soever, without any Exception, notwithstanding contrary Contracts, Processes, Proscriptions, Declarations, Sentences, Executions, and Transactions; but all those, as likewise Actions and Pretensions, for Cause of Damages and Injuries, as well of the Neuters, as of those who did bear Arms, annulled by the last Amnesty heretofore settled, and referred to the Beginning of the War of *Bohemia*, with a full Restitution (except the hereditary Subjects and Vassals of his Imperial Majesty, and of the House of *Austria*, as mentioned in the Paragraph, *tandem omnes*, &c. but as to those, &c. of all the Benefices; the aforesaid shall partake of all the Advantages flowing from this religious Peace, with the same Right the other States enjoyed them; as mentioned in the Article, which begins *unanimi*, &c.

Secondly, the House of *Hesse-Cassel*, and the Successors thereof, shall keep, and for that Effect shall ask, whenever it shall happen, of his Imperial Majesty, the Investiture, and shall take the Oath of Allegiance for the Abby of *Hitsfeld* with all its Dependencies, as well secular as ecclesiastical, situated within or without its Territory (as the Dannery of *Gellingen*) notwithstanding the Right which the House of *Saxony* has possessed Time out of Mind.

Thirdly, the Right of a direct Lordship on the Jurisdctions and Balliwicks of *Schaumburg*, *Buchemburg*, *Saxenbagem*, *Stattenbagen*, heretofore given and adjudged to the Bishop of *Mindau*, shall belong henceforward to M. *William* present Landgrave of *Hesse*, and to his Successors, in full Possession, in which he shall be disturbed neither by the said Bishop nor by any other; save, notwithstanding, the Transaction made between *Christian*-

Louis Duke of *Brunswick* and *Lunebourg*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and *Philip* Count of *Lippe*. Remaining likewise firm the Convention made between the said Landgrave and the said Count.

Moreover, it has been agreed, that for the Restitution of the Places occupied during this War, and for the Indemnification of Madame the Landgravine of *Hesse* Tutoress, shall be given to her and to her Son, or to his Successors Princes of *Hesse*, the Sum of six hundred thousand Rixdollars, drawn from the Archbishopricks of *Mayence* and *Cologne*, from the Bishopricks of *Paderborn* and *Munster*, and from the Abbey of *Fulde*, which Sum in the Term of nine Months, reckoning from the Day of the Ratification of the Peace, shall be paid at *Cassel*, at the Peril and Expences of the Solvent, and no Exception nor any Pretext shall be used to avoid paying that Sum promised, much less shall any Attachment be laid on it.

And to the End that Madame the Landgravine be the more secure of the Payment, she shall retain at the following Conditions, *Nuys*, *Coesfeldt*, and *Newhaus*, and in those Places Garrisons entirely of her own; but on this Condition, that besides the Officers and other Persons necessary in Garrison, those of the three Places above-mentioned shall not exceed together the Number of 1200 Foot and 100 Horse, leaving to Madame the Landgravine the Disposition of the Infantry and Cavalry, which she shall be pleased to put in each of those Places, and to appoint the Governor.

The Garrisons shall be maintained according to the Order hitherto observed for the Maintenance of the *Hessian* Officers and Soldiers; and the Things necessary for the Preservation of the Forts, shall be furnished by the Archbishopricks and Bishopricks in which the said Fortresses are situated, without any Diminution of the Sum above-mentioned. The Garrisons shall be allowed to exact from those who shall delay too long, or be stubborn, but not beyond what is agreed. The Rights of Superiority and of Jurisdiction, either ecclesiastical or secular, and the Revenues of the said Castle and said Towns shall remain to the Lord Archbishop of *Cologne*.

So soon as after the Ratification of the Peace three hundred thousand Rixdollars shall have been paid to Madame the Landgravine, she shall restore *Nuys*, and retain only *Coesfeldt* and *Newhaus*; so that notwithstanding she shall not throw the Garrison of *Nuys* into *Newhaus*, or ask any Thing for that Evacuation; and the Garrison of *Coesfeldt* shall not exceed the Number of 600 Foot and 50 Horse; nor that of *Newhaus* the Number of 100 Men.

That if in the Term of nine Months the whole Sum was not paid to Madame the Landgravine; not only *Coesfeldt* and *Newhaus* shall remain to her till entire Payment; but likewise shall be paid to her for the Remainder of the Interest, at the Rate of Five per Cent. and in the Balliwicks belonging to the said Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, and Abbey Neighbour of the Principality of *Hesse*, the Treasurers and Receivers shall oblige themselves by Oath to Madame the Landgravine, that of the annual Revenues, they shall pay yearly the Interests of the remaining Sum, notwithstanding the Prohibition of their Masters. That if the Treasurers or Receivers delay the Payment, or divert the Revenues, Madame has Power to force them to pay by all Sorts of Means, without other Damage of the Right of the Lord Proprietor of the Territory.

But as soon as Madame the Landgravine shall have received the whole Sum, with the Interest ever since the Delay, she shall restore the Places above-mentioned, which she detained for a Pledge, the Payment of the Interests shall cease, and the Treasurers and Receivers shall be quit of their Oath. That Delay happening, from which Balliwicks shall be drawn the Revenue to pay the Pension, cannot be determined before the Ratification of the Peace, whereof the Convention shall be of no less Force than is this present Treaty of Peace.

Besides the Places of Security which shall be left to Madame the Landgravine, and which shall be by her restored after the Payment, she shall restore after the Ratification of the Peace, all the Provinces and Bishopricks, as likewise all their Towns, Balliwicks, Boroughs, Fortresses, Forts, and in a word, all the im-

moveable

moveable Goods, and all the Rights by her occupied during these Wars: So notwithstanding, that as well from the Places which she shall keep in Hostage, as from the other to be restored, the said Lady Landgravine shall cause to be transported by her Subjects all the Provisions and Ammunitions, which she had put in them, (for as to those which she found in them when she took them, and which are there still, they shall be left) but likewise all the Fortifications and Ramparts raised during the Occupation of those Places shall be destroyed and demolished as much as possible, without exposing the Towns, Boroughs, and Fortresses, to Invasions and Incursions.

And forasmuch as Madame the Landgravine had asked from the Archbishopricks of *Mayence* and of *Cologne*, and from the Bishopricks of *Paderborn* and *Munster*, and from the Abbey of *Fulde*, some Restitution and Indemnification, and would not that any else should pay for any Thing for that Subject, notwithstanding, according to the Equity and Circumstances of Affairs, the Assembly has thought proper that without Prejudice of the Disposition of the preceding Paragraph, which begins *conventum præterea est, &c. moreover it has been agreed, &c.* the other States besides, which are on this, and on the other Side the *Rhine*, and which since the first of *March* of this present Year, have paid Contribution to the *Hessians*, shall pay their Cotization *pro rata* of their preceding Contribution, to make up the aforesaid Sum with the Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, and Abbey abovementioned, and help the Payment of the Garrisons of the Places of Hostage. That if some have suffered Damages by the Backwardness of the others who must pay their Portion, the Officers or Soldiers of his Imperial Majesty, of the Most Christian King, and of the Landgravine of *Hesse* shall not hinder from forcing those who shall have been froward; and the *Hessian* Soldiers shall not pretend to exempt any body from that Compulsion, to the Prejudice of this Declaration; and those who shall have duly paid their Cotization, shall be free from all Charges.

As to what regards the Differences moved between the Houses of *Hesse-Cassel* and of *Hesse Darmstadt*, with regard to the Succession of *Marburg*, considering that the 14th of *August* of the last Year, they have been determined at *Cassel* with the reciprocal Consent of the Parties interested; it has been found proper, that that Transaction, with the Annexions and Additions as it has been made and signed at *Cassel* by the Parties, should be insinuated in this Assembly, and that in virtue of the present Treaty, it should have the same Vigour as if it was inserted Word for Word, and shall never be infringed by the Parties, nor by any body else, under any Pretence, either of Contract, or by Oath, or any Thing else; but that it must be faithfully kept by all, though perhaps some of the Interested refuse to confirm it.

As likewise the Transaction between the late M. *William* Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and Mess. *Christian* and *Wotrard* Counts of *Waldeck*, made the 11th of *April* 1635, and ratified by M. *George* Landgrave of *Hesse* the 14th of *April* 1648, shall no less obtain a full and perpetual Force, in virtue of this Pacification, and no less oblige all the Princes of the House of *Hesse*, and all the Counts of *Waldeck*.

That the Right of Primogeniture introduced into the House of *Hesse-Cassel*, and into that of *Darmstadt*, and confirmed by his Imperial Majesty, shall remain, and be kept firm and inviolable.

And whereas his Imperial Majesty, on the Complaints made in the Name of the City of *Basil*, and of the whole Helvetick Body, in Presence of his Plenipotentiaries deputed to this present Assembly, with regard to some Proceedings and Executions proceeding from the Imperial Chamber against the said City, and the other united Cantons of *Switzerland*, their Citizens and Subjects, having asked the Advice of the States of the Empire; and whereas they are in no Manner subject to the Tribunals and Judgments of the Empire; it has been found proper to insert the same in this Treaty of Peace, and confirm it: And thus cancel and annul all such Proceedings and Arrets given on that Subject, in what Form soever it has been done.

And to prevent the Differences which would happen

henceforward in the political State, all, and every one of the Electors, Princes, and States of the *Roman* Empire, are so well established, and confirmed in their antient Rights, Prerogatives, Liberties, Privileges, free Exercise of the territorial Rights, as well ecclesiastical as political, Lordships, Regalia, in virtue of the present Transaction, that they cannot, nor ought to be disturbed in it, by any body, and under any Pretence whatsoever.

They shall enjoy, without Contradiction, the Right of Suffrage in all the Deliberations relating to the Affairs of the Empire, especially when it is Question to make or interpret the Laws, declare War, impose a Tribute, raise or lodge Soldiers, make new Fortifications for the Publick, in the Lordships of the States, or reinforce the Garrisons of the Towns; as, likewise, when a Peace or Alliance is to be made, and treat of such other Affairs; none of those Things, or the like, shall be done henceforward, without the Suffrage and Consent of the free Assembly of the States of the Empire: Especially it shall be always free for each of the Estates of the Empire, to make Alliances with Foreigners for their Preservation and Security; provided, notwithstanding, that those Alliances are not against the Emperor and the Empire, nor against the publick Peace, and this Transaction; and they be made without Prejudice of the Oath, whereby each of them is engaged to the Emperor and the Empire.

The Diets of the Empire shall be held in six Months after the Ratification of the Peace; and henceforward, as often as the Utility or Necessity of Affairs shall require it. In the first Diet, the Mistakes of the former Assemblies shall be chiefly remedied; and there shall be treated, likewise, and settled with the common Consent of the States, the Form of the Election of a King of the *Romans*, by a certain Imperial Form and Resolution, the Manner and Form which must be observed to declare one or several States to be at the Ban of the Empire, besides that described elsewhere in the Constitutions of the Empire, that of renewing the Circles, of renewing the Matricule, of restoring the States suppressed, of the Moderation and remitting the Collections of the Empire, of the Reformation of Justice and Policy, of the Tax of Fees in the Chamber of Justice, of the Instruction due and required of the common Deputies for the Utility of the Republick, of the true Office of the Directors in the College of the Empire, and of such other Affairs which could not be debated here.

That as well the general, and particular Diets, the free Cities of the Empire, as the States thereof, shall have a deliberative Vote; and be left to enjoy the Regalia, Foraines, annual Revenues, Liberties, Privileges of Confiscation, to make Collections, and other Rights depending thereof obtained lawfully of the Emperor, and of the Empire, or claimed before these Troubles, possessed and exercised by a long Custom, with a full Jurisdiction within their Walls, and their own Territories; being cancelled, annulled, and henceforward prohibited all the Things called *Repreailles*, Arrests, Shutting of Passages, and other prejudicial Acts, either during the War, under what Pretence they have been hitherto done, and attempted by a private Authority, or undertaken without any Formality of Right. Lastly, all the laudable Customs of the sacred *Roman* Empire, Constitutions, and fundamental Laws shall be, for the future, strictly observed, all the Confusions which the War could have introduced, being dissipated.

And as to the Research of an equitable and convenient Means, whereby the suing of Actions against Debtors, ruined by the Calamities of the War, or overburthen'd with a too great Load of Interests, and whereby those Matters may be terminated with Moderation, to obviate to greater Inconvenience which could result from it, and to provide for the publick Tranquility, his Imperial Majesty shall take Care to take the Advice as well of his Privy-Council, as of the Chamber, and of the States which are to be held, that a certain Constitution may be made on that Matter. And mean while in those Causes carried to the sovereign Courts of the Empire, or to the inferior ones of the States, the Reasons and Circumstances alledged by the Parties, shall be well weighed, that no Body may be oppressed by immoderate Executions.

And

And all that safe, and without Prejudice, to the Constitution of *Alsace*.

And whereas it is important to the Publick, that the Peace being made; the Commerce be again set on Foot; to those Ends it has been agreed, that the Tolls, Forains, as likewise the Abuses of the Bull of *Brabant*, and the Represails and Arrests issued from it, with the foreign Certifications brought, Exactions, Detentions, also the immoderate Charges of the Posts, and other Hindrances of Commerce and Navigation, which have been introduced to its Prejudice, and against the publick Utility, here and there in the Empire, on Occasion of the War, and lately by a private Authority, against the Rights and Privileges, without the Consent of the Emperor, and of the Electors of the Empire, shall be entirely taken off; and the antient Security, Jurisdiction, Usage; such as it was long before these Wars, shall be re established, and inviolably maintain'd in the Provinces, Ports, and Rivers.

The Rights and Privileges of the Territories water'd by Rivers, or otherwise, as the Forains granted by the Emperor and the Electors, especially to the Count of *Oldenburg* at *Wiburg*, and introduced by a long Usage, shall remain in their Vigour and Execution; there shall be a full Liberty of Commerce, secure Passage by Sea and Land; and therefore all, and every one of the Vassals, Subjects, Inhabitants, and Servants of the Allies on both Sides, shall have the Power to go and come, to negotiate and return in Virtue of the present Article, in the same Manner it was permitted before the Troubles of *Germany*. The Magistrates on either Side shall be obliged to protect and defend them against all Sorts of Oppressions, as if they were their own Subjects, without Prejudice to the other Articles of this Convention, and to the Laws and particular Rights of each Place.

And to the End that the said Peace and Amity between the Emperor and the Most Christian King, be the better strengthened, and to provide for the publick Security; with the Consent, Advice, and Will of the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, for the Good of the Peace, it has been agreed as follows.

First, that the high Demain, Rights of Sovereignty and all other Rights on the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*, and on the Cities of that Name, and their Diocese, namely on *Metz*, in the same Manner it belonged heretofore to the Empire, shall henceforward belong to the Crown of *France*, and shall be for ever inviolably incorporated to it, save the Right of Metropolitan, which belongs to the Archbishop of *Triers*.

That *Francis*, Duke of *Lorraine*, be restored into the Possession of the Bishoprick of *Verdun*, as being legitimate Bishop thereof, leaving him to administrate peaceable that Bishoprick and his Abbeyes (late the Right of the King, and of the Particulars) and enjoy his patrimonial Goods and other Rights, wherever they be situated (as far as they are not repugnant to the present Cession) his Privileges, Revenues and Fruits, having previously taken the Oath of Allegiance to the King, and provided he undertakes nothing against the good of the State, and the Service of his Majesty.

Secondly, The Emperor and the Empire resign and transfer to the most Christian King, and his Successors to the Kingdom, the direct Right of Lordship and Sovereignty, and all that belonged, or could heretofore belong to himself, or to the sacred *Roman* Empire on *Pignerol*.

Thirdly, The Emperor, as well in his own proper Name, as in that of the most serene House of *Austria*, as likewise of the Empire, resigns all the Rights, Properties, Demains, Possessions, and Jurisdictions which heretofore belonged as well to himself as to the Empire, and to the Family of *Austria*, in the City of *Brisack*, the *Landgraviat* of the *Higher* and *Lower Alsace*, *Sutgovy*, and the *Provincial Lordship* of the ten *Imperial Towns* situated in *Alsace*, viz. *Haguenau*, *Calmer*, *Schelsstadt*, *Weisemburg*, *Landau*, *Oberenhaim*, *Rosheim*, *Munster* in the Valley of *St. Gregory*, *Kaiserberg*, *Tubinghaim*, and of all the Villages and other Rights depending of the said Mayoralty, transfer them all, and every one of them to the most Christian King, and to the Kingdom of *France*, as likewise the City of *Brisack*, with the Houses of *Hochstat*, *Viederemsing*, *Harlem*, and *Aharron*, belonging to the Com-

monalty of *Brisack*, with all the antient Territories and Banage, without Prejudice, notwithstanding of the Privileges and Immunities granted antiently to the said City by the House of *Austria*.

Item, The said *Landgraviat* of the one and the other *Alsace* and *Sutgovy*, and likewise the *Provincial Mayoralty*, on the ten Towns above-mentioned, and their Dependencies. Item, all their Vassals, Subjects, Men, Cities, Boroughs, Castles, Houses, Fortresses, Forests, Coppices, Mines of Gold, Silver, and other Minerals; Rivers, Brooks, Pastures, in a Word, all the Rights, Regalia, Appurtenances, without any Reservation, shall belong to the most Christian King, and shall be incorporated for ever to the Crown of *France*, with all Sorts of Jurisdiction, and Sovereignty, and the Emperor, and the Empire, the House of *Austria*, or any other, shall in no Manner contradict it; so that no Emperor, nor any Prince of the House of *Austria*, shall ever usurp or even claim Right, and Power on the said Countries, either beyond, or this Side the *Rhine*.

The most Christian King shall be obliged, notwithstanding, to preserve in all and every one of those Countries, the Catholick Religion, as it was maintained there under the Princes of *Austria*, and to expel from them all the Novelties which have been introduced into them, during the War.

Fourthly, with the Consent of the Emperor, and of the whole Empire, the most Christian King, and his Successors to the Kingdom, shall have a perpetual Right to keep a Garrison in the Castle of *Philipsburg* for its Guard, but limited to a convenient Number of Soldiers, not capable to give Umbrage; and just Suspicion to the Neighbours, which Garrison shall be kept at the Expence of the Crown of *France*. Likewise the Passage shall be open to the King, by Water, into the Empire, whenever he'll be pleas'd to put Soldiers into the Place, or to send Convoys into it, or the Things necessary.

However the King shall not pretend any Thing else but the Protection and Passage of his Garrison into the said Castle of *Philipsburg*: But the Property of the Place, all the Jurisdiction, the Possession, all its Emoluments, Fruits, Acquisitions, Rights, Regalia's, Servitudes, Men, Subjects, Vassals, and all which of old being in the Bishoprick of *Spire*, or could have belonged to it, shall belong, and be preserved whole and inviolable to the Chapter of *Spire*, or could have belonged to it, and be preserv'd whole and inviolable to the same Chapter, save the Right of Protection which the King takes.

The Emperor, the Empire, and M. the Archduke of *Cenipont Ferdinand Charles* respectively, absolve the Orders, Magistrates, Officers, and Subjects of each of the said Lordships and Places, of the Oath of Allegiance and other Ties wherewith they were heretofore tied, and affected to the House of *Austria*, and deliver, and put them under the Subjection, Obedience, and Fidelity they ought to promise to the King and to the Kingdom of *France*; and thereby establish the Crown of *France* in a full and just Power over all the said Places; renouncing from this present Time and for ever, the Rights and Pretensions they had on them; which for themselves and their Descendants, the Emperor, the said Archduke and his Brother (because the said Cession regards them particularly) shall confirm by particular Letters, and cause likewise, that the Catholick King of *Spain* shall give the same Renunciation in a due and authentick Form, which shall be done in the Name of the whole Empire, the very Day of the Ratification of this present Treaty.

For a greater Validity of the said Cessions, and Alienations, the Emperor and the Empire, in Virtue of the present Transaction, derogate all and every one of the Decrees, Constitutions, Statutes, and Customs of the Emperors, their Predecessors, and of the said *Roman* Empire, even those which have been confirmed by Oath, or which shall be confirmed hereafter, namely, to that Article of the imperial Chapter, whereby all Alienation of the Goods and Rights of the Empire is forbidden; and by the same Means they exclude for ever, all Exceptions, on what Right and Title soever they may be founded.

Moreover, it has been agreed that the Ratification hereunder made by the Emperor and the Empire, shall be ratified anew, in the next Diet, the Alienations,

nations of the said Lordships and Rights; and therefore, if in the Chapter of the Emperor a Paction be made, or it is proposed hereafter in the Diets, to recover the Goods and Rights of the Empire, lost or diverted, it shall not include the Thing above mentioned, as having been lawfully, and with the common Advice of the States, for the good of the publick Tranquility, transported to another Demain, therefore it is found proper that they be erased from the Matricule of the Empire.

Immediately after the Restitution of *Benfeldt*, the Fortifications of that Place, and of the Fort of *Rhineau* next to it, shall be demolished, as likewise of *Tabern* in *Alsace*, of the Castle of *Hobemburg*, and of *Nieuburg* on the *Rhine*, and shall be no Soldiers in Garrison, in any of those Places.

The Magistrates and the Inhabitants of the said Town of *Tabern*, shall observe an exact Neutrality, and the Troops of the King may pass freely through it, whenever it shall be required; no Forts shall be raised on the Borders of the *Rhine*, this Side, from *Basil* to *Philipsburg*, and no Means used to divert the Course of the River on either Side.

As to what regards the Debts the Chamber of *Ensisheim* is burthened with, M. the Archduke *Ferdinand Charles* shall undertake, with that Part of the Province which the most Christian King must restore to him, to pay a Third thereof without Distinction, whether they be Obligations or Mortgages, provided they be in an authentick Form, and have a particular Mortgage, whether on the Provinces to be restored, or on those which must be resigned, or if there is none on the Books of Accounts answering to those of the Receipts of the Chamber of *Ensisheim*, till the Year 1632 expired, the said Parts having been put among the Debts of the Commonality, and the Interest having been to be paid by the said Chamber, and the Archduke making that Payment, shall acquit the King of his Portion.

The most Christian King shall restore to the House of *Austria*, and in particular to M. the Archduke *Ferdinand Charles* the eldest, formerly the Son of the Archduke *Leopold*, four Forest Towns, *Rheinfelden*, *Sekingen*, *Lauffenberg* and *Waltshutten*, with all the Territories and Bailliwickes, Houses, Villages, Mills, Woods, Forests, Vassals, Subjects, and all the Appurtenances which are on this Side, and beyond the *Rhine*.

Also, the County of *Hawenstein*, the black Forest, the higher and lower *Brissgau*, and the Towns seated in it, belonging to the House of *Austria*, viz. *Newburg*, *Friburg*, *Endingen*, *Kendingen*, *Waldkirch*, *Willengen*, *Brezenlingen*, with all their Territories, as likewise, with all the Monasteries, Abbies, Palaces, Deaneries, Knight-hoods, Commanderies, with all the Bailliwickes, Baronies, Castles, Fortresses, Counties, Barons, Nobles, Vassals, Men, Subjects, Rivers, Brooks, Forests, Woods, and all the Regalia's, Rights, Jurisdictions, Fiefs and Patronages, and all the other Things belonging to the sovereign Right of Territory, and to the Patrimony of the House of *Austria* in all that Tract of Land. Also, all the *Ortnavian*, with the imperial Cities of *Offenburg*, *Gengenbach*, *Cellabach* and *Harmerbach*, inasmuch as the said Lordships depend of that of *Ortnavian*, so that no King of *France* shall ever, or ought to pretend to usurp any Right or Power on the said Countries, situated on both Sides the *Rhine*, in such a Manner, notwithstanding that the Princes of *Austria* shall acquire no new Right upon them, that henceforward on the two Shores of the *Rhine*, and to the adjacent Provinces, the Commerce and transport be free to the Inhabitants, especially that the Navigation of the *Rhine* be free; and that none of the Parties shall be permitted to hinder the Boats to go up and down, to detain, stop, or molest them under what Pretence soever, except the sole Inspection and Visit, which is usually made of the Merchandizes; and it shall not be allowed to impose on the *Rhine*, new and uncommon Tolls, right of Forain, Duties, and other such Exactions; but both Parties shall rest contented with the Tributes, Duties, and common Tolls, before these Wars under the Government of the Princes of *Austria*.

That all the Vassals, Subjects, Citizens, and Inhabitants as well this Side, as beyond the *Rhine*, who were Subjects of the House of *Austria*, or relieved im-

mediately from the Empire, or acknowledged for Superiors the other Orders of the Empire, notwithstanding all Confiscation, Transport, Donation, made by any Captain or General whatever of the *Swedish* or confederated *Militia*, since the taking of the Province, and ratified by the most Christian King, or discerned of a particular Movement; that immediately after the Publication of the Peace, the aforesaid Vassals shall be restored to the Possession of their immoveable and stable Goods, either corporal or incorporeal, Farms, Castles, Villages, Lands, Possessions, without any Exception of Meliorations, Expences, and Computation of Charges, that the modern Possessors could alledge, and without Restitution of the moveable Goods and Fruits perceived.

As to the Confiscation of Things which consist in Weight, Number and Measure, Exactions, Concussions, and Extortions made during the War, their Repetition is entirely canceled, and taken off on both Sides, to avoid all Law-suits and Chicanneries.

That the most Christian King be obliged to leave not only the Bishops of *Strasbourg* and of *Basil*, and the City of *Strasbourg*, but, likewise, the other Estates or Orders, Abbots of *Murbach* and *Luderen*, who are in the one and the other *Alsace*, relieving immediately from the *Roman* Empire, the Abbess of *Andratian*, the Monastery of *St. Benedict* in the Vale *St. George*, the *Palatines* of *Luzelstein*, the Counts and Barons of *Hanau*, *Fleckenstein*, *Oberstein*, and all the Nobility of the lower *Alsace*. Also, the said imperial Cities which depend of the Mayorly of *Hagenau*, in the Liberty and Possession they have hitherto enjoyed of relieving immediately from the *Roman* Empire; so that he shall no more pretend any royal Authority over them, but content himself with the Rights which regards the House of *Austria*, and which by this present Treaty of Pacification are yielded to the Crown of *France*. So that, notwithstanding, by that present Declaration it is not meant to derogate in any thing to the Right of Sovereign Demain above granted.

Likewise the most Christian King for the Compensation of the Parts yielded to him, shall cause to be paid to the said Lord Archduke *Ferdinand Charles*, three Millions of Livres Tournois in the Years next following, 1649, 1650, 1651, at the Feast of *St. John Baptist*, paying every Year a Third of the said Sums at *Basil* in good Money, in the Hands of the Directors of the said Archduke.

Besides the said Sum, the Most Christian King shall be obliged to take upon him two Thirds of the Debts of the Chamber of *Ensisheim* without Distinction, whether Obligations or Mortgage, provided they be in due and authentick Form, and have a special Mortgage either on the Provinces to be resigned, or on those to be restored, or if there be none, provided they are found on the Books of Account answering to those of the Receipts of the Chamber of *Ensisheim* to the Year 1632, the said Parties having been placed among the Debts of the Commonalty, and the Interests thereof to have been paid by the said Chamber; and the King making that Payment shall hold the Archduke quit for the like Portion. And to the End that this may be quietly executed, Commissaries shall be appointed on both Sides, immediately after the signing the Treaty of Peace, who before the first Payment shall agree among themselves which Debts each shall pay.

The Most Christian King shall cause to be restored faithfully, and without Delay to the said Archduke, all the Papers, Documents, of what Nature they be, belonging to the Lands which must be restored to him, as many as there will be found in the Chancery, and Government of the Chamber of *Ensisheim* or *Brisack*, or in the Archives of the Officers, Towns and Castles occupied by his Troops.

That if such Documents be publick, concerning it common and by *indivis* the Lands granted to the King, authentick Copies thereof shall be given to the Archduke whenever he'll ask for it.

Item, lest the Differences moved between the Lords Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, with regard to *Montferrat*, defined and terminated by the Emperour *Ferdinand II.* and *Louis XIII.* Fathers of their Majesties, should at any Time be renewed, to the Damage of Christendom, it

has been agreed, that the Treaty of *Cheras* of the 6th of April 1631, with the Execution thereof which has followed, shall for ever remain firm in its Articles, except notwithstanding *Pignerol* and its Appurtenances, whereof it has been defined between his Most Christian Majesty and the Lord Duke of *Savoy*; and of which the King of *France* and his Kingdom has made an Acquisition by particular Treaties, which shall remain firm and stable in what regards the Transport or Cession of *Pignerol* and its Appurtenances. But if it was contained something in the said particular Treaties which could disturb the Peace of the Empire, and excite new Troubles in *Italy*, after the present War waged in that Province shall be ended, it shall be held null, and of no Effect; the said Cession notwithstanding remain entire, and likewise the other Conditions agreed upon, as well in favour of the Duke of *Savoy* as of the Most Christian King. Therefore their Imperial and Most Christian Majesties promise reciprocally, that in all the other Things concerning the aforesaid Treaty of *Cheras*, and the Execution thereof, particularly *Albe*, *Trin*, their Territories, and the other Places, shall never contravene to it, either directly or indirectly, by Way of Right, or by way of Fact; and that they'll not succour nor favour the Contravenant; but rather, of their common Authority, endeavour to prevent its being violated under any Pretence whatever. Considering that the Most Christian King has declared, that he was much obliged to forward in all Manners the Execution of the said Treaty, even to maintain it with Force of Arms, to the End, above all Things, that the said Lord Duke of *Savoy*, notwithstanding the preceding Clauses, be always left and maintained in the peaceable Possession of *Trin* and *Albe*, and of the other Places which have been granted and assigned to him by the said Treaty, and by the Investiture, which is a Consequence thereof, of the Duchy of *Montferrat*.

And to extirpate and root out all Differences and Disputes between those same Dukes, his Most Christian Majesty shall cause to be paid to the said Lord Duke of *Mantua* 494500 Crowns, which the late King of glorious Memory *Louis XIII.* had promised to pay to the Duke of *Mantua*, to the Discharge of the Duke of *Savoy*; and thereby he'll ease the Duke of *Savoy*, his Heirs and Successors, of that Obligation, and save him from all Demand which could be made to him of the said Sum by the said Duke of *Mantua*, or his Successors; so that henceforward on that Subject, and under that Pretence, the Duke of *Savoy*, nor his Heirs and Successors, shall receive any Vexation or Trouble from the Duke of *Mantua*, or his Heirs and Successors; who from this Time, with the Authority and Consent of his Imperial, and Most Christian Majesty, in virtue of this solemn Treaty of Peace, shall have no Action in that Cause against M. the Duke of *Savoy*, his Heirs and Successors.

His Imperial Majesty, after he has been modestly required of it, shall grant to M. the Duke of *Savoy*, with the Investiture of the ancient Fiefs and States, which the late *Ferdinand II.* of glorious Memory, had granted to the Duke of *Savoy*, *Victor Amadeus*, the Investiture, likewise, of the Places, Lordships, States, and all other Rights of *Montferrat*, with the Appurtenances, which in virtue of the said Treaty of *Cheras*, and of the Execution which has followed it, have been relinquished to him; as likewise of the Fiefs of *Montferrat* the New, of *Sine*, of *Moncheri*, and of the *Castellet*, with their Appurtenances, according to the Treaty of Acquisition made by the said Duke *Victor Amadeus*, the 13th of October 1634, and conformably to the Concessions or Permissions, and Approbations of his Imperial Majesty; with a Confirmation likewise of all the Privileges, which till now have been granted to the Duke of *Savoy*, whenever M. the Duke of *Savoy* shall require it, or ask for it.

Item, it has been agreed that the Duke of *Savoy*, his Heirs and Successors, shall in no Manner be troubled and researched by his Imperial Majesty for the Right of Sovereignty they have on the Fiefs of *Rocheveran*, *Olme*, and *Cesoles*, and on their Appurtenances, which depend in no Manner of the *Roman* Empire; and that the Donations and Investitures of the said Fiefs being revoked and cancelled, the Lord Duke shall be maintained in the

Possession thereof as the true Lord; and if wanted shall be reintegrated in it; for the same Reason his Vassal the Count of *Verrue* shall be re-established and reintegrated, as to the same Fiefs of *Olme* and *Cesoles*, and in the Possession of a fourth Part of the *Rocheveran*, and of its Revenues.

Item, it has been agreed, that his Imperial Majesty shall cause to be restored to the Counts *Clement* and *Jehan* Sons, and to the Grandsons of the Count *Charles Cocheran* issued from his Son *Octavian*, the whole Fief of the *Roche Arazy*, with its Appurtenances and Dependencies, without any Obstacle.

Likewise the Emperor shall declare, that in the Investiture of the Duchy of *Mantua*, are comprized the Castles of *Reggioli* and of *Lazzare*, with their Territories and Dependencies, the Possession thereof the Duke of *Guastalla* shall be obliged to restore to the Duke of *Mantua*, reserving to himself notwithstanding, the Right for 6000 Crowns of yearly Pension which he claims; with regard to it, he'll be intitled to plead before his Imperial Majesty against the Duke of *Mantua*.

So soon as this Treaty of Peace shall have been subscribed by Mess. the Plenipotentiaries and Embassadors, all Hostilities shall cease; and all Parties shall go immediately about executing what has been agreed upon; and to the End that it may be better and more quickly executed, the next Day after the Subscription, the Publication of the Peace shall be solemnly made, and in the usual Forms through the Streets of *Munster* and of *Ofna-brug*; that after it is known in those two Places that the Treaty of Peace is signed, Couriers shall be immediately dispatched to the Generals of the Armies to inform them that the Peace is concluded, that those Generals may appoint a Day to publish the Peace in their Armies; and command to all and every one of the Officers of War and Justice, and to the Governors of the Forts, to abstain henceforward from all Sorts of Acts of Hostility; and if it happens that after the said Publication any Attempt is made, and something is changed by way of Fact, that shall be immediately repaired and restored to its former State.

The Plenipotentiaries on all Sides shall agree among themselves, between the Time of the Conclusion, and of the Ratification of the Peace, of the Manner, Time, and Securities which shall be taken for the Restitution of the Places, and for dismissing the Troops, so that both Parties may be sure that all Things agreed upon are sincerely executed.

The Emperor in particular shall cause to be published throughout the Empire, and command seriously all those who are obliged to restore or do any Thing else, to obey quickly, between this and the Time of the Ratification of the present Treaty, enjoining as well to the Directors as to the Governors of the Militia of the Circles, to accelerate and accomplish the Restitution due to every one, according to the Order of the Execution, and of these Conventions. And in the Edicts this Clause shall be inserted, that because the Directors of the Circle, or the Governors of the Militia of the Circles, on account of their own proper Restitution, are esteemed less capable of that Execution; in that Case, and likewise if the Directors and Governors of the Militia of the Circles refuse their Commission, the Directors of the neighbouring Circle, or the Governors of the Militia of the Circles shall do that Function, and charge themselves with the Execution of the Research of the Restitutions in the other Circles.

That if any of those to whom Restitution is to be made, think that the Commissaries of the Emperor are necessary to the Execution of some Restitution (which is left to their Choice) Commissaries shall be given to them, in that Case. To the End that the Things transacted meet with less Obstruction, it shall be permitted as well to those who restitute, as to those to whom Restitution is made, immediately after the signing of the Peace, to name two or three Commissaries on each Side, among whom his Imperial Majesty shall chuse one of each Religion, and one of each Party, to whom he shall enjoin to execute without Delay all that must be done in virtue of the present Transaction. That if those who are to make Restitution have neglected to name Commissaries, his Imperial Majesty shall chuse one or two at his Pleasure

(minding,

mindings, notwithstanding, every where the Diversity of Religion, and chusing an equal Number of each) from among those named by him to whom Restitution is to be made, to whom he shall give the Commission of executing, notwithstanding all Exceptions made to the contrary. Lastly, that those who claim the Restitutions, shall cause to be notified to those who are to restore, immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace, the Contents of these Articles.

Lastly, that all and every one, whether States, or Commonalties, private Persons, Clerks, or Seculars, who, in Virtue of this Transaction, and of these general Rules, or by the express and special Disposition of some of them, are obliged to restore, relinquish, give, do, or execute something, be obliged immediately after the Publication of the Edicts of the Emperor, and the Notification of restoring made, to restore, relinquish, give, do, or execute without any Delay, or evasive Opposition, whether general or particular, contained in the preceding Amnesty, without any Exception, or any Fraud, that to which they are obliged.

No Body, either State or Soldier, especially of the Garrisons, or any Body else shall oppose the Execution of the Directors and Governors of the Militia of the Circles, or of the Commissaries; but rather lend a helping Hand to the Execution, and the said Executors shall be allowed to compel those, who in what Manner soever endeavour to hinder the Execution.

Afterwards, that the Prisoners on all Sides, without Distinction of the Gown, or of the Sword, shall be set at Liberty, in the Manner agreed on, or it shall be agreed by the General of the Armies, with the Approbation of his Imperial, and Most Christian Majesty.

The Restitution made according to the Articles of the Amnesty, and of the Grievances, and the Prisoners being deliver'd, all the Soldiery of the Garrisons, as well of the Emperor, and of his Allies, as of the Most Christian King, and of *Madame* the Landgravine of *Hesse*, and of their Associates and Adherents, or by whosoever it has been put, shall be withdrawn at the same Time, without any Damage, Exception, or Delay, from the Imperial Towns, and all the other Places, which are to be restored.

That even the Places, Towns, Cities, Boroughs, Villages, Castles, Fortresses, and Forts, which have been occupied, and detained, as well in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, as in the other Territories of the Emperor, and Hereditary Countries of the House of *Austria*, as in the other Circles of the Empire, by the Armies of both Sides, or which have been restored by Composition, be restored without Delay to their former and legitimate Possessors and Lords, whether they be mediately or immediately States of the Empire, ecclesiastick, or secular, the free Nobility of the Empire included; and they shall be left in their free Disposition; whether according to the Right and the Custom, or according to the Vigour which this present Treaty must have; notwithstanding all Donations, Infeodations, Concessions (unless they have been made to somebody, with the free Will of some State) Obligations for Redemption of Prisoners, or to prevent Plunders and Burnings, or such other Titles, acquired to the Prejudice of the former and legitimate Masters and Possessors; ceasing, likewise, all Contracts and Pactions, and all Exceptions contrary to the said Restitution, and all which must be consider'd as void. Save, notwithstanding, the Things whereof in the preceding Articles, with Regard to the Satisfaction of their Imperial and Most Christian Majesty, it has been otherwise disposed, as likewise some Concessions and Compensations, made in Proportion to the Electors and Princes of the Empire. And that the Mention of the Catholick King, and the Name of the Duke of *Lorraine*, qualified such in the Treaty between the Emperor and *Sweden*, and less still the Title of Landgrave of *Alsace*, given to the Emperor, shall bring no Prejudice to the Most Christian King. That what has been granted, likewise, with Regard to the Satisfaction of the *Swedish* Troops, shall have no Effect with Respect to his Majesty.

And that Restitution of the Places occupied as well by his Imperial Majesty, as by the Most Christian King, and the Companions, Allies, and Adherents, on either

Side, shall be made reciprocally and faithfully.

That the Archives, Papers, and Documents, and the other Things moveable, as likewise the Canons which were found at the Time of the taking of those Places, and which are found yet in Nature, shall be restored. But it shall be permitted to the aforesaid to carry along with them, and caused to be carried off those which after the taking of the Places have been put into them, and which have been taken in Battles, with all the Train, and what depends thereof.

That the Subjects of each Place be obliged, when the Soldiers and Garrisons shall evacuate it, to furnish them without Money, the Waggons, Horses, and Boats, with the Provisions necessary to carry all Things to the Places appointed in the Empire; which Waggons, Horses, and Boats, the Governors of the Garrisons, and the Captain of the Soldiers, who go away, shall restore without Fraud or Deceit. That the Subjects of the States shall ease one another of that Trouble of transporting from one Territory into another, till they be arrived to the Places appointed in the Empire. And it shall not be allowed to the Governors or other Officers to carry along with them the Waggons, Horses, and Boats lent, as well in general, as in particular, nor any other Things they have been accommodated with, without the Limits of those to whom they belong, and less still without those of the Empire.

That the Places which shall have been restored, as well maritime of the Frontier, or in the Heart of the Country, be henceforward, and forever free from all Garrisons, introduced into them during the Wars, and left (without Prejudice to other Things of the Right of every one) in the free Disposition of their Masters.

That it shall not turn hereafter, nor at present, to the Damage and Prejudice of any City, to have been taken and kept by one or the other of the Parties; but that all, and each of them, with all and each of their Citizens and Inhabitants shall enjoy as well the general Benefit of the Amnesty, as the others of the Pacification; and that, besides, all the ecclesiastical and secular Rights and Privileges they have enjoyed before these Troubles, shall be preserved to them safe (notwithstanding the Right of Sovereignty, and what depends thereof) and to the Lord of each of them.

Lastly, that the Troops and Armies of all those who wage War in the Empire, shall be disbanded and dismissed, each sending into his own Dominions so much of them, only, as each Party shall judge necessary for his own Security.

The Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, of the King, and of the States of the Empire, promise respectively, and one to the other, to cause to be approved and ratified by the Emperor, the Most Christian King, and the Electors of the sacred *Roman* Empire, and by the Princes and States, the Peace which has been concluded in this Manner, and with a common Consent, and to procure infallibly, that the solemn Acts of Ratification be presented at *Munster*, and exchanged mutually, and in good Form, in the Term of eight Weeks, reckoning from the Day of the Subscription.

To render all, and every one of these Articles more firm, this present Transaction shall serve of perpetual Law, and of a Pragmatick Sanction of the Empire, inserted hereafter in the same Manner like the other fundamental Laws of the Empire, namely, at the next Recess of the Empire, and at the Capitulation of the Emperor, obliging no less the absent than the present, the Ecclesiasticks than the Laicks, whether they be of the States of the Empire or not; and as a Rule prescrib'd, and which shall be perpetually followed, as well by the Imperialists, as by the Counsellors and Officers of the other Lords, as by all the Judges, and Assessors of the Courts of Justice.

No Canon or civil Law, no general or particular Decree of the Councils, no Privileges, no Indulgences, no Edicts, no Commissions, Inhibitions, Mandements, Decrees, Rescripts, Suspensions, and Rights, Sentences in any Time given, Adjudications, Capitulations of the Emperor, and other Rules and Exemptions of religious Orders, Protestations past, or to come, Contradictions, Appeals, Investitures, Transactions, Oaths, Renunciations, Contracts, and less still the Edict of 1629, or the

Transaction of *Prague*, with its Appendices, or the Concordates with the Popes, or the *Interims* of the Year 1548, or any other political Statutes, or ecclesiastical Decrees, Dispenses, Absolutions, or any other Exceptions, under any Pretence or Colour they can be invented, shall be alledged, understood or admitted against this Transaction, nor against any of the Articles and Clauses thereof; and there shall never be undertaken in any Place, any Law-Suits, or Commissions, either inhibitory or other, for a Demand or Possession against this Transaction.

That he who shall have contravened either by his Help, or by his Advice to this publick Transaction and Peace, or shall have resisted to the Execution thereof, and to the aforesaid Restitution, and shall have endeavoured after the Restitution lawfully made, and without Excess, in the Manner heretofore agreed upon, without a lawful Knowledge of the Cause, and out of the ordinary Execution of Justice, aggravate anew the Thing restored, whether ecclesiastical or secular, shall incur the Penalty of Infringer of the Peace, and according to the Constitutions of the Empire, it shall be decreed against him, that the Restitution and Reparation of the Wrong done, may have its full Effect.

That notwithstanding the Peace concluded, shall have its full Effect; and that all the Covenantors of this Transaction be obliged to defend and protect all and every one of the Laws of this Peace against any Body, without Distinction of Religion; and if it should happen that some Point thereof has been violated, the Offender shall be admonished, especially he that offends it by Way of Fact, submitting the Cause to an amicable Composition, or to the ordinary Proceedings of Justice.

However, if in the Space of three Years, the Differences cannot be terminated by any of those Means, all and every one of the Partakers to this Transaction, shall be obliged to join with the Party oppressed, and help him with Advices, and Forces to repel the Injury, previously informing the Oppressed, that pacifick and judiciary Means have availed nothing. Without Prejudice, notwithstanding, of the Jurisdiction of every one, and of the Administration of Justice, competent to the Laws of each Prince and States. And it shall not be allowed to any State of the Empire, to pursue his Right by Force and Arms; but if it has happen'd, or should happen hereafter some Dispute, each shall try the Way of common Justice, and whoever acts otherwise shall be held for an Infringer of the Peace. That whatever is defined by the Sentence of the Judge, shall be put in Execution without Distinction of State, according to the Laws of the Empire relating to the Execution of Arrests and Sentences.

And to the End that the publick Peace be the better preserved entire, the Circles shall be renewed, and so soon as Beginnings of Troubles are perceived, what has been determined in the Constitutions of the Empire relating to the Execution and Preservation of the publick Peace, shall be observed.

And whenever on some Occasion any body shall want to make Soldiers pass through the Territories of another, that Passage shall be made at the Expences of him to whom the Soldiers belong; and that without oppressing or in any manner doing any Damage and Prejudice to those through whose Territories the Soldiers pass. In a Word, all that is determined and ordered in the imperial Constitutions relating to the Preservation of the publick Peace, shall be strictly observed.

In this present Treaty of Peace are included those, who before the Exchange of the Ratification, or in six Months afterwards, shall be named with a common Consent by either Party. And mean while, with a common Accord, is comprised in it the Republick of *Venice* as Mediatrix of this Treaty. It shall not prejudice what shall be done, or is done at present by the Arms of the Dukes of *Savoy*, and of *Modena* in *Italy*, in favour of the Most Christian King.

In witness of all and every one of those Things, and for a greater Force, the Embassadors of their Imperial and Most Christian Majesty; and the Deputies in the Name of all the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, sent by the said Empire, particularly to this Act (in virtue of what was concluded the 13th of *October* of

the Year above-mentioned, and which was given to the Embassador of *France* the same Day of the Subscription under the Seal of the Chancellor of *Mayence*) viz.

For the Elector of *Mayence*, M. *Nicolas George* of *Reigersberg*, Knt. and Chancellor.

For the Elector of *Bavaria*, M. *Jehan Adolphus Krebs*, Privy-Counsellor.

For the Elector of *Brandenburg*, M. *Jehan Count de Sain and Wigenstein*, Lord of *Homburg* and *Vallendar*, Privy-Counsellor.

In the Name of the *House of Austria*, M. *George Ulric*, Count of *Wolkenstein*, Counsellor of the Court of the Emperor.

M. *Cornelius Gobelius*, Counsellor of the Bishop of *Bamberg*.

M. *Sebastian William Mul*, Privy-Counsellor of the Bishop of *Wirtzburg*.

M. *John Ernest*, Counsellor of the Court of the Duke of *Bavaria*.

M. *Wolfgang Conrad de Tumbsteirn*, Counsellor of the Court of *Saxony*, *Altenburg* and *Coburg*.

M. *Augustus Carprovijs*, Counsellor of *Saxe Altenburg* and *Coburg*.

M. *John Fromhold*, Privy-Counsellor of the House of *Brandenburg*, *Culmbac* and *Onolzbac*.

M. *Henry Laugenbeck*, J. C. Privy-Counsellor of the House of *Brunswick Lunenburg*.

M. *James Lampadius*, J. C. Privy-Counsellor of the Branch of *Culember*, and Vice-Chancellor, in the Name of the Counts of the Bench of *Wetteravian*.

M. *Matthew Wefembaus*, J. C. and Counsellor, in the Name of the one and the other Bench.

M. *Marc Otto* of *Straßbourg*; M. *John James Wolff* of *Ratisbon*, M. *David Gloxinius* of *Lubec*, and M. *Louis Christopher Kres* of *Kresenstein*, all Senators, Syndics, Counsellors and Advocates of the Republick of *Nuremberg*.

Who with their own Hands and Seals have signed and sealed this present Treaty of Peace. And which said Deputies of the Orders have promised to give the Ratifications of their Superiors in the Time prefixt, in the Manner agreed upon; leaving the Liberty to the other Plenipotentiaries of the States to sign, if they judge proper, and to procure the Ratifications of their Superiors. And on this Condition, and under this Law, that by the Subscription of the said Embassadors and Deputies, all and every one of the other States who shall abstain from signing and ratifying the present Treaty, shall be no less obliged to maintain and observe what is contained in this present Treaty of Pacification, than if they had really signed and ratified it; and no Protestation or Contradiction of the Council of Direction of the *Roman Empire* against the Subscription of the said Deputies, shall be good or received.

Done and concluded at *Munster* in *Westphalia* the 24th of *October* 1648.

I observe in this Treaty, 1. That though the *Swedes* and the *Dutch* had made each their separate Treaty with the Enemies; the King of *France* was still in a Condition to support the just Claims of his faithful Allies, and to force the Emperor and the Empire to do them Justice; and that he espoused their Interests with more Warmth than he did his own.

2. That he procured to the *Palatine House* that Satisfaction which she could have expected, had she even been in a Condition to obtain it by Force of Arms, which was not her Case then, since she had neither Forces nor Money; and that she was indebted to *France* alone, for the Restitution of Part of her Dominions and the Erection thereof into an eighth Electorate, which *England* had never been capable to compass, notwithstanding all the Attempts she had made towards it, either by Negotiations or open Force.

3. That the Most Christian King supported the Interests of the Protestants of *Germany*, whom the House of *Austria* wanted to crush; though other Protestants are always ready to espouse the Interests of the House of *Austria* against *France*, which shews, that it is rather by a Motive of Jealousy or Hatred than of Religion; tho' at the same Time they have almost always smarted for it; since for one prosperous War, they have met with three destructive and unprosperous ones.

4. That

4. That that excellent and most virtuous Princess, *Amelia Elizabeth*, Landgravine of *Hesse*, who was justly stiled the Christian Heroine of the Age, refused always with a Resolution, which could not be too much admired, to depart from her Alliance with *France*, though she saw by the Defection of the *Swedes*, the Dominions of the Prince her Son exposed to the greatest Danger of being attacked with Advantage by the Enemies; which Generosity and Magnanimity should never be blotted out of the *French Annals*.

5. That though *Alsace* was yielded to the King of *France* in the most solemn Manner, he restored to the House of *Austria* a far greater Tract of Land, which he had taken from her by his victorious Arms; which were still in a Condition to make new Conquests when he consented to give Peace to Christendom by this Treaty, whereby he gained much less than he could have reasonably expected: The House of *Austria* having seldom been capable to cope with *France* alone, even when her Forces were joined with those of *Spain*, and of the whole Empire, and even sometimes with those of the rest of *Europe*. Witness the War before the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, and that before the Treaty of *Ryswick*.

I'll conclude this Treatise by an excellent Memorial presented to Don *Pedro* Prince of *Portugal*, on account of his Mediation, which he had offered to their Most Christian and Catholick Majesties, for the Peace of *Nimeguen*, which being accepted by *France*, was referred by *Spain* to the Consent of her Allies; in which Memorial is exposed all the Craft and Machiavelian Politicks of the *Spaniards* of those Days. That Memorial is as follows:

Advice given to the Prince Don Pedro, by one of his Ministers on the State of Portugal, in the Year 1677.

While your Highness is pleased to communicate to his Council his glorious Intentions for the Peace and Tranquility of Christendom; the loyal Passion of a Minister obliges me to interrupt the Course of his noble Thoughts, to engage your Highness to fix them for a Moment on the present State of *Portugal*, and on the Advantages he could procure to it in the Conjunction which Heaven seems to offer him, by an Effect of that antient Protection, whereof it has so often felt the Effects.

But, my Lord, as the Love for my Country, and my inviolable Affection for the Service of your Highness, are the only Motives which make me take this Liberty; I hope that they'll gain your Approbation; and that at the Example of the most august Senate of the Earth, your Highness shall give Leave to those who enter your Council, not only to give their Advice on the Things proposed, but to represent, with Respect, all that their Zeal can inspire them with the most advantageous and useful for the Good of the State.

Your Highness wants to build a Temple to the universal Peace, and it is a Work worthy his Piety, and that of his glorious Ancestors. But before it can be expected to work with Success to so glorious an Enterprize, it is necessary to take a last Resolution on an Affair so often debated, and whereof all the great Designs you can form must be a Sequel.

It is to know whether *Portugal* in its present Condition ought to keep the Peace with *Castile*, or declare War against it?

Those who support their Party with the specious Name of Peace make Use of two Reasons.

The first is that of Justice, and of the publick Faith, founded on a solemn Treaty of Peace, which your Highness seems obliged to observe, and cause to be observed in all its Parts, unless he wants to wound, at the same Time, Justice, his Conscience, and the Oaths he has made.

The second is founded on the general Good of that Peace, which to obtain, so much Blood and Money have been lavished; on the Repose it must procure to his Subjects; on the Cessation of the Violences and Disorders the War necessarily drags after her; and on the other Advantages which are the ordinary Fruits of Peace.

Those are, my Lord, their most solid Reasons: But I hope to let your Highness know the Nullity thereof, and that they are to be of no Weight, considering the present State of the Kingdom; that all the Motives

alleged to support them (though they could be of a great Weight in other Occasions) have neither Force nor Foundation with regard to the Peace we keep with *Castile*, and that they are neither to be admitted nor approved; but rather to be feared as manifest Dispositions to our Destruction.

I do not pretend to answer a great many others which having but the single Appearance, and no other Foundation but the Interests of some private Persons, deserves no Attention, when the publick Good is at stake; whereof, notwithstanding, we should fear the Surprise, because the Venom they contain is much more dangerous than it is hidden.

I believe, that according to the most sacred Laws, and established by the common Consent of Men, your Highness can break the Peace made with *Castile*, and declare War to it, without offending Justice, or wronging your Conscience, that Treaty being but a Shadow of Peace. In effect, we do not see the Execution of the Articles thereof which are the most important to your Crown; but, on the contrary, see the Infraction of the most holy and most essential of them; and if there be any Engagement for your Highness in Treaty, it is only that of revenging the Injustice which has been done to you in the Execution thereof.

The first Injustice done by the *Castilians* is the Usurpation of the Name of King of *Portugal*, whereby they have attacked the Right of his Majesty: Which is justified by the Instances of the Marquis d'*Aronches* your Highness's Embassador at *Madrid*; which were followed by the Expedition of a Decree, whereby in Consideration of the Peace made with *Portugal*, it was forbidden to give the Catholick King in the publick Acts, the Quality of King of *Portugal*. But that Command being not observed in all the Tribunals of *Madrid* (as the Marquis de *Gouvea*, proved it by the Representation of a Judgment of the royal Council, in which the King of *Castile* was still called King of *Portugal*) he asked for the Execution thereof, and that those who had not obeyed should be severely punished. They contented themselves with answering him, that the necessary Orders should be given for the Execution of that Decree for the future, wherefore those who had violated it were forgiven. Which notwithstanding the Council of *Castile* has had so little Regard to that last, and so precise Resolution, that the same Style forbidden by the Decree, has remained in Practice till now; and all the Orders which were not dispatched for *Portugal*, invested with Seals charged with the Arms of that Kingdom.

From the Usurpation of the Name, the King of *Castile* has passed to that of the Sovereignty, which he pretends still to exercise in your Dominions, giving to Don *Pedro de Menezes* the Quality of Duke de *Caminha*. An Act much more extraordinary, that that Duchy of *Caminha* being situated in *Portugal*, and having been confiscated on Don *Louis de Menezes* condemned to Death, and executed in 1642, with Don *Miguel de Menezes* Marquis of *Villa-Real* his Father, for having conspired against the Person of the King Don *John*, the said Don *Pedro de Menezes*, their pretended Heir, came into *Portugal* immediately after the Peace of 1668, to claim the Estates of the said Succession. But having himself acknowledged the Injustice of his Pretensions, he had Recourse to the Queen of *Castile*, who made no Difficulty to reward in his Person, by an Usurpation on the Treaty of Peace, the Services which his Ancestors wanted to do to the Crown of *Castile*, by an Action so odious to all Sovereigns.

If the King of *Castile* has thus made Use of an Authority which did not belong to him, he is gone still further, by keeping in his Hands what he was obliged to restore; and the eighth Article of Peace, which bears formally a reciprocal Obligation for the two Kings, to restore to the Subjects of each Crown all the Goods they had been divested of on Occasion of the War, could not engage him to restore to the House of *Medina Sidonia* the Possession of *St. Lucar*, refusing to your own House the Justice which you had stipulated for the meanest of your Subjects.

Your Highness commanded the Marquis de *Gouvea* to complain of it, who had no other Satisfaction but to learn

learn from the Mouth of the Ministers of the King of *Castile*, that after he had caused that Affair to be examined in his Councils, and particularly in that of Conscience, it had been unanimously determined, that that Restitution could not be included in the said Article of Peace.

Tribunals, the Jurisprudence thereof is not known in the other States of *Europe*, and which perhaps have established Maxims, according to which *Joan Gil Pelamino Saavedra* has been condemned to Death; against the Tenure of the same Article, which bears formally a general Abolition, and against the Right of Hospitality, *Francis of Utra*, *Manoel de Souza*, and *Michel James*, Masters of *Portuguese* Ships, which a Tempest had made to fall into their Hands.

Where is then, my Lord, the Execution of a Treaty, which your Highness observes so religiously? The Name of King? *Castile* keeps it. The sovereign Authority? it exercises it. The Security of the Goods of your Friends? it is found in the Confiscations. That of the Persons of your Subjects? it is found in the Prisons of *Castile*. The Peace notwithstanding has produced a great Change in the Affairs of the two Crowns: Those who fled before your Generals have armed all *Madrid* against your Ambassador; and those who published that they would reduce your House by the War and open Force, have sworn to exterminate it in the Tranquility of a profound Peace.

The 27th of *September* 1673, the House of your Highness's Ambassador at *Madrid* was seen invested, attacked with Stones, and at last set on Fire, under the Conduct of a Magistrate, who was obliged by the Laws of Nations to secure it against those Sorts of Insults; in that outrageous Enterprize, the Majesty of a Prince was seen disgraced, and his Authority annihilated in the Outrage made to his Person in that of his Minister, and of such a Minister. *Europe* knows the Satisfaction which has been made yet for such an Insult.

Without having Recourse to antient Examples, to shew how much a War undertaken only for such an Outrage would appear just and glorious, it suffices to set before your Eyes all that in our Days has happened at *Rome*, on account of the Affair of the Duke of *Crequi* Ambassador from *France*, to learn that so soon as the Most Christian King was informed of it, he ordered the Nuncio, residing then near his Person, to quit *Paris* immediately, and retire into a Town which was named to him, under Pretence of avoiding the Violences of the Populace against his Person, and that of his Domesticks: On the Difficulties he made of departing with so much Precipitation, he was even let to know, that his Resistance would oblige the King to provide for it by his Authority: That the Most Christian King took the Resolution to render himself Master of the State of *Avignon*, though belonging to the Church; to wage War against the Sovereign Pontiff, which Proceeding was approved by all the Christian Princes as very just: And lastly, to carry Things to the last Extremity, if the Treaty of *Pisa* had not stopped the Effects of so just an Indignation, in procuring Satisfaction from the Chief of the Church to his eldest Son; which for any other Subject had not met with a general Applause.

All *Europe* has known them engraven at *Rome* on Marble, fastened to a Pyramid, erected for so flagrant an Outrage; and which would subsist still, if the particular Love and Esteem of the Most Christian King for Pope *Clement IX.* joined to his Instances, had not obtained the Demolition thereof.

It is by such a Conduct, that the King of *France* has deserved a general Esteem; since the Justice he procured to himself, having been still more publick than the Offence, has given to Posterity, and to all other Sovereigns, a glorious Example, and infinitely worthy of Imitation.

Why should not the same be said of your Highness? Why must it be published, that your Ambassador has received private Satisfaction for the Insults he has suffered at *Madrid*? And why should they be known of no Body but himself?

It is to your Highness to account for it to all *Europe*, which admires equally your Patience, and the Temerity of the *Castilians*. For your Patience, my Lord, it may

be thought an impenetrable Secret of your royal Prudence; but for the Insolence of the *Castilians* with regard to your Ambassador, give me Leave, my Lord; to be a little more surprized at it than the rest of *Europe*: The *Castilians* have thought perhaps that the Marquis *de Govea* was come to *Madrid* with the same Instructions they had given to *Batteville* and *Umanes*. *Batteville* and *Umanes*, who should rather be called the Ministers of the old Prince of the Mountain; than Ambassadors of the Catholick King, since they are come here to conspire against the State, and against the Life of your Highness, and to revolt Subjects against their Sovereign (as in fact they had too fatally succeeded on the Persons of those whom the Goodness of your Highness could not keep from the Justice due to the Interest of his Kingdom) and perhaps on a great many others, whose Names your Highness would not even know, to practise a Generosity unknown to every body else but Heroes.

They have attempted every Thing to violate the Authority of the Church, to overthrow the fundamental Laws of the State, to extinguish the Succession of your Highness in his own royal Blood, and that of the Infanta; and lastly, heaped up Crimes upon Crimes to secure to themselves the Recovery of *Portugal*.

Afterwards, my Lord, could I dare ask your Highness, if that Scruple of Conscience, made Use of to keep him disarmed, does not awake those great Sentiments of Justice he owes to himself, and to his Dominions? Yes, my Lord, I could dare it, and even perhaps assure your Highness, that he is obliged to hear that generous and just Scruple of Conscience; i. e. that Resolution of the late King your Father, for the Defence of the same Justice your Highness owes to his Dominions; for the Conservation of his Reputation, of his Crown, and of his own Person.

Those are the sacred Interests which do not permit your Highness to defer longer (since he is answerable for all the Evils which can happen from such a Delay) leave him no other Party than to oblige *Castile* by the Force of his Arms to give an entire Satisfaction for the Insults received, and to consent to a Peace which may put *Portugal* in a Security subject to no Alteration.

This, my Lord, Justice asks of your Highness; let's see what the general Good of your Dominions can require.

All the Princes which embrace the Peace, are actuated to it by the effective and real Advantage, which they expect to reap from it, or are forced to it by the Necessity they are reduced to by their Weakness, and want of Power.

According to this first Principle I do not pretend to insinuate to your Highness that he should go to War by a Motive of Vanity, nor with the ambitious View of extending the Limits of his Monarchy, which are the most common Views of Princes when they take up Arms. My Intention is, that *Portugal* may gain by the Peace the same Advantages it is flattered with, and obtain the Change of a false and captious Peace into a true and secure one; which cannot be done but by a Declaration of War.

To justify that the Peace made in 1668 is not a Peace for us, but a pure Illusion, wherewith *Castile* covers the inveterate Hatred of its Nation against ours, and the insatiable Desire of our Ruin and our Conquest: I ask, what Utility has accrued to your Dominions from that pretended Peace, for eight Years past, it is talked of, and the Name thereof is seen printed in a Treaty? Have we not always the same Enemies to fight against? And much more dangerous, that we are obliged to defend ourselves at the same Time against their Arms and their Artifices. All the World search that Peace which they have not found yet; and if the People wished for it, it was because they expected to embrace a Divinity; but it was but a Cloud, which has broke into Lightning and Claps of Thunder.

It must not be objected that Peace is the sweetest of all Fruits, but that it is not ripe enough yet to be tasted. There is none in Nature that requires eight Years for its perfect Maturity. In fact, it is not knowing very well the Nature of Peace, to rank it among the Fruits which require Time to be good. Peace (like the Olive which

is the common Symbol thereof) is a Fruit ripe so soon as it appears.

But if we do not know the Fruits of this pretended Peace; our Enemies are not so, since it has given them room to work in so many different Manners at our Ruin; and which our Posterity will never believe they have done with Impunity; because your Highness would not break the Peace, which we keep so religiously, and which the *Castilians* maintain at present with so much Precaution, and so many Protestations of Friendship: Peace, which is but too real for them, since we abstain from our Conquests, and it deprives your Highness of the Matter of his Triumphs.

In fact, if your Highness wants to know who really enjoy it, he ought but to examine their Conduct, study the Genius of their Ministers, consult the Means they have used to bring it to a Conclusion, and the essential Nullities they have affected to introduce into it, that they may have always a Door open to reclaim, and wait, mean while, for the Occasion to fetter us again, either by open Force or by Finesse.

It is the greatest Piece of their Politicks, and a Mystery they have discovered to us, by the Advices of the Duke of *Medina de las Torres*, of the Marquis *de Castel Rodrigo*, and of the Count *Raboledo*. Those Ministers represented to the Catholick King, and to those who govern'd the State during his Minority, that his Monarchy was on the Point of its total Ruin, by the powerful Efforts of the Most Christian King in *Flanders*, and the mortal Wounds the victorious Arms of *Portugal* had given to the very Heart of his Dominions: That the Power of *Castile*, heretofore so formidable, was without Troops, without Chiefs, without Money, without Friends or Allies, who would lend them a helping Hand to save them from the Naufrage: That, therefore, in these Circumstances they knew but one Remedy to so many Evils, which was a Peace with *Portugal*; that that Peace breaking our Union with *France*, would render in Time the Conquest of our Kingdom much more easy; that it would increase the Communication of *Castile* with *Portugal*, and thus procure new Intelligences, and facilitate the most difficult Enterprizes: That by that Peace a natural Confidence would not fail to incline the *Portuguese* Nation to abandon themselves to Idleness, and to a profound Lethargy; the Soldiers would be disbanded, the Exercise of Arms discontinued, and the Officers drooping by Degrees, the Kingdom would remain, at last, entirely enervated, and destitute of all that could have hinder'd the Conquest thereof. That if even (by a moral Impossibility) all this should fail, we would wage War against ourselves by Discontent, Envy, and Disunion, which Idleness introduces into the most powerful States.

Those Advices given by Ministers faithful to *Castile*, and who knew perfectly well all that could accelerate the Ruin of *Portugal*, carried it against the Sentiments of several others: It was resolved to make a Peace, and they succeeded therein. Thus the vanquished *Castilians* gave the Law to the victorious *Portuguese*, by engaging them to accept of a Treaty composed of thirteen Articles, digested and calculated at *Madrid*, where we had no Body to support our Interests: Whereas those of our Enemies have been managed with so much Dexterity, that they exempted themselves from subscribing to a formal Renunciation to their Pretensions on *Portugal*; a Renunciation whereof they cannot have forgot the Use and Style, and without which the King of *Castile* hopes to remain in all his Rights, and make Use of the Quality of King of all *Spain*; which he has reserved to himself, in the Powers of the Marquis of *Eliche*, Plenipotentiary for signing the said Treaty, as an authentick Title, to maintain his unjust Pretensions, and reclaim in a favourable Conjunction, against all that could have been done during the Time of his Minority.

In fact, is it not known that (to give a more apparent Foundation of Justice and of Religion, to what they knew should happen some Time or other) the Universities of *Castile* were consulted on the Project of Peace, and that they judged, that it would leave to the King his Right in its full Force, and in a Condition of being employed for the Recovery of *Portugal*, whenever an Occasion should offer, and that Treaty was no Ob-

stacle to it. It is not to be questioned, that the *Spanish* Politicians, are fallen into the Sentiments of the Universities, and have believed, that the Queen of *Castile*, in the Quality of a Tutress, could not dispose of the Estates of her Pupil, nor give Power to the Marquis of *Eliche*, to yield a great Kingdom, which the Catholick Kings had enjoy'd peaceably during 60 Years. Therefore they have made no Difficulty to conclude that Treaty, and will make but very little to break it: The King of *England*, as Mediator, having not obliged himself to maintain the Execution thereof by Arms, as it is almost always stipulated in all other Treaties, which have been sealed for a reciprocal Sincerity.

From all which, it must be concluded, that that Peace being but a Fiction, we should not hesitate to search our Security in the present Conjunction, by putting *Castile* out of a Condition of waging War against us, and of employing her Forces and Finesses, to deprive us a second Time of our Liberty. And if the *Castilians* confess in their Writings, and in private Assemblies, that the Conquest of this Kingdom is resolved upon, and imprinted into their Hearts; if all *Europe* be convinced of it; would it not be rather a Fatality than a Disgrace for us to be the only ones, who cannot be persuaded of it? And who after so many Hints would blind ourselves so far, as to be the Destroyers of our own Monarchy, and of our Families?

Semblable to an illustrious Nation of *Germany*, which under Pretence of being not attacked by her Neighbours, preferred the Sweetness of a present Peace, to a Security well established by the War, knew, but too late, that Peace was the Cause of her Ruin; thus People, whose Reputation had been very great, had the Displeasure of being accused afterwards of Cowardice and Folly; and, on the contrary, the fortunate Activity of their Neighbours, and the Prosperity of their Arms, was consider'd as an Effect of their Wisdom.

Therefore it is no more the Advantages of the Peace which makes us embrace it; and it remains only to see if our Weakness be so great, as to oblige us to submit ourselves to so rigorous a Law.

How could it be insisted on a Proposition so wide from the Truth? We have actually on Foot half the Forces necessary for an offensive War, and most of which are composed of the best Troops, at the Time of the Reform made at the Peace; it can be said, that Recruits joined to those old Companies, would form Bodies of Armies formidable to our Enemies, by their Valour, Number, and Reputation; to whom they could oppose none but Men compelled to fight, loaded with Chains, and who could not resist Soldiers, who remember yet the Victories they have gained.

Your Highness, by the wise Economy of his Ministers, has settled and augmented his Revenues, since the Peace, the most considerable Part thereof is employed to put to Sea, every Year, a Number of Ships capable to destroy entirely the Commerce of the *Castilians*, to carry off their Fleets, and make a Diversion of their Forces in *Spain*, by the Jealousy we can give to all the Places of their Domination, on the Ocean and on the *Mediterranean*; and if those maritime Forces should not answer quite the great Hopes which can be conceived of them; your Highness has the Choice to appoint the Funds thereof, for what he shall judge most proper to draw from them a more immediate Utility.

He shall have the same Right to apply to the most pressing Uses, the two best Funds of his Monarchy; I mean his *Liberalities*, and the *Hearts* of his Subjects. The Liberalities of your Highness, which are pure Effects of his Generosity, will be capable to defray Part of the Expences of the Army; and the Officers and Soldiers, though increased in Number, will, notwithstanding find an ample Reward of their Toils; if those Sources are made use of, which you exhaust daily in Favours; and the Course thereof may be very well diverted for some Time, in order to render it more rapid, afterwards, by the Tranquility and Abundance of a perpetual Peace, which is the sure End of your Arms. As for the Hearts of your Subjects, they are the true Funds, which have always been unalienable, and unexhaustible, ever since the Birth of the *Portuguese* Monarchy, particularly in Enterprizes for the Majesty of the State; as have experienced

perienced it among all others, the two Princes *John I.* and *John IV.* Restorers of the Monarchy. Your Highness has had hitherto no less Testimonies of the *Portuguese* Love than those two great Princes; and therefore can expect no less Assistance.

We can besides join to those Funds the sure Resource which we have always found in the Fidelity of our Friends the *French*; who will not fail to succour us, with the same Disinterestedness we have experienced in them, in our most difficult Times.

Lastly, my Lord, to know perfectly what we can expect from our Forces, we must examine likewise those which can be opposed to us, and having discovered how different they are at present, from what they were when we have vanquished them, we must either be blind, or see ourselves victorious if we declare War.

All these Reasonings full of Justice and Zeal for your Highness, and the Good of his Dominions, cannot be opposed but by a single Reason, which is, that it is out of Season to speak of a War against a Prince to whom your Highness has offered his Mediation; the Difficulty is great, since it is the most considerable that can be found in an Enterprize so important as is that in question; therefore, my Lord, we must enter into the most exact and scrupulous Detail, Prudence and Religion can penetrate.

Your Highness has offered his Mediation to *Castile*, i. e. he has shewed himself sensible to the Misfortunes of Christendom, that he is not only ready to forget the Outrages done to his Dignity and to his Person; but to live with the King of *Castile* as a good Brother, and a good Neighbour, and (which surprizes all *Europe*) to lend a helping Hand to that afflicted Monarchy, and relieve a Power, which (to say no more) will be always formidable to your Dominions. It is, if I be not mistaken, what that Word of Mediation can signify with regard to you and to *Castile*, and what your Highness pretend in offering his Mediation. But, my Lord, it is all he should pretend. It is true, that he discharges by those Explications, the Duties of a Christian Prince, of a Prince who believes that the Law of Nations makes no Difference between the Names of Neighbour and of Friend; and indulges the Inclination of a magnanimous Prince. But in those great Views which extend over all *Europe*, will you refuse the least Glance to *Portugal*? Is it enough for her Security that you are a Christian Prince, a magnanimous Prince, and a good Neighbour? No, my Lord; there is wanted besides a clear and precise Declaration, and guaranteed by all *Europe*, that *Portugal* and *Castile* are two Crowns, equally independant from one another as *France* and *Castile*. It is true, that you have one authentick enough in the Treaty of Peace of 1668, to secure your Glory, and calm the Conscience of those who have maintained the Rights of your House. But it wants still what it should have, to cut that Knot of political Finesses, which refine on all Treaties. It wants what it should have, to convince not only the Council, but the People of *Castile*, that all the Wars which might be undertaken for the Conquests of *Portugal*, are Outrages, Injustices, and Usurpations. Your Treaty is full of Honesty on your Part, and of Subtilty on the Part of the *Castilians*; and this has been perceived a long while. But by a Mediation your Highness had found a friendly and just Expedient to supply all those Omissions, which Politicians call essential Faults. It is in that famous Assembly of *Nimeguen*, which attracts the Eyes of all Christendom, that your Embassadors had received an entire Justice, and your Allies an indelible Satisfaction, that publick Congratulation on your Restoration to the Throne of your Ancestors; and what had been disputed for so many Years, had been deferred to you with Pleasure, by all the Princes of *Europe*, and maintained by their Arms.

The *Castilians* were conscious of it, when they have shut that Door against you, which led to the Temple of Peace, by Steps which I most humbly intreat your Highness to examine.

The Council of your Highness received with great Applause, the Communication he was pleased to give him of his Design, relating to the Mediation, and nobody could refuse his Suffrage and his Approbation to so useful a Thought, and so glorious to the State.

Therefore it was offered the 3d of *August* 1676 to the Kings of *France* and of *Castile*, and to the *States-General*, by Dispatches which your Secretary of State delivered into the Hands of their Ministers. Your Highness caused likewise the Pope's Nuncio, and the Resident of *England* to be acquainted with it, their Masters having been accepted already for Mediators. All those Ministers expressed an extreme Satisfaction of your Proposition, as being very advantageous to their Masters, and very agreeable to the Repose of Christendom. The sole Envoy of *Castile* had different Sentiments, and if some Reflection obliged him to change the Surprize he had shewn, when the Secretary delivered the Dispatch into his own Hands, a kind of Pleasure for that Mark of Friendship of your Highness to his Master; a second Reflection stronger than the first, and perhaps more agreeable to his general Instructions, obliged him the very next Day to speak no more in such positive Terms, and tell your Secretary of State that it would be very difficult for the Catholick King to give an Answer without the Advice of his Allies.

This was, my Lord, the first Step taken in the Name of *Castile*, which has very well justified that they did not think your Highness in a Condition to take so glorious Resolutions.

The 15th of *October*, the Envoy of *Castile* presented to your Highness a Letter of the King his Master; and you had room to believe that it was a formal Acceptation. Which notwithstanding, it contained nothing else but vague Assurances of a Disposition to accept your Mediation; and that before he could explain himself more positively, he had dispatched to all his Allies to know their Sentiment, according to the express Stipulations inserted in the Treaty of Confederation made between them, and to the Method they had followed, when the Pope and the King of *England* had offered their Mediation. A true Reason, or a specious Pretext! but were two Months wanted to bring it to light? unless they would not make Use of the little Distance which is between *Lisbon* and *Madrid*. Perhaps also it had been reserved for a still better Occasion, if the Minister of *Castile* had not been informed, that the most Christian King had already explained himself favourably for that Mediation.

Two Months and a half afterwards, hearing nothing of that Communication, your Secretary of State took the Resolution to let the Envoy of *Castile* know, that there were five Months since you had offered your Mediation, notwithstanding which you had received no positive Answer, though it was a Time more than sufficient to receive Advices from the furthest Part of *Europe*. His Answer was full of Assurances of Friendship and of good Understanding, under the Shadow thereof, the Conjuraton was canvassed. He added only, that he did not question but your Highness would receive in a short Time the positive Answer he expected, because he had been informed of the Communication made on that Subject between the Allies.

The Resident of *Holland* was pressed in the same Manner, and his Answer was much alike, and which we expected.

However, my Lord, your Highness has been flattered with the same vain Hope for very near two other Months: We hear that the Plenipotentiaries are arrived at *Nimeguen*; that the Preliminaries of the Treaty are already settled by the Cares of the Mediators; and I do not question, but at this very Moment they are disputing the different Interests. Thus your Highness loses the Fruit of that Mediation, the Project whereof had been received in your Kingdom, with so general an Applause of the People, though with very different Sentiments. The true *Portuguese* had looked upon it, in the same Manner your Highness and his Ministers had done: The Pensionaries of the Crown of *Castile*, as being more capable than any Thing else to keep your Highness in an Uncertainty, to put him out of Power of taking any just and vigorous Resolution, flattering themselves with the Hope of delaying so long a positive Answer on an Acceptation or Refusal, by affected Delays, or by Difficulties which they would start up on the Part of their Allies, as to give Time to the Plenipotentiaries to put the Treaty out of a Condition of admitting a new Mediator.

There is, my Lord, an Effect of their Lights, the Truth

Truth thereof, is too sensibly felt by us, as well as those of one of your Highness's Ministers, who has not hesitated to blame loud the publick Vows; and to disclaim, with Passion, against the Proposition of the Mediation, so far as to accuse it of Folly; and if he has declared his Sentiment more publickly than the Worshipers of *Castile*; it is because he knew better than any Body, the sure Means the Catholick King had to prevent the Execution thereof, knowing perfectly the Secrets of his Conduct with Regard to the Kingdom of *Portugal*.

I could end here, my Lord, and tell your Highness, that I believe I have represented to him the principal Reasons which deserve to be heard in your Council. But it is difficult to pass over in Silence, certain Discourses which are insinuated in your Court. It is said, that it is true, that the Treaty made with *Castile*, is a Snare very dexterously laid; that the Heat wherewith the People asked for it, was not without a foreign Motion: That your Ambassador has been insulted, your Person attacked, your Mediation eluded, and that there are but few Laws, divine and human, which were not violated by the *Castilians*, while *Portugal* sleeps under the Shadow of her Laurels, and under that of a Treaty: But that it is not a proper Time to resent it, and that the Lion of *Castile* pierced with mortal Wounds, and reduced to Extremity, and in the most deplorable Condition, claims your Highness's Forgiveness; and deserve rather your Compassion than your Anger. How moving are those Discourses, and how agreeable they are to those held at *Madrid* four Years ago, when the Hearts of *Portugal*, and her most ardent Vows were offer'd for the Succours of *Castile*! But as those Vows have not been heard in Heaven, as one can easily judge by the last Campaigns, some of the same Kind are addressed at present to your Highness, to try whether they shall not have a better Effect. I don't know if after that Battle so fatal for *Africa* and *Portugal*, and fortunate for *Castile* alone, our Ancestors found in the Council of *Madrid*, Intercessions as pathetical as these. The Voice of a King expiring for Christendom, on Heaps of Nobility stretched at his Feet; the Sighs of twenty-thousand Men cover'd with Glory and Blood, should have soften'd the Hearts of the *Castilians*, and disposed them to terminate in an amicable Manner the unjust Pretensions they had upon us. But those Voices, instead of moving them; harden'd. And of all the Propositions of his Holiness, of all the Remonstrances of *Portugal*, of all the Decisions of the Lawyers, none was heard but that which established the Right of *Philip*, on twenty-thousand Men, and thirty Pieces of Cannon.

Thus, my Lord, a proud Politick stopped their Ears; and thus the Prudence of your Highness must not suffer to be conquer'd by Movements, excited by imaginary Misfortunes. *Castile* appears weak, because she has *France* to make Head against; her Forces are dispers'd, but not dissipated; she must not be thought in a dying State, because she is afflicted with a voluntary Disease. Her Sovereignty in *Flanders*, her Usurpations in *Italy*, her Pretensions in *Germany*, and her vast Dominions in the *Indies*, employ Forces, the broken Remains thereof alone, will make one Time or other the *Portuguese* shed a Flood of Tears, if a vain Compassion makes her miss so favourable an Occasion. Believe me, my Lord, *Castile* by that cringing Insinuation of her Weakness, acts like a Giant, who feeling his Strength diminishing, fell to the Ground, as if he was dead, and having touched the Earth, rose again stronger, and more terrible. Instead of these compassionate Imaginations, follow the Advice of the Oracle of Politicians, who says wisely, that he who has an ambitious and powerful Enemy to encounter with, deceives himself, when he pretends to find his Security in the Repose; and wherever the Arms can decide, Modesty and Probity are but the Praises of the Conqueror.

Those are the Maxims which your Highness must follow, and not give Time to the *Castilians* to make a general Peace for them, and an eternal War for you, in gathering all their Forces from the four Corners of *Europe*; and taking the Advantage of the great Number of Officers, which a continual War in their Kingdom, or in the Empire must furnish; and by bringing into

their Interests, Princes who can find great Advantages in the Partition of the Dominions of a Prince, who has Estates in the four Parts of the World.

I touch this but *en passant*, though I believe, my Lord, that you should make a very serious Attention upon it. Incredulous States have seen themselves on the Brink of their Ruin, by believing those Sorts of Confederacy impossible. As for me, I judge nothing impossible in this Age, which could make so strict an Union between *Castile* and *Holland*. Lastly, suppose that such a Junction could not be made; it is much better to leave the Preservation of your Dominions to your Prudence, than to the Probity of your Enemies.

You'll prevent, infallibly all those, if you carry your victorious Arms into their Territories. For we must not flatter ourselves that War or Peace are at our Choice. War is certain, at present, or hereafter, whether we, or our Enemies declare it. Therefore your Highness must chuse what is most agreeable to his Reputation, or to the Success of that same War, either to have it at our own Gates; or carry it to their own; to undertake it alone, or supported by the Arms of several Princes; to wage it against an Enemy, whose Forces are divided, or when they shall be united: To make it with a moral Certainty of being victorious; or with the Uncertainty which will accompany in another Conjunction the Fate of Arms: To make it for a long, or for a short Time; and lastly, to change an uncertain State, into a very certain one, by Means whereof your Highness will procure to himself, to the Eyes of all *Europe*, the just Satisfaction of the Insults he has dissembled till now, restore the Honour of the *Portuguese* Nation, and to his Kingdom a sure Repose, and the same Abundance we remember to have enjoyed during the War, and we vainly hoped to have seen continued in the Peace.

This is, my Lord, what I take the Liberty to represent to your Highness, with an entire Confidence, that if the Events of the War answer my Wishes, your Highness and his Kingdom shall reap several considerable Advantages therefrom; but that if my Vows are not fully heard, at least my Zeal, and the Love I have for your Highness, and the Preservation of your royal Crown, will authorise the Sincerity with which I have told my Sentiments, in a Conjunction so important to *Portugal*.

This Memoir, which I have translated as exactly as I could from the *Portuguese* Original, makes me admire the Love of the Memorialist, for his Country, his unfeigned Zeal for the Glory and Interests of his Prince, and courageous Manner of declaring it to him, without the least Fear of disoblighing him, though he uses several very bold Expressions, which in our Age, where scarce any Thing is suffer'd but what smells much of an insipid Adulation, would be condemn'd, perhaps, as a Kind of treasonable Temerity; though his Maxims, several whereof are borrow'd from *Tacitus*, are very just and reasonable. Few Ministers follow his Example, and few, like him, espouse sincerely the true Interests of their Country, at the Risk of incurring the Displeasure of their royal Masters. He tacitly accuses the Prodigality of his, with Regard to his Favourites; and gives him to understand, that the Treasures he lavishes among them, would be better employ'd for the Support of his Glory, and the Security of his Dominions; he speaks in *Portugal*, under a monarchical Government, in the same courageous Manner, and the same plain and persuasive Style, *Cato* spoke at *Rome*, under a Republican one. He is not an Enemy to Peace, but he would have a lasting and glorious one, which he thinks cannot justly be obtained from a crafty, ambitious, and perfidious Nation, such as he represents the *Spanish*, but by vigorous Means. He passes in Review all their Finesses, and low Cunning, their Violation of the publick Faith, the little Regard they had to the Law of Nations, which even among the less civilized People, has always been consider'd as inviolable. He cautions his Prince against all the Attempts they are capable of; and endeavours to convince him of what they are capable to do; and would revive the *Portuguese* Courage, which had so lately signalized itself by the many Victories they had gain'd

gained over the *Castilians*, before it was quite buried in a too long Inaction. He refuted with great Solidity and Strength of Reasoning all the Objections which could be made against his Sentiments; and shews clearly, that those who do not agree with him are Enemies both of their Prince and of their Country. That though it becomes very well a great Prince to be a good Christian, his Christianity should not blind him so much as to render him contemptible; that there are even some Maxims of Christianity, which are incompatible with the Dignity of a Crown; and that it is beneath the Majesty of the Throne, when a Prince has been stricken on one Cheek, to present the other; tho' such a Thing be commanded in the Gospel. He would have him be sensible that the Insults done to his Embassadors are done to himself, and be revenged as such. He expresses his Gratitude for the great Succours *Portugal* has always received from *France*, in her greatest Distresses; and insinuates, that the same Succours are always to be expected from the same Side. He hints at the crafty Politicks of the *Dutch*, who never consult any other Interests but their own. And likewise at the unhappy Fate of *Don Sebastian*, of which the *Castilians* took all the Advantage they could. He resents highly, and as he ought, the Affront done to the Prince his Master, by the Catholick King's delaying to accept his Highness's Mediation, under frivolous Pretences; and shews that the only Reason of that insulting Delay, was his Consciousness, was he to accept it, of being obliged to renounce in Form, and in the most authentick Manner, all his Pretensions on *Portugal*, which he could not have revived afterwards, without revolting almost all the Parties interested in that Treaty; who had been obliged in Honour and Justice to maintain their own Work, and grant powerful Succours to the *Portuguese* to enable them to force the *Castilians* to desist; and perhaps make them repent of having violated the publick Faith.

The same Treaty of *Nimeguen* occasioned likewise the following Letter of the Duke of *Hanover* to the King of *France*, on the Neutrality of the Mediation he had accepted.

Hanover, September 23, 1675.

SIRE,

Having nothing more at Heart, ever since I have had the Honour to be in the Alliance of your Majesty, than to observe and accomplish, as much as I could, all the Points and Articles thereof, it cannot be but with an extreme Regret, that I see myself obliged by the Fatality of the present Conjunctions, and the unavoidable Necessity of the Time, to represent to your Majesty the Reasons which hinder me to act henceforward for the Service of your Interests in a Manner equally agreeable to my Zeal and Passion; as to the Expectation of your Majesty, and to the infinite Obligations I must have to his Goodness, and to the Confidence he has honoured me with, I confess, *Sire*, that no greater Misfortune could have happened to me: And I should be inconsolable, was I not to hope, that your Majesty will represent to himself with his usual Lights all the Incidents happened lately; and all the Dangers arising from them to me: Besides what I owe to my Dominions and to my Subjects, in so unhappy a Conjunction, he will judge with Compassion and Equity, of the Purity of my Intentions, and of my Duty: For your Majesty will have the Goodness to remember, if he pleases, that after I have engaged myself with him in a Neutrality at the Beginning of these Wars; and afterwards in a Treaty of a defensive Alliance, I have not only endeavoured to fulfil all my Engagements, but that even after your Majesty had made a Peace with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, notwithstanding the considerable Obstacle that brought to the Affairs of *Germany*, I have always done what I could to remain firm in the great Inclination I have conceived for his Interests. My Passion in that is gone so far, that when the Fire of the War was carried into the very Heart of the Empire, and made the Diet take the Resolutions which every body knows, I have not even minded the Reservations which your Majesty had granted me in the said Treaty, but preferred the Considerations I had for his Alliance to what I owed to my Country. I have myself searched Means to strengthen it more; and have contracted one with *Sweden*, so soon as she

has declared she would espouse the Interests of your Majesty, in Hopes that the Affairs would change Face in the Empire, and that the Members thereof would return to their former good Understanding with him. And as nothing could make me change my Resolution, I have not minded the Defection of the King of *England* from the Alliance of your Majesty, notwithstanding the Alteration it made in the Guarantee of my Treaties, nor the Change happened in the Interests of *Cologne* and *Munster*, and generally of all the Allies of your Majesty in *Germany*: On which, notwithstanding, I had founded the greatest Part of my Security. But, *Sire*, the Junction of my Arms with those of *Sweden*, having been retarded by I don't know what Fatality, but not by my own Fault; and the Disasters happened afterwards having obliged the *Swedish* Army to retire into *Pomerania*, without having been capable to secure a Passage on the *Elbe*, to facilitate their Communication with the Dutchy of *Bremen* and me; the said Crown having been soon after solemnly declared Enemy of the Empire by the Diet of *Ratisbon*, with all those who should give her any Succours; which was immediately followed by the Rupture of *Denmark*, which I had so much wished should be avoided. After all those Circumstances, *Sire*, I must not search other Judges, but the Justice and Equity of your Majesty, to decide himself in what Embarrass of Mind I must have found myself; and what Resolution I could take, when in that unhappy State of Conjunctions, I have seen that *Denmark*, *Brandenburg*, and *Munster*, in the Name of the Emperor and of the Empire, and of the rest of their Allies, were ready to declare to me the most cruel War that can be imagined; there being more than 30,000 Men on my Frontiers, if I would not declare myself neuter, and if I would not recall the Troops I had sent into the Country of *Bremen*, in virtue of my Alliance with *Sweden*. While I had nothing to oppose to so many Dangers but my own Troops, which are but a Handful of Men, in Comparison to so many Enemies; there being not in the Country of *Bremen* more than 2000 Men, of 6000 which were promised to be kept there by the Treaty, always ready to begin the Defence thereof. And seeing me besides cut and separated from the Arms of your Majesty and of *Sweden*, from which I was to expect all my Succours in this State, where the greatest Part of the Powers of the Empire were going to become my Enemies, and in which I was to fear for my own House; ever since the Measures I had concerted with him were unfortunately broken. Seeing besides my own Subjects at my Knees, intreating me to save them from the last Ruin; I could do no less to discharge my Duty and acquit my Conscience, than to enter into a Treaty with the Ministers of the aforesaid Princes, to stop the Course of the Torrent ready to carry me off. Considering besides, that if I had been willing to make a Sacrifice of all that to the Service of your Majesty, it had been in vain; and that my Ruin had not brought the least Advantage to his Interests. Which notwithstanding, I have delayed the Affair with great Difficulty to the third Week, as well to expect some Succours from a Change which the Fate of Arms could cause; as to give Time to the Minister of your Majesty, and to that of *Sweden* to represent to him the State of my Affairs; and procure me a positive and determinate Declaration, on the Requisition of a Succours, which I had made them in virtue of the Treaty. But the present Situation of Affairs having not allowed them to give me any other Answers and Hopes but general ones; which, far from being capable to secure me against a Danger ready to fall upon me, rendered it on the contrary still greater: And those of the contrary Party, who were but too well convinced of it, became bolder to insist and press me on my last Resolution. I was obliged at last to yield to Necessity, notwithstanding my Reluctancy to it, and the Passion I had to preserve myself entire to your Majesty; and to conclude with the said Ministers on the most tolerable Conditions I could, by accepting the Neutrality and Mediation they had offered to me. I caused to be communicated to M. M. his Ministers, the Articles of the Treaty Word for Word, before it was signed, to have their Advice, and see if it was possible to digest it, to the great Satisfaction, and according to the Interest of your Ma-

gesty.

jeſty. He will ſee, without doubt, by the Report they'll make of it, that the Neutrality is quite pure; and that in the preſent Conjunctions there was not a more proper Expedient than the Mediation, to do to your Maſteſty, by my Offices, for the Peace (if he has the Goodneſs to agree with them) the moſt humble Services, which my Paſſion wiſhes, and which my Unhappineſs hinders me from doing him by the Arms. After, Sir, I moſt humbly pray your Maſteſty, that he would not, in the preſent Conjunction, occaſioned by the Revolution of Affairs, reſuſe me the Continuation of his good Will and Eſteem, which I ſhall always conſider as the greateſt Advantage of my Life, and as the moſt conſiderable I find in the

Neutrality and Mediation I have accepted: And that both may leave me the Way free, to deſerve ſtill ſome Part in his Favour and Confidence. I wait with Reſpect, what your Maſteſty will do me the Honour to order me on the one and the other, and refer myſelf to what I have ſaid more particularly to his Miniſter. I humbly pray your Maſteſty to do me the Juſtice to believe, that I value nothing to the Price of his Favours; and that I am with as much real Inclination and Veneration as ever,

S I R,

Of your Maſteſty.

TRIGONOMETRY.

TRIGONOMETRY is the Art of finding the Dimensions of the Parts of a Triangle unknown, from other Parts known; or the Art whereby from any three Parts of a Triangle given, all the reſt are found.

The Word literally ſignifies the *meaſuring of Triangles*, formed from the Greek *τριγωνον*, Triangle, and *μετρον*, Meaſure. Yet does not the Art extend to the meaſuring of the Area, or Surface of Triangles, which comes under *Geometry*: *Trigonometry* only conſiders the Lines and Angles thereof.

Trigonometry, or the Solution of Triangles, is founded on that mutual Proportion, which is between the Sides and Angles of a Triangle; which Proportion is known, by finding the Proportion which the Radius of a Circle has to certain other Lines, called *Chords*, *Sines*, *Tangents*, and *Secants*.

This Proportion of the Sines and Tangents to their Radius, is ſometimes expreſſed in common or natural Numbers, which conſtitute what we call the *Tables of natural Sines and Tangents*, &c. Sometimes it is expreſſed in Logarithms, and in that Caſe conſtitute the *Tables of artificial Sines*, &c.

Laſtly, Sometimes the Proportion is not expreſſed in Numbers; but the ſeveral *Sines*, *Tangents*, &c. are actually laid down upon *Lines* or *Scales*; whence the *Line of Sines*, *Tangents*, &c.

Note, That before I proceed to the Diviſion of *Trigonometry*, I muſt explain what is underſtood by *Sines*, *Tangents*, and *Secants* in *Trigonometry*.

SINE, or *right SINE*, in *Trigonometry*, is a right Line drawn from an Extremity of an Arch, perpendicularly upon the Radius drawn from the other Extremity; or the *Sine* is half the Chord of twice the Arch.

Whole SINE, *Sine totus*, is the *Sine* of a Quadrant, or of 90 Degrees; that is, the whole *Sine* is the ſame with the Radius.

Versed SINE is a Part of the whole *Sine* or Radius, intercepted between the right *Sine* and the arch.

It is demonſtrated, 1. that the right *Sine*, being perpendicular to the Radius; all *Sines* drawn to the ſame Radius are parallel to each other.

2. Two Angles contiguous have the ſame *Sine*.

3. The *Sines* of obtuſe Angles are the ſame with thoſe of their Complements to two right Angles.

4. All *Sines* of ſimilar Arches have the ſame Ratio to their Radii.

SINE-Complement, or **Co-SINE**, is the *Sine* of an Arch, which is the Complement of another Arch to a Quadrant.

In eſtimating the Quantity of *Sines*, &c. we aſſume the Radius for Unity, and determine the Quantity of the *Sines*, *Tangents* and *Secants* in Fractions thereof. From *Ptolemy's Almageſt*, we learn that the Antients divided the Radius into 60 Parts, which they called Degrees, and thence determined the Chords in Minutes, Seconds and Thirds, that is in Sexageſimal Fractions of the Radius; which they likewiſe uſed in the Reſolution of Triangles. The *Sines* of half Chords, for ought appears, were firſt uſed by the *Saracens*.

Regiomontanus, at firſt, with the Antients, divided

the Radius into 60 Degrees; and determined the *Sines* of the ſeveral Degrees into decimal Fractions thereof, but he afterwards found it would be more commodious to aſſume the Radius for one; and thus introduced the preſent Method into *Trigonometry*.

In the common Tables of *Sines* and *Tangents* the Radius is conceived divided into 10000000 Parts; beyond which we never go in determining the Quantity of the *Sines* and *Tangents*. Hence, as the Side of a Hexagon ſubtends the ſixth Part of a Circle, and is equal to the Radius; the *Sine* of 30° is 5000000.

1. *The Sine being given to find the Sine-Complement*. From the Square of the Radius, ſubſtract the Square of the *Sine*: The Remainder will be the Square of the *Sine-Complement*: Whence the Square Root being extracted, gives the *Sine-Complement*.

2. *The Sine of the Arch being given, to find the Sine of the half Arch*. Find the Chord of the Arch, for half of this is its *Sine*.

3. *The Sine of an Arch being given to find the Sine of a double Arch*. This is found by the Rule of Proportion.

To conſtruct a Canon of SINES. The *Sines* of 30°, 15°, 45° 36' being had, we can thence conſtruct a Canon of all the *Sines* to every Minute, or every Second, for from the *Sine* of 36°, we find thoſe of 18°, 9°, 4°, 30'; and 2°, 15', by the ſecond Problem: The *Sines* of 54°, 72°, 81°, 85°, 30', and 87°, 45', &c. by the firſt Problem. Again, from the *Sine* of 45° find the *Sine* of 22°, 30'; 11°, 15', &c. From the *Sines* of 30° and the *Sines* of 54° find the *Sine* of 12°. From the *Sine* of 12° find the *Sines* of 6°, 3°, 1°, 30', 35', 78°, &c. From the *Sine* of 15° find the *Sine* of 7°, 30', 45', &c. 'till you have 120 *Sines* ſucceeding each other orderly, at an Interval of 45 Minutes. Between theſe find the intermediate *Sine*: Thus will the Canon be complet. From the *Sine* I'll paſs to the Explication of the *Tangent*.

TANGENT in *Trigonometry*, is a right Line arched perpendicularly on the Extreme of the Diameter of an Arch, and continued to a Point, where it is cut by a Secant, that is, by a Line drawn from the Centre, through the Extremity of the Arch, whereof it is a *Tangent*.

Co-TANGENT, or **TANGENT of the Complement**, is the *Tangent* of an Arch, which is the Complement of another Arch to a Quadrant.

Artificial TANGENTS are the Logarithms of the *Tangents* of Arches.

Sine of TANGENTS is a *Sine* uſually placed on the Sector and Gunter's Scale.

TANGENT of a Conic Section, as of a Parabola, is a right Line which only touches or meets the Curve in one Point, and does not cut or enter within the Curve.

The Method of *Tangents* is a Method of determining the Quantity of the *Tangent* of any algebraic Curve; the Equation deſining that.

This Method is one of the great Reſults of the *Calculus differentialis*.

SECANT, in *Trigonometry*, denotes a right Line, drawn from the Centre of a Circle, which cutting the Circumference, proceeds 'till it meets with a *Tangent* to the ſame Circle.

To find the Logarithm of the *Secant* of any Arch, the Sine of the Complement of the Arch being given, multiply the whole Sine of the Logarithm by two, and from the Product, subtract the Logarithm of the Sine Complement; the Remainder is the Logarithm of the *Secant*. — from this I'll pass to the Division of *Trigonometry*.

TRIGONOMETRY, is divided into *plain*, and *spherical*; the first considering rectilinear Triangles; and the second spherical ones. — The first is of obvious and continual Use in Navigation, Measuring, Surveying, and other Operations of Geometry.

The second is only learned with a View to Astronomy, and its kindred Arts, Geography, and Dialing. — It is generally esteemed exceeding difficult, by reason of the vast Number of Cases wherewith it is perplex'd; but the excellent *Wolfius* has remov'd most of the Difficulties. That Author has not only shewn how all the Cases of rectangled Triangles may be solved the common Way, by the Rules of Sines and Tangents; but has likewise laid down an universal Rule, whereby all Problems, both in plain and spherical rectangled Triangles, are solved; and even obliquangular Triangles he teaches to solve with equal Ease.

Plain TRIGONOMETRY is an Art whereby, from three given Parts of a plain Triangle, we find the rest.

The great Principle of *plain Trigonometry* is, that in every plain Triangle, the Sides are, as the Sines of the opposite Angles: The Doctrine thereof, which is that of the learned *Wolfius*, is contained in the following Problems.

For the *Solution of the plain Triangles*. — 1. Two Angles being given, together with a Side opposite to one of them; to find the Side opposite to the other, the Rule or Canon is this; as the Sine of the Angle, is to the given Side opposite to the same; so is the Sine of the other Angle, to the Side required; the opposite Side therefore is commodiously found by the Logarithms, from the Rule for finding a fourth proportional to the three Numbers given.

For an Example; suppose one of the given Angles = $78^{\circ} 35'$, and the other = $57^{\circ} 28'$, the Side opposite to one of them = $74'$, the Operation will stand thus.

Logar. of Sine of one Angle	9. 8750142
Logar. of the opposite Side	1. 8692317
Logar. of Sine of the other Angle	9. 9258681

Sum of Logar. of the opposite Side, and of the Sine of one Angle } 11. 7950998

Log. of the Side opposite to the other } 1. 9200856

The Number corresponding to which in the Table of Logarithms, is 83, the Quantity of the Side sought.

2. Two Sides together with the Angle opposite to one of them given; to find the other Angles. — The Rule is this; as one Side is to the Sine of the given Angle opposite thereto; so is the other Side, to the Sine of the Angle required opposite thereto.

For Example, suppose one of the Sides = $94'$, and the other Side = $63'$, the Angle opposite to one of them = $72^{\circ} 15'$.

Log. of one Side	1. 9731279
Log. of the Sine of the Angle	3. 9788175
Log. of the other Side	1. 8388491

Sum of Loga. of Sine of the opposite Angle, and of one of the Sides } 11. 8176666

Logar. of Sine of the other Side } 9. 9444387

The Number corresponding to which, in the Table of Logarithms, is $61^{\circ} 37'$, now the given Angle being $72^{\circ} 15'$, the Sum of the two $133^{\circ} 52'$ subtracted from 180° , the Sum of the three gives $46^{\circ} 8'$, for the other Angle sought.

In like Manner, suppose, in a right angled Triangle, that beside the right Angle, is given the Hypotenuse, 49, and the Cathetus, 36, to find the Angle sought; then will the Operation stand thus:

Log. of the Hypot.	1. 6901961
Log. of the whole Sine	10. 0000000

Log. of the Cathetus	1. 5563025
Log. of Sine of the Angle fought	9. 8661064

The corresponding Number to which, in the Table of Logarithms, is $47^{\circ} 16'$.

3. Two Sides, together with the included Angle being given, to find the two remaining Angles. — 1. If the Triangle be rectangular, take one of the Sides including the right Angle, for Radius, then will the other Side be the Tangent of the opposite Angle. — The Rule then is, as one Leg is to the other; so is the whole Sine to the Tangent of the opposite Angle.

E. gr. suppose one of the Sines 79. and the other 54.	
Log. of one Side	18976271
Log. of the other	17323938
Log. of the whole Sine	100000000

Logar. of Tang. of the Angle fought } 9. 8247667

The corresponding Number to which, in the Table of Logarithms, is $34^{\circ} 21'$, therefore one of the Angles of the Triangle is $55^{\circ} 39'$.

II. If the included Angle be Oblique, the Rule is; as the Sum of the given Sides, is to their Difference, so is the Tangent of half the Sum of the fought Angles, to the Tangent of half the Difference; adding, therefore, the half Difference to the half Sum; the Aggregate will be the greater Angle; and subtracting the half Difference from the half Sum, the Remainder is the less Angle.

As for Example, suppose the given Sides = $75'$, = $58'$, the oblique Angle = $180^{\circ} 24'$, then will the given Sides,

75 = 75	
58 = 58	+ 179° 60'
	118° 24' The oblique Angle
Sum 133 diff. 17	71° 30' fought Angles
	35° 48' ½ thereof

Log. of the given Sides	2. 1238516
Log. of the Angles fought	1. 2334489
Log. of Tangent ½	9. 8580695

Sum of Log.	12. 0885183
Log. of Tangent ½	8. 9646667

The corresponding Number to which is $5^{\circ} 16'$.

Spherical TRIGONOMETRY, is the Art whereby from the three given Parts of a spherical Triangle, we find the rest, *e. gr.* from two Sides and one Angle, we find the two other Angles, and the third Side.

The Principles of *spherical Trigonometry*, as reformed by *Wolfius*, are as follows. 1. In every rectangular spherical Triangle, the whole Sine, is the Line of the Hypotenuse, as the Sine of either of the acute Angles, is to the Sine of Leg opposite thereto; or the Sine of the Angle to the Sine of its opposite Leg, whence we deduce, that the Rectangle of the whole Sine, into the Sine of one Leg, is equal to the Rectangle of the Sine of the Angle opposite thereto, into the Sine of the Hypotenuse.

2. In every right angled spherical Triangle, none of whose Sides is a Quadrant; if the Complements of the Legs to a Quadrant, be considered as the Legs themselves; the Rectangle of the whole Sine into the Co-sine of the middle Part, is equal to the Rectangle of the Lines, disjunct Parts, or Extremes.

Hence, 1. If the Line be Artificial, that is, the Logarithms of the natural ones; the whole Sine, with the Co-sine of the middle Part, will be equal to the Sines of the disjunct Part.

2. Since, in a rectangular Triangle, the whole Sine is to the Hypotenuse, as the Sine of the Angle, to the Sine of the opposite Leg; if instead of the Sines of the Sides, we take the Sides themselves; here, too, the whole Sine, with the Co-sine of the middle Part, will be equal to the Sine of the disjunct Parts.

This *Wolfius* calls *regula sinuum catholica*, or the first Part of the *Catholic Rule* of Trigonometry; by Means whereof all the Problems of either *Trigonometry* are solved, when the Thing effected by Sines alone. — My Lord Napier had the first Thought of such a Rule; but

but he used the Complements of the Hypothenuſe, and the Angles, for the Hypothenuſe, and Angles themſelves; ſo that the Tenor of his catholick Rule is this:

The whole Sine, with the Sine of the middle Part, is equal to the Co-ſines of the Diſjunct, or as he calls them, oppoſite Parts.—But in this, that Harmony between plain and ſpherical *Trigonometry*, viſible in *Wolſius's* Rule, does not appear.

3. In a rectangled ſpherical Triangle, none of whole Sides is a Quadrant; as the whole Sine is to the Sine of the adjacent Leg; ſo is the Tangent of the adjacent Angle, to the Tangent of the Leg.

Whence, 1. As the Co-tangent of the Angle, is to the whole Sine, as the whole Sine is to the Tangent of the Angle, ſo is the Sine of the adjacent Leg, to the Tangent of the other Leg; therefore the Co-tangent of the adjacent Angle; will be to the whole Sine, as the Sine of the Leg adjacent thereto, is to the Tangent of the oppoſite one. 2. The Rectangle, therefore, of the whole Sine, into the Sine of one Leg, is equal to the Rectangle of the Tangent of the other Leg, into the Co-tangent of the Angle oppoſite to the ſame. And, in like Manner, the Rectangle of the whole Sine, into the Sine of one of the Legs, is equal to the Rectangle of the Tangent of the adjacent Leg, into the Co-tangent of the Angle fought.

4. In every right angled ſpherical Triangle, none of whole Sides is a Quadrant; if the Complements of the Legs to a Quadrant, or their Exceſſes beyond a Quadrant, be conſider'd as the Legs themſelves; the Rectangle of the whole Sine, into the Co-ſine of the middle Part, will be equal to the Rectangle of the Co-tangents of the conjunct Parts. 2. Since in a Rectilinear, right angled Triangle, we uſe the Tangents, when from the Legs given, the adjacent Angle is to be found; and in that Caſe the whole Sine is to the Co-tangent of the Angle, as one Leg to the other; therefore, alſo, in a rectilinear Triangle, if for the Sines and Tangents of the Sides, be taken the Sines themſelves; the whole Sine, with the Co-ſine of the middle Part, is equal to the Co-tangents of the conjunct Parts.

This *Wolſius* calls *regula Tangentium catholica*, and conſtitutes the other Part of the catholick Rule of *Trigonometry*; whereby all Problems, in each *Trigonometry*, where Tangents are required, are ſolved.

My Lord *Napier's* Rule to the like Effect is thus.—That the whole Sine, with the Sine of the middle Part, is equal to the Tangents of the contiguous Parts.

'Tis therefore a catholick Rule, which holds in all *Trigonometry*, that in a rectangled Triangle, (*notatis notandis*) the whole Sine, with the Co-ſine of the mean or middle Part, is equal to the Sines of the diſjunct or ſeparate Parts, and the Co-tangents of the conjunct or contiguous Part.

For an Illuſtration and Application of this Rule, we'll give the Solution of the various Caſes of ſpherical Triangles, *viz.*

Solution of right angled ſpherical TRIANGLES, by the common Rules, 1. In a right angled ſpherical Triangle, any two Parts, beſides the right Angle, being given, to find the reſt

1. Conſider whether the Parts, which come to the Queſtion be Conjunct or Diſjunct. If the Diſjunct be oppoſite to each other; as, if the Hypothenuſe and an Angle be given, to find the oppoſite Leg. Then the Rule is; as the whole Sine is to the Sine of the Hypothenuſe, ſo is the Sine of the Angle to the Sine of the oppoſite Leg. 2. If the diſjunct Parts be not oppoſite to each other, the Sides of the Triangle are to be continued one Way, till they become Quadrants, that you may thus have a new Triangle, wherein the Parts that come into the Queſtion, are mutually oppoſite to each other.

3. If the Hypothenuſe be not among the conjunct Parts, as if the Legs be given for an Angle oppoſite to one of them, the Rule is—As the Sine of one of the Legs is to the whole Sine, ſo is the Tangent of the other Leg to the Tangent of the Angle.

4. But if the Hypothenuſe be found among the conjunct Parts, as if the Hypothenuſe and the Angle be given, to find the adjacent Side; the Sides of the Triangle are to be continued one Way, till they become

Quadrants, that we may have a new Triangle, wherein the Hypothenuſe is not among the Parts that come into the Queſtion; *e. gr.* in our Caſe, the Triangle, wherein are given the Complement of the Hypothenuſe, and the Complement of an Angle, and another Angle the Complement of the Leg; ſince then in the Triangle the Hypothenuſe does not come in Queſtion, the Rule is as before.

5. When the Sides of a Triangle are to be continued, it is the ſame Thing which Way ſoever they be produced, provided no acute Angle come into the Queſtion, otherwiſe the Sides are to be continued through the other oblique one. If both be in the Connection, the Sides are to be continued through that adjacent to the Side in Queſtion.

By this Means a Triangle is always obtained, wherein the Thing requir'd is found, either by the Rules of Sines or Tangents.

Solution of right angled ſpherical TRIANGLES, by a catholick Rule.—Conſider, as before, whether the Parts that come in Queſtion be conjunct or diſjunct.

If either one, or both the Sides, including the right Angle, come into the Queſtion; for it, among the Data, writes its Complement to a Quadrant. Since, then, by the catholick Rule already deliver'd, the whole Sine, with the Sine Complement of the middle Part, is equal to the Sines of the diſjunct Parts, and the Co-tangents of the conjunct Parts; from the Sum of thoſe Data ſubſtract the third Datum; the Remainder will be ſome Sine or Tangent, the Side or Angle correſponding to which, in the artificial Canon of Triangle, is the Side or Angle fought.

This univerſal Rule being of great Service in *Trigonometry*, we ſhall apply it to the various Caſes thereof, and illuſtrate it with Examples; which Examples in the Caſe of diſjunct or ſeparate Parts, will, at the ſame Time, illuſtrate the common Method, but in the Caſe of contiguous Parts, admit of other Solutions.

1. The Hypothenuſe 60° , and the Angle $23^{\circ}, 30'$, being given, to find the oppoſite Leg. Since the oppoſite Leg is the middle Part, the Angle and Hypothenuſe are diſjunct; the whole Sine, with the Co-ſine of the Complement of the Leg, *i. e.* with the whole Sine of the Leg, is equal to the Sines of the Angle, and Hypothenuſe.

Therefore from the Sine of the Angle 96006997
Sine of the Hypothenuſe 99375306

	Sum 195382303
Subſtract the whole Sine	100000000
Remain Sine of the Hypoth.	9.5382303, the
correſponding Number, to which in the Canon,	is $20^{\circ}, 12', 6''$.

2. Given the Hypothenuſe 60° , and one of the Leg $20^{\circ}, 12', 6''$, to find the oppoſite Angle.—It is evident from the preceding Problem, that from the Sum of the whole Sine, and the Sine of the Leg, the Sine of the Hypothenuſe is to be ſubſtracted, the Remainder is the Sine of the Angle. The Example, therefore, of the former Caſe is eaſily converted into an Example of this.

3. Given the Leg $20^{\circ}, 12', 6''$, and the oppoſite Angle $23^{\circ}, 30'$, to find the Hypothenuſe.—'Tis evident from the firſt Caſe, that from the Sum of the whole Sine, and the Sine of the Leg, is to be ſubſtracted the Sine of the Angle, and the Remainder is the Sine of the Hypothenuſe.

4. Given the Hypothenuſe 60° , and one Leg $20^{\circ}, 12', 16''$, to find the other Leg.—Since the Hypothenuſe is a mean Part, and the two Legs are diſjunct Parts, the whole Sine, with the Co-ſine of the Hypothenuſe, are equal to the Sines of the Complements; *i. e.* to the Co-ſines of the two Legs.

Therefore from the whole Sine 100000000
Co-ſine of the Hypothenuſe 96089700

	Sum 196989700
Subſtract Co-ſine of a Leg	99724279
Remains Co ſine of the other Leg	97265121, the
correſponding Number to which, in the Canon,	is $32^{\circ}, 11', 34''$; therefore the Leg fought
	$57^{\circ}, 48', 26''$.

5. Given

5. Given this Leg $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$, and the other Leg $20^{\circ} 12' 6''$, to find the Hypothenufe. 'Tis evident from the preceding Cafe, that the whole Sine is to be subſtracted, from the Sum of the Co-fines of the two Legs; the Remainder is the Co-fine of the Hypothenufe. The Example, therefore, of the preceding Cafe is eaſily applied to this.

6. Given the Leg $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$, and the adjacent Angle $23^{\circ} 30'$, to find the oppoſite Angle.—Since the oppoſite Angle is a middle Part, and the Leg and adjacent Angle diſjunct Parts; the whole Sine, with the Co-fine of the oppoſite Angle, is equal to the Sine of the adjacent Angle, and the Sine of the Complement, *i. e.* to the Co-fine of the Leg.

Therefore from the Sine of the adjacent Angle	}	96006997
Co-fine of the Leg		97265421

	Sum	193272418
Subſtract the whole Sine		100000000

Remains Co-fine of the oppoſite Angle	}	93272418, the
Number correſponding to which, in the Canon,		

is $12^{\circ} 15' 56''$; therefore the oppoſite Angle is $77^{\circ} 44' 4''$.

7. Given the Leg $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$, and the oppoſite Angle $77^{\circ} 44' 4''$, to find the adjacent Angle.—'Tis evident from the preceding Cafe, that the Co-fine of the Leg is to be ſubſtracted from the Sum of the whole Sine, and the Co-fine of the oppoſite Angle; the Remainder is the Sine of the adjacent Angle. The former Example, therefore, is eaſily accommodated to the preſent Cafe.

8. Given the oblique Angles $77^{\circ} 44' 4''$, and $23^{\circ} 30'$, to find the Leg adjacent to the other.—From Problem the Sixth, 'tis evident, that the Sine of the Angle $23^{\circ} 30'$, is to be ſubſtracted from the Sum of the whole Sine, and the Co-fine of the Angle $77^{\circ} 44' 4''$; and that the Remainder is the Co-fine of the adjacent Leg. The Example of the ſixth Problem is eaſily applied to this.

9. Given the Leg $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$, and the adjacent Angle $23^{\circ} 30'$, to find the oppoſite Leg.—Since the Leg $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$ is a mean Part; and the adjacent Angle and oppoſite Leg conjunct Parts; the whole Sine, with the Sine of the Leg $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$, is equal to the Co-tangent of the adjacent Angle, and the Tangent of the oppoſite Leg.

Therefore from the whole Sine	100000000
Sine of the Leg $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$	99275039

	Sum,	199275039
Subſtract the Co-tangent of the adjacent Angle	}	103616981
Remains the Tangent of the oppoſite Leg		95658058 the

which the correſponding Number in the Canon, is, $20^{\circ} 12' 6''$.

10. Given the Leg $20^{\circ} 12' 6''$, and the oppoſite Angle $23^{\circ} 30'$, to find the adjacent Leg.—From the Sum of the Co-tangent of the oppoſite Angle, and the Tangent of the given Leg, ſubſtract the whole Sine; the Remainder is the Sine of the adjacent Leg.

11. Given the Legs $20^{\circ} 12' 6''$, and $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$, to find the Angle oppoſite to one of them.—From the Sum of the whole Sine, and Sine of the Leg $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$, ſubſtract the Tangent of the other Leg; the Remainder is the Co-tangent of the oppoſite Angle.

12. Given the Hypothenufe 60° , and the oblique Angle $23^{\circ} 30'$, to find the adjacent Leg.—Since the oblique Angle is a middle Part; and the Hypothenufe, and adjacent Leg conjunct Parts, the whole Sine, with the Co-fine of the oblique Angle, will be equal to the Co-tangent of the adjacent Leg.

Therefore from the whole Sine	100000000
Co-fine of the oblique Angle	99623978

	Sum,	199623978
Subſtract the Co-tangent of the Hypoth.	}	97614394
Remains the Tangent of the adjacent Leg		102009594, the

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Number correſponding to which in the Tables is, $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$.

13. Given the Leg $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$, and the adjacent Angle $23^{\circ} 30'$, to find the Hypothenufe. From the Sum of the whole Sine, and the Co-fine of the adjacent Angle, ſubſtract the Tangent of the Leg, the Remainder is the Co-tangent of the Hypothenufe.

14. Given the Hypothenufe 60° , and the Leg $57^{\circ} 48' 26''$, to find the adjacent Angle.

From the Sum of the Co-tangent of the Hypothenufe, and Tangent of the Leg, ſubſtract the whole Sine; the Remainder is the Co-fine of the adjacent Angle.

15. Given the Hypothenufe 60° , and one Angle $23^{\circ} 30'$, to find the other Angle.

Since the Hypothenufe is the middle Part, and both Angles diſjunct Parts, the whole Sine, with the Co-fine of the Hypothenufe, will be equal to the Co-tangents of the two Angles.

Therefore from the whole Sine	100000000
Co-fine of the Hypoth.	96989700

	Sum,	196989700
Subſtract the Co-tangent of the Angle $23^{\circ} 30'$	}	103616981

Remain the Co-tangent of the other Angle	}	93372719, the
correſponding Number, to which, in the Canon,		

is $12^{\circ} 15' 56''$; therefore the Angle ſought is $77^{\circ} 44' 4''$.

16. Given the oblique Angles $77^{\circ} 44' 4''$, and $23^{\circ} 30'$, to find the Hypothenufe.—From the Sum of the Co-tangents of the Angles, ſubſtract the whole Sine; the Remainder is the Co-fine of the Hypothenufe. From this I'll paſs to the *Solution of the oblique-angled ſpherical Triangles.*

1. In an *oblique-angled ſpherical Triangle*, two Sides being given together with an Angle oppoſite to one of them, to find the other. The Rule is,

As the Sine of one of the Sides, is to the Sine of the oppoſite Angle; ſo is the Sine of the other Side to the Sine of the Angle oppoſite to it, likewise.

Suppoſe, for Example, the Side $39^{\circ} 29'$; the oppoſite Angle $43^{\circ} 20'$; the other Side $66^{\circ} 45'$; then will,

The Sine of the firſt Side	98033572
The Sine of the oppoſite Angle	98364771
The Sine of the other Side	99632168

	Sum,	197996939
Sine of the Angle, oppoſite to the ſecond Side	}	99963367, the
correſponding Number to which, in the Tables,		

is $82^{\circ} 34' 7''$.

2. Given two Angles $82^{\circ} 34' 7''$, and $43^{\circ} 20'$, together with the Side $60^{\circ} 44'$, oppoſite to one of them; to find the Side oppoſite to the other of them.—Say, as the Sine of the firſt Angle $82^{\circ} 34' 7''$, is to the Sine of the oppoſite Side $60^{\circ} 45'$; ſo is the Sine of the Angle $43^{\circ} 20'$, to the Sine of the other Side oppoſite to it.—The former Example may ſuffice for the preſent Cafe.

3. Given two Sides $66^{\circ} 45'$, and $39^{\circ} 29'$, together with an Angle oppoſite to one of them $45^{\circ} 20'$; to find the Angle included by them.—Suppoſe the Angle included to be acute, ſince the other Angle is alſo acute, the Perpendicular falls in with the Triangles. In the rectangle Triangle, therefore, from the given Angle and Side, find another Angle. Since the Perpendicular is aſſumed as a lateral Part in the Triangle, the third Angle is a middle Part, and the Side $39^{\circ} 29'$ a conjoint Part; the Co-fine of the third Angle, and the Co-tangent of the Side $39^{\circ} 29'$; if then the ſecond and third Angles be added together, or in Cafe the Perpendicular falls without the Triangle, be ſubſtracted from each other; you will have the Angle requir'd.

<i>E. gr.</i> the whole Sine	100000000
Co-fine of the firſt Side	95963154

	Sum,	195963154
Co-tangent of the oppoſite Angle	}	100252805

Co-tangent of the 2d Angle	95710349, the
13 R	Number

Number corresponding to which, in the Tables, is $20^{\circ}, 25', 35''$; the first Side, therefore, is $69^{\circ}, 34', 25''$.

The Co-Sine of the other Angle 95428300.
The Co-Tang. of the other Side 100141529.

	Sum	196269829
Co-Tang. of the first Side		96330085.

Co-Sine of the 3d Angle 99938544. The Number corresponding to which, in the Tables, is $80^{\circ}, 24', 26''$.

4. Given two Angles, $43^{\circ}, 20'$, and $79^{\circ}, 9', 59''$, together with the adjacent Side, $66^{\circ}, 45'$, to find the Side opposite to one of them.

From one of the given Angles, let fall a Perpendicular to the unknown Side, and in the rectangled *Triangle*, from the given Angle, and Hypothenufe, find another Angle, which, subtracted from the first Angle, leaves a third Angle; but if the Perpendicular should fall without the *Triangle*, the first Angle should have been subtracted, since as the Perpendicular is taken from one of the lateral Parts, the middle Part in the *Triangle* is the Angle $79^{\circ}, 9', 59''$, the Co-Tangent of the second Side is found by subtracting the Co-Sine from the Sum of the Co-Tangent of the adjacent Side, and the Co-Sine of the Angle found first of the other Angles. The Example of the preceding Case is easily applied to this.

5. Given two Sides $66^{\circ}, 45'$, and $39^{\circ}, 29'$, with the Angle opposite to one of them $43^{\circ}, 20'$; to find the third Side.

Letting fall, as before, the Perpendicular; in the rectangled *Triangle*, from the given Angle and Hypothenufe, find another Side. Since assuming the Perpendicular, for a lateral Part in the *Triangle*, the Side $66^{\circ}, 45'$ is the middle Part, and the Side found the separate Part, and the two other Angles a disjunct Part: The Co-Sine of these two Angles is found by subtracting the Co-Sine of the first Side, from the Sum of the Co-Sines of the Hypothenufe, and the Side found.

6. Given two Angles $43^{\circ}, 20'$, and $77^{\circ}, 9', 59''$, together with the Side $39^{\circ}, 29'$, opposite to one of them; to find the Side adjacent to both.

Letting fall the perpendicular, find in the rectangled *Triangle*, the Sequent of the Side sought; which, subtracted from the third Side, leaves two Angles. If the Perpendicular falls without the *Triangle*, the third Side is to be subtracted from the Side found, since by assuming the Perpendicular for a lateral Part in the *Triangle*, the Hypothenufe becomes a middle Part, and the Side found from it and the Angle given, a separate Part.

7. Given two Angles $43^{\circ}, 20'$, and $79^{\circ}, 9', 59''$, together with the Side $39^{\circ}, 29'$, opposite to one of them, to find the Side adjacent to both.

Letting fall the Perpendicular from the unknown Angle to the opposite Side; and that falling within the *Triangle*; from the given Angle $79^{\circ}, 9'$ and $59''$, and the Hypothenufe, seek in the rectangled *Triangle*, the Segment; since assuming the Perpendicular for a lateral Part in one *Triangle*, two Angles of that *Triangle* are the mean Part, and the Angle $79^{\circ}, 9', 59''$, a conjunct Part; and in the other *Triangle* two Angles thereof are the middle Part, and the other Angle a conjunct Part. The Sine of the Segment is found by subtracting the Co-Tangent of the Angle $79^{\circ}, 9', 59''$, from the Sum of the Sine, and the Co-Tangent of the Angle $43^{\circ}, 20'$. If then the two Segments be added, or in Case the Perpendicular fall without the *Triangle*, be subtracted from each other, the Result will be in the Side required.

8. Given two Sides $66^{\circ}, 45'$, and $39^{\circ}, 29'$, with the included Angle $49^{\circ}, 9', 59''$, to find the Angle opposite to one of them.

Letting fall the Perpendicular, find the Segment, as in the preceding Problem. This subtracted from the Side $66^{\circ}, 45'$, leaves another Side. If the Perpendicular falls without the *Triangle*, the Side $66^{\circ}, 45'$, is to be added. And since by assuming the Perpendicular for

a lateral Part in the other *Triangle*, the Segment is the middle Part, and the first Angle given a conjunct Part. The Co-Tangent of this Angle is found by subtracting the Sine from the Sum of the Co-Tangent of the other Angle given, and of the other Sine.

9. Given two Angles $43^{\circ}, 20'$, and $79^{\circ}, 9', 59''$, together with the adjacent Side $66^{\circ}, 45'$, to find the Angle opposite to the same.

From one of the given Angles, letting fall the Perpendicular to the opposite Side; in the rectangled *Triangle* from the first given Angle, and Hypothenufe, we find an Angle; which, subtracted from the *Triangle*, leaves another Angle. In Case the Perpendicular falls without the *Triangle*, from which this last Angle is taken, the second Angle is to be subtracted from the first Angle. Since by assuming the Perpendicular for a lateral Part in the *Triangle*, the Angle opposite to the second Angle given is the middle Part, and the other Angle a disjunct Part; and in the other *Triangle* the first Angle given is the middle Part, and the Angle found from the first given Angle, and the Hypothenufe, the disjunct Part: The Co-Sine of the Angle opposite to the second Angle given is found by subtracting the Sine of the Angle taken from the first Angle given, and the Hypothenufe from the Sum of the Co-Sine of the first Angle given, and the Sine of the Angle found by the Subtraction of that Angle.

1. Given two Angles $43^{\circ}, 20'$, and $82^{\circ}, 34'$, together with a Side $66^{\circ}, 45'$, opposite to one of them; to find the other Angle.

From the sought Angle let fall a Perpendicular, and in the right angled *Triangle*, from the first given Angle and Hypothenufe, find another Angle. Since assuming the Perpendicular for a lateral Part in another *Triangle*, the second Angle given is the middle Part, and the other Angle a disjunct Part; and in the first *Triangle* the first Angle given is the middle Part, and the first Angle is found a disjunct Part: The Sine of the second Angle found, is found by subtracting the Co Sine of the first Angle given, from the Sum of the Co-Sine of the second Angle given, and of the Sine of the first *Triangle*; if then the two first Angles found be added, or in Case the Perpendicular falls without the *Triangle*, be subtracted from each other, the Result will be the Angle required.

2. Given the three Sides, to find an Angle opposite to one of them. 1. If one Side be a Quadrant, and the Leg less than a Quadrant, find the first Angle. Continue the Leg to a certain Distance 'till that Distance and the Beginning of the Leg become equal to a Quadrant, and from the first Pole draw an Arch to cut the Arch of the End of the Leg and the Distance, at right Angles in the Distance. Since in the rectangled *Triangle*, we have given the Hypothenufe, and the Side, or its Complement to a Quadrant, we shall find the Perpendicular, which being the Measure of the Angle sought, that Angle is found of Course.

2. If one Side be a Quadrant, and the other greater than a Quadrant, seek again the first Angle; from the second Side subtract a Quadrant, and from the first Angle describe an Arch, cutting that Arch at right Angles. Since in the rectangled *Triangle*, the Hypothenufe and Side, or Excess of the Side beyond a Quadrant is given, the Perpendicular C.D. will be found as before, which is the Measure of the Angle required.

Trigonometry is of the utmost Use in various mathematical Arts. It is by Means hereof that most of the Operations of *Geometry* and *Astronomy* are performed. Without it the Magnitude of the Earth and the Stars, with Distances, Motions, Eclipses, &c. would be utterly unknown. *Trigonometry* therefore must be owned an Art, whereby the most hidden Things, and those remotest from the Knowledge of Men, are brought to Light. A Person ignorant of *Trigonometry*, can make no great Progress in mixed Mathematicks; but will often be gravell'd, even in natural Philosophy, particularly in accounting for the Phenomena of the Rainbow and other Meteors.

T R I N I T Y.

TRINITY, *Trinitas*, or the *Mystery of the blessed Trinity*, is commonly defined, *the Unity of three Persons really distinct*. But, as according to the Fathers of the Church, there is not a more profound and sublime Mystery than that of the *blessed Trinity*; it would be better to believe it simply, and adore it in a respectful Silence than to attempt to explain it; if St. *Hilary* had not been pleased to say, *lib. 2. de Trinit.* that the most perfect Science is to know three Persons in one God: For which Reason I'll endeavour to explain, with God's Assistance, what the Church, which is the faithful Interpreter of the Scriptures, teaches us of that great Mystery.

But to observe some Order in this Treatise, I'll divide it into two Parts.

In the *first Part* I'll treat of the *blessed Trinity* in general, and of what belongs to the divine Persons considered in common.

In the *last Part*, I'll treat of the Persons in particular, and of the Things which belong to each of them.

In the *first Part* I'll explain, 1. The Existence, Essence, and Cognoscibility of the Mystery of the blessed Trinity. 2. The divine Processions and their Principles. 3. The divine Relations. 4. The Number of Subsistences or Personalities, and likewise the Number of Existences, Entities, and Things in the divine Persons. 5. The Notions, Properties, and notional Acts. 6. The Consubstantiality, Equality, Similitude, Circumcession, and Order of the divine Persons. 7. The Predicability of the Things which are considered in the divine Persons, and the Manner of expressing the Things belonging to that Mystery. And, 8. The Mission of the divine Persons.

In the *last Part* I'll treat, 1. Of the first Person: 2. Of the second Person: And, 3. Of the third Person. Therefore,

PART I.

1. As to the *Existence, Essence, and Cognoscibility of the Mystery of the blessed Trinity*.—Before we can pretend to proceed further on this Subject, we must explain in a concise Manner what is to be understood by the Name of Essence and Person, taken in general; and what by the Name of divine Essence and Person.

The Essence of any Thing whatever, is what is first in it, or what establishes it by itself, and distinguishes it from all other, and is the Source, Origin, and Root of the Properties thereof.

This wants no Proof, nor a clearer Explanation, since it can be easily understood by the single Signification of the Terms.

The *divine Essence* precisely considered, can be defined *a Being of itself, or a Being entirely independant*, because the Ratio of a Being of itself is what is first conceived to be in God, and to constitute and distinguish him; and is the Source and Root of all his Perfections: Therefore, &c.

A Person considered, *in concreto*, is defined by *Boetius*, in his Book of the two Natures, and one Person in Christ, *the individual Substance of a rational Nature*.

1. It is called *Substance*, to give to understand that the Ratio of Persons does not become an Accident; and the Reason is, that every Person has of itself wherewith to be individuated; but an Accident is not to be individuated by its Subject.

2. It is called *individual*, because there is a Disparity between the Ratio of Person and that of Substance, because the Name of Substance becomes both an universal and a particular Substance; but Person is of the singular, and not of universal.

3. It is called *rational Nature*, i. e. *intellectual*, to distinguish Person from Suppositum, or Hypostasis: For these become all Substances, whether they be irrational, or insensible, or rational: But Person become only rational Substances; for as that Nature, which is rational or intellectual, is Mistress of her Actions, it must be designed by some particular Name becoming its Dignity.

For a clearer Explanation of our Definition, we may add to it these two Terms, *complete* and *incommunicable*. For, 1. A Person ought to be an entire Substance, and not Part thereof. Whence neither Matter nor a substantial Form, taken separately, has the Ratio of Person, and it must be complete in this Sense, as to have the last Complement of itself, i. e. an Hypostasis or Personality. 2. It must be incommunicable to another as to a Suppositum; for though Nature be communicable to the Suppositum in which it subsists; the Suppositum notwithstanding, in which Nature subsists, is incommunicable to another Suppositum.

Person in abstracto or *Personality*, can be defined, *the Hypostasis of an intellectual Nature*. Because Personality is like a certain substantial Mode giving its last Complement to an intellectual Nature, with regard to Substance, or with regard to its existing by itself, and incommunicably.

From what we have said it is easily inferred, what is a divine Person *in concreto*, and *in abstracto*. But for a better and clearer Intelligence thereof,

We'll ask, 1. Whether the Name of Person is to be introduced in the Godhead? Which I answer in the Affirmative. Because what is the most excellent in the Creature must not be denied to God; but the Ratio of Person is what is the most excellent in the Creature; for Person says two Things, viz. an intellectual Nature; and a very perfect Manner of existing, viz. the Manner of existing in itself.

It may be objected, that Person says something composed; and as we are not to admit a Composition in God, we are not therefore to admit Person.

Which Objection I answer by a Distinction, viz. Person says something composed in Things material and created, but not in the immaterial and increated.

We'll ask, 2. *If, and how the Name of Person in God, signifies both Relation and Essence?*

To which I answer, that *the Name of Person, in recto, signifies a certain Relation*, not by manner of Relation, but by manner of Subsistence; and signifies Essence *in obliquo*. It signifies a Relation, *in recto*; because that Name signifies that *in recto*, which it is principally appointed to signify; but the Name of Person is appointed to signify, *in recto*, something relative in God: Therefore, &c.

It can be objected against this first Part, that Person, *in general*, i. e. *as abstracted from created, and divine, does not say a Relation, in recto, as it does not say a created Person: And therefore not an increated one.*

I answer this Objection by denying the Consequence: The Reason of the Disparity is, that Person, *in general*, signifies neither a Thing relative, nor absolute, but is abstracted from both, as signifying only something indistinct in itself, and distinct from another: A created Person says something absolute; but a divine Person says, *in recto*, something relative; as it will appear hereafter.

I prove the second Part of my Answer, viz. that Person which, *in recto, signifies a Relation, does not signify it by manner of Relation, but by manner of Subsistence or Hypostasis*; because it signifies it, not as it has a Report to another, but as it makes it subsist.

I prove the third Part, viz. that *the Name of Person signifies Essence in obliquo*. Because it is certain that it signifies it, as it appears by itself; but does not signify it, *in recto*, since it signifies only a certain Relation, not by manner of Relation, but by manner of Subsistence: Therefore it signifies it *in obliquo*.—These pre-observed,

We'll ask, *if there be a Mystery of the blessed Trinity?*

Which to answer pertinently, we'll observe that it is question here of a Mystery which the *Jews, Gentiles*, and some Hereticks deny; and therefore must be proved by several Arguments. For we must use against the *Jews*, Arguments taken from the Old Testament, since they reject the New: Against the Hereticks, Arguments taken from both Testaments, since they admit of both: And against the *Gentiles*, we must argue rather negatively by

solving their Objections, than positively by quoting the Authorities of the Scripture, since they reject both Testaments. These pre-observed,

I answer, that *there is a Mystery of the blessed Trinity*: Because there are in the Divinity three Persons really distinct in one and the same Essence; as it can be proved by several Passages of both the Old and New Testament.

Genes. i. we read these Words, *in the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth*; and towards the latter End of the same Chapter these, *Let us make Man in our Image after our Likeness*. The former Passage designs God's Unity in the singular Number; and the latter the Trinity of Persons in the plural.

If you object with the *Jews*, that those Terms, *let us make*, are used in the plural Number not to design a Plurality, but the Majesty of God, according to the usual Manner of speaking of Princes and illustrious Persons: I'll answer that those Terms are not to be taken otherwise in this Place than they are taken, *Genes. iii. 22.* *And the Lord God said, behold the Man is become as one of us, to know Good and Evil.* But these Words indicate several Persons, as it appears of itself: Therefore, &c.—Likewise from all these Places where the three Persons of the Trinity are expressed, *Matt.* the last Chapter, *Go ye teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* *John xv. 26.* *But when the Comforter is come, says he, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, he shall testify of me.* And *1 John v. 7.* *For there are three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one.* Three in Reality, and not by Name only; as there are three that bear Testimony on Earth, that Christ is both God and Man, viz. *the Spirit, Blood, and Water.* That Spirit which Christ gave up on the Cross, and the Blood and Water which flowed from his Side.

From what I have said it can be inferred, 1. That there are not only three Persons in the Divinity, but likewise, that those three Persons are but one and the same God; for each of them has one and the same divine Essence. None of the Hereticks deny it of the Father. And it is proved of the Son, *Rom. ix.* in these Words, *of which is Christ, who is above all Things a blessed God for ever.* And because he is coeternal to the Father, *John i. 1.* *In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* It is likewise certain of the Holy Ghost, *Acts v. 3.* where *St. Peter* speaks thus to *Ananias*, *Why hath Satan filled thine Heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, &c. thou hast not lied unto Men, but unto God.*

From what we have said it is easily inferred, how great was the Error of the *Sabellians*, and of several other Hereticks, who affirmed that there was but one Person in the Deity, but who had different Names according to his different Offices. Whence they said that the Father had suffered for us on the Cross.

It can be objected against my Proposition, where I affirm that there is a Trinity; that if there were several Persons in God really distinct, it would follow hence, that none of them, or at least some of them were not God; because none of them could be infinitely perfect, and possess entirely all sort of Perfection: Therefore it is a Sign that there is no Trinity.

I answer to this Objection, by denying the Sequel of the Major; because that real Distinction of the divine Persons is not on the Part of the Essence, but on the Part of the Persons. Therefore, though one Person be not really the other Person, he is notwithstanding the same Thing essentially with him; whence all the Perfection which is in one, is likewise really in the other; because of the supreme and most simple Unity of the divine Essence. Therefore *St. Gregory Nazianzen* says excellently well, *Serm. 17. num. 21.* that though the Father be not the Son, he is notwithstanding what the Son is.

We'll ask next, *whether the Mystery of the blessed Trinity can be naturally known or demonstrated?* Which to answer pertinently we must observe,

1. That what can be proved can be known; and that something can be proved in two Manners. 1. *Negatively*, by solving all the Objections made against the Truth thereof. 2. *Positively* by Arguments which prove its Existence.

2. That something can be proved positively in two Manners, 1. By a Demonstration either *a priori*, or *a posteriori*. 2. By some likely Proof.

3. That the Question proposed can be considered as made, either the Faith of the Mystery of the blessed Trinity already supposed or not supposed.—These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That *the Mystery of the blessed Trinity, the Faith thereof not yet supposed, cannot be known naturally, or positively demonstrated.* This Answer is against *Raimond Lully*, who (according to *Nicolas Emery*) pretended that all the Articles of Faith could be proved by necessary, demonstrative, and evident Reasons. Which Answer I prove by the Scripture, by the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, which requires the Revelation of the Father, or of the Son, for the Knowledge of the Mystery of the Trinity, *Matt. xi. 27.* *Neither knoweth any Man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.* And *xvi.* *Peter* having answered him in these Words, *Thou art Christ the Son of the living God*, immediately Christ concluded, *Blessed art thou Simon Bar-jona; for Flesh and Blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven.*

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Hilary*, *lib. 1. de Trin.* where he speaks thus: *Man must not imagine that by his own Understanding he can gain a Knowledge of the Mystery of the divine Generation.* And *St. Augustin*, *lib. 8. de Trinit. c. 5.* *We must sooner believe, says he, than understand.* And *lib. 7.* the last Chapter, *if it cannot be understood it must be believed, till he, who said unless you believe you'll not understand, enlighten our Hearts.*

By Reason, because if it could be demonstrated, it would be either *a priori*, or *a posteriori*; but it can be demonstrated neither *a priori* nor *a posteriori*; therefore, &c.

I prove the first Part of the minor, viz. that it cannot be demonstrated *a priori*; because there is no Cause which shews to us that Mystery as its Effect. Notwithstanding that the divine Essence can be said the virtual Principle of the divine Persons; for we do not know it as such a Principle.

I prove the second Part of the minor, viz. that it cannot be proved *a posteriori*, because there is no Effect in Nature which informs us that God is one in Essence, and three in Persons; and the Reason is, that the Works of God, *ad extra*, are common to all the Persons, and undivided; for God does not operate, *ad extra*, as three, but as one. All God's Work flow from his Power which is an Attribute essential and common to the whole Trinity: Therefore is those Works of God, *ad extra*, cannot lead us to the Knowledge of the three Persons, and no Reason can be deduced from them, to demonstrate that God be together one in Essence, and three in Persons.

To this it may be objected, 1. That several heathen Philosophers, as *Trismegistus*, *Plato*, and others, had some Knowledge of the Trinity, as it can be inferred from their Writings: Which Knowledge they must have had naturally, since they were not enlightened by Faith: Therefore the Mystery of the Trinity can be both known and demonstrated naturally, without Faith being supposed.

I answer to the major, that those Philosophers have either only known some of the Attributes which are appropriated to the Persons, but not the Persons themselves in one and the same Essence, according to *St. Paul*, *1 Cor. ii.* *We speak the Wisdom of God, which none of the Princes (i. e. of the Philosophers) have known*; or if they have known them, I say that it was by some Revelation made immediately to them, as some Mysteries were immediately revealed to the Sibyls, particularly to that of *Erytraea*, according to *St. Augustin*, *lib. 18. de civit. c. 23.* and *St. Jerom*, *lib. cont. Jovin.* where he says that Revelations were made to the Sibyls in Consideration of their Virginity; or have known it by Revelation made to some others, from whom they have learned the said Mystery, as *Plato* learned several Things from the Books of *Moses*, according to *Justin the Martyr*, in his Exhortation to the *Greeks*; though he must have learned them by Interpreters, for the Books of *Moses* were not yet translated into *Greek* in *Moses's* Time,

as St. *Augustin* observes, *lib. 8. de civit. c. 11.*

It is objected, 2. That there are some very certain Principles naturally known, which lead us to the Knowledge of the Mystery of the blessed *Trinity*; therefore that Mystery can be demonstrated. They prove the Antecedent of this Antimema, by an Enumeration of those Principles, 1. That it is certain God is intelligent and willing. 2. That he that is intelligent and willing, produces a Term. 3. That he that produces, and he that's produced, are really distinguished. 4. That there is no accidental Term in God, but must be a Substance. 5. That there are not several Substances in God, but only one.

To this I answer, by denying the *Antecedent*; and say, that the *Gentiles* can very reasonably revoke in doubt, at least some of the five Principles, enumerated in the Objection. For they can very reasonably doubt of the second, since it is not certain whether there be in Things created a Term of Intellection and Volition; several denying that there is a Term of the beatifick Vision. Some of the others can be also revoked in doubt. Add, that though those Principles should seem certain to the *Gentiles* in Things created; they could be, notwithstanding, very suspect to them in the Divines.

I answer, 2. *That Faith, even supposed, the Mystery of the Trinity cannot be naturally positively demonstrated.* Because Faith even supposed, the ancient Fathers, and other Theologians confess, notwithstanding, their Ignorance on that Mystery; at it appears from St. *Hilary*, *Lib. 2. de Trinit.* and because that, notwithstanding, the Revelation being supposed, likewise, there is no Reason capable to demonstrate *a priori*, or *a posteriori*, that there are three Persons really distinct in one and the same particular Essence, wherewith they are really and formally identified. Which does not hinder, notwithstanding, the Revelation from being of some Service, for it engages us to be more attentive to the natural Reasons; and hinders us from listening to those alledged against the Truth of that great Mystery.

But, say you, *the Faith supposed, cannot the Mystery of the Trinity be persuaded?* yes, for the Reasons above-mention'd.

I answer, 3. *That though the Mystery of the Trinity cannot be positively proved, it can be proved, notwithstanding, negatively:* Either because it can be proved by solving the Objections, or because it can be shewn, that that Mystery is not contrary to the natural Truth. For what is likely, cannot be repugnant to the natural Truth, since the true cannot be repugnant to the true: But the Mystery of the *Trinity* is very true: Therefore it is not repugnant to the natural Truth, and involves no Contradiction.

From what we have said, it may be inferred, that this Mystery is so sublime, that it can scarce be conceiv'd by a human Understanding. Whence St. *Augustin*, *Lib. 3. against Maximinus the Arian*, after he has explained that Mystery, adds these Words, which we may very well use here, and at the End of this Treatise; and say, *that he who has Wisdom enough may understand it; and he that cannot, believe and pray, that he may understand what he believes.*

But though, as already observ'd, the Sublimity of this Mystery, be greater than the Capacity of our Understanding; I'll endeavour, notwithstanding (the Faith thereof always supposed) to explain it in the best Manner I can, in the Sequel of this Treatise; beginning by the *Explication of the divine Processions, and of their Principles.*

Therefore I'll ask first, *if, and how many Processions there are in the Divinity?*

Before I can pretend to answer this Question, we must observe, 1. That by the Name of *Procession*, we generally understand the Origin or Emanation of one from the other, as from a Principle or Cause.

2. That *Procession* taken in general can be consider'd double in the Creatures, *viz.* one immanent, *i. e.* remaining within its Principle or Cause; such is the Procession of the Word of the Mind of a created Understanding: And the other passing, *i. e.* as going out of its Principle or Cause; such is the Procession of Heat from the Fire.

3. That the immanent Procession in the Divinity, can be consider'd in two Manners, 1. As it is common to the Procession of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

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2. As by the Church, it is appropriated to the sole Procession of the Holy Ghost, which is said in the Symbol of St. *Albanasius*, *not made, not created, not begotten, but proceeding.* We'll take here the Procession, according to the former Manner; and explain it afterwards, according to the latter.—These pre-observ'd,

I answer, 1. That *there is found in the Divinity, some true, and properly called immanent Procession.* Which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, and Symbols; by the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *John xvi. 28.* where Christ speaks thus of himself. *I came forth from the Father, and am come into the World.* By these Words is shewn his Procession from the Father. For if he had spoke only of his Incarnation in this Text of the Scripture, he had not said, *I came forth from the Father*; but had only said *I am come into the World*, according to St. *Augustin's* Remark, *Tract. 42. in Joan.* and of the Holy Ghost, it is said expressly, *John xv.* that he proceeds.

By the Councils and Symbols, and particularly the first of *Nice*, the first of *Constantinople*, the first of *Ephesus*, the first of *Chalcedon*. And likewise by the Symbol of *Nice*, which says, that the Son is born of the Father before all Ages, and that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and from the Son.

By the Fathers, particularly St. *Augustin*, *Tract. 1. in Joan.* and St. *Hilary*, *Lib. 4. de Trinit.* towards the End, in these Words, *For God is not in a Dwelling of a different and foreign Nature from him, but God dwells in him, and in a God begotten from him, because he is God of God.*

By Reason, because there is in God an Intellection and Volition simply infinite: Therefore productive of the Word and Love *ad intra*; and consequently there is an immanent Procession, which answers to such a productive Action.

If I be asked, *whether the Procession be from the producing, as from a Principle, and not as from a Cause?* I'll answer in the Affirmative; and the Reason is, because the Procession, which is from the producing as from a Principle, argues no Imperfection: Whereas that which is from the producing as from a Cause, not only imports some Imperfection, *viz.* a Dependence from that Cause, but likewise a Diversity of Nature between the producing and the proceeding.

It may be objected, 1. That whatever has the Ratio of a first Principle, since it is God himself, it cannot proceed from another; and that every Thing that is in God, having the Ratio of a first Principle, since it is God himself, it cannot proceed from another: And consequently there can be no immanent Procession in God.

I answer this Objection by a *Distinction of the Major*; it cannot proceed from another as from something foreign, and different in Nature, that's true; but it can proceed from another, intimate and the same in Nature.

It may be objected, 2. If there was a Procession of Persons in the Divinity, it would follow, that the divine Person proceeding would be from another, and not from himself: But that cannot be said, since to be produced, and be from another, imports an Imperfection; therefore, *&c.*

I answer this Objection by a *Distinction of the Minor*, it would be from another as from a Principle that's true; but not from another, as from a Cause. For there is no Imperfection in a divine Person to be from another, as from a Principle producing, wherewith he has the same Nature, and that numerically. In that Hypothesis, the divine Nature is not produced, but only communicated: The Person alone is produced, and that indicates a great, supreme, and infinite Fecundity of the divine Nature in itself.

I answer, 2. That *there are two Processions in God, neither more, nor less.*

I prove the first Part of this Answer, *viz.* that *there are two Processions in God*; because there are two immanent productive Actions, *viz.* the Intellection and Volition, to which so many Processions answer. Mention is made of those two Processions in the Scripture, as shewn in the preceding Article.

It is objected, that the divine Intellection, and the divine Volition, are really but one and the same Action: Therefore there cannot be two Processions from them.

I answer by *denying the Consequence*; because those two Actions are virtually distinguished, and that's sufficient

to establish two distinct Processions.

I prove the second Part of my Answer, *viz.* that *there are neither more nor less than two Processions in God.* Because there are no more immanent productive Actions in an intellectual Nature, than these two, *viz.* Intellection, and Volition, whence it follows, that there are only two immanent Processions answering to these two immanent productive Actions.

It is objected, that though there be within us but one Understanding, and one Will, there are, notwithstanding, several Processions of both Faculties; why not likewise in God in whom we suppose a *greater Fecundity*?

I answer this Objection by denying the Consequence: And the Reason of the Disparity is, that we cannot understand, and will all Things by the same Act; but want various Acts to understand various Things; *v. gr.* we understand God by one Act, and a Lion by another: Likewise, we will something by one Act, and some other Thing by another Act. But God, by Reason of his infinite Power and Perfection, understands all the Things he understands by one and the same Act, and loves all the Things he loves, by one and the same Act. Whence it happens, that there is only one Procession by the Understanding, and one by the Will.

It is objected, 2. That besides the two Processions mention'd, there is another, *viz.* the Emanation of the Paternity from the Essence; therefore there are more than two Processions.

I answer this Objection, by distinguishing the antecedent; there is another Procession improperly so called, and virtual only, that's true; but there is no other properly so called, and importing a real Distinction between the producing, and the produced.

We'll ask next, *whether the Procession of the second Person in God be properly a Generation?* Which to answer, pertinently, we must observe,

1. That it is not question here of every Generation, without Distinction, from a substantial *non esse*, to a substantial *esse*, as it becomes both the Things that live, and those which do not live; but only of that Generation properly and strictly taken, which becomes the Living only.

2. That Generation, properly taken, is commonly defined, *the Origin or Procession of the Living, from a living Principle, joined in Similitude of Nature.* These pre-observ'd,

I answer, *that the Procession of the second Person is a Generation.* Which Proposition is of Faith; and which I prove by the Scripture, the Symbols, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Psalms* ii. *Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee.* And *Isaiah* iii. *Who shall recount his Generation?* And from all the Places of the Scripture, in which the first Person is called Father, and the second Person, Son.

By the Symbols, *viz.* of the Apostles, of Nice, and of St. Athanasius; in which the second Person is called Son, and even only Son.

By the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, *Lib. 2. de Trinit. c. 2. Lib. 5. c. 6. and Tract. 19. in Joan.*

By Reason, because the Definition of Generation, properly said, becomes the Procession of the Son: Therefore it is a Generation, properly said. That the Definition of Generation becomes the Procession of the Son appears, because,

1. That Generation of the Son, is a Procession of a Living from a Living; because it is a certain Emanation of a living Person, behaving himself in a living Manner, as it appears from *John* vi. *As the living Father has sent me, and I live by the Father: And c. 5. for as the Father hath Life in himself; so hath he given to the Son to have Life in himself.*

2. That Procession of the Son is from a Principle of Life joined. Because he has the whole Substance of the Father, as he witnesses of himself, *John* xiv. *I, says he, in the Father, and the Father is in me.*

3. That Procession of the Son is in Similitude of Nature; because the Nature of both, which identifies to itself the Personalities, is not only one in Species, but likewise numerically. These Words, *John* x. *I and the Father are one,* shew that Identity.

To these can be added, that the Son proceeds for-

mally from the Father in Similitude of Nature, *i. e.* by Virtue of his Procession, because the Son proceeds by the Understanding, which tends towards the Word, or expressed Species, which is the most perfect Representation of the Object; and thereby several Objections are obviated; because those Objections shew only that the Procession of the Son or Word, is free from the Imperfections which are found in the Generation of the Creatures.

We'll ask next, *whether the Procession of the third Person of the Trinity be properly a Generation?*

Which I answer in the Negative; and I prove my Answer by the Scripture, by all the Symbols, by the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, which in several Places, particularly *John* i. and iii. and *1 John* iv. calls the Son *the only begotten.*

By the Symbols, which call him *the only*, and *the only begotten Son.*

By the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, *Lib. de fidei Symb. c. 9.*

By Reason, because the Definition of Generation does not become the Procession of the Holy Ghost. — For the Holy Ghost, by Virtue of his Procession, does not formally proceed semblable in Nature, but only materially and identically; since the Volition whereby the Father wills likewise himself, is not an Action, which by itself expresses a Similitude; but is only a Tendency towards the Thing loved; according to this of St. Augustin; *my Tendency is my Love, wherever I am carried, I am carried thither.*

It is objected, that in several Places of the Scripture, and particularly *Matt.* and *Luke* i. the Son is called First-born; therefore it is a Sign, that there is besides another Procession which is a Generation, whereby another is likewise said begotten.

I answer this Objection by a Distinction of the Antecedent; it is called First-born negatively, because there is no other before him, that's true; but not positively, as if there were others posterior to him.

It is objected, 2. That the Definition of Generation becomes the Procession of the Holy Ghost; for the Spirit is Love; and the Procession of Love tends towards its semblable: Therefore the Procession of the Holy Ghost is properly a Generation.

I answer, by denying the *Antecedent*; because the Procession of the Holy Ghost is not formally in the Similitude of Nature, as already observ'd. Notwithstanding what is said, that the Holy Ghost is Love; for as Love, he does not otherwise tend towards the semblable that he produces, than materially and identically.

This will appear clearer in the following Article; in which we'll explain more distinctly, and more at large, *Why the Procession of the Son of God be rather called a Generation, than the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Explaining, at the same Time, the different Opinions which are contrary to ours, and solving all the Objections.* Therefore,

The Procession of the Son is a true Generation, properly so called, and the Son is properly said begotten, because by Virtue of his Procession, he formally proceeds semblable to his Father in Nature: And the Procession of the Holy Ghost is not properly a Generation; and the Holy Ghost is not properly begotten, because, by Virtue of his Procession, he does not proceed semblable to the Father, and to the Son in Nature.

I prove the first Part of my Assertion, *viz.* that *the Procession of the Son is properly a Generation, because by it, and by Virtue thereof, the Son proceeds formally semblable to the Father in Nature;* because it is of the Ratio of a very perfect Understanding, to have the Term of his Intellection perfectly semblable in Nature, by Virtue of his Procession formally, if the Object requires by itself to be perfectly united to it: But in the Divinity, the Understanding of the Father is most perfect, and even of an infinite Perfection, and the divine Nature requires by itself in the Ratio of an intelligible Object to be perfectly united to it, is in fact substantially united, and so necessarily substantially united, that it cannot be otherwise united to it, or by another Form, as by an impressed Species, than by itself: Therefore it must produce a substantial Similitude; and consequently a Similitude in Nature.

If I be asked, *Whether the divine Understanding, by a generical Ratio, has wherewith to produce necessarily a Term perfectly semblable in Nature?* I'll answer in the Negative, because it has that only from a special Ratio of the divine Understanding; for the Understanding consider'd generically, is abstracted from a Term semblable in Nature, and accidentally semblable.

It is objected, that though the Father, in the Divinity, knows the Thing possible; the Son, notwithstanding, is not semblable to the Things possible: Therefore the Son, likewise, will not be semblable in Nature to the Father, from that the Father understands his Nature.

I answer, by denying the *Consequence*; the Reason of the Disparity is, that the divine Essence is not only known by the Father, but the divine Understanding is informed by the divine Essence, as by its Object, and thus expresses that same divine Essence: But the divine Understanding is not inform'd of the Things possible; therefore it is not necessary that it should contain their Nature in itself, but it is sufficient, that it should express those whereby it is informed, and whereby, likewise, it knows the Things possible, *v. gr.* expresses the Omnipotency, in which, as in the Essence, it knows the Things possible, &c.

I prove the second Part, *viz. that the Procession of the Holy Ghost is not properly a Generation, and therefore the Holy Ghost is not properly begotten, because by Virtue of his Procession, or Volition, he does not proceed formally semblable in Nature to the Father, and to the Son.* Because the Holy Ghost proceeds only as Love. But the divine Love, by Virtue of his Procession, is not semblable in Nature to his Principle, *viz.* the Father, and the Son. For if the Will, in general, does not produce by itself a Similitude, but is only carried towards the Thing loved; and if, consequently, Love in general is not, by itself, a Similitude, but only some Tendency and Impulse towards the Thing loved: It can be said, that Will in particular, *viz.* Will as divine, does not produce a Similitude by itself, and of Consequence it can be said, that Love in particular, *viz.* Love as divine, is not, by itself, semblable in Nature, by Virtue of its Procession.

It is objected, 1. That the Understanding considered in general, tends towards some Similitude; and the Understanding considered in particular, *v. gr.* as divine tends towards a semblable in Nature: Therefore the Will considered in general, tends likewise towards some Similitude, and the Will considered in particular, especially as divine, tends towards something that's one in Nature.

To which I answer, by denying the *Consequence*; because Will in general does not make one otherwise than metaphorically, *viz.* inasmuch as it produces some Tendency; and does not make one otherwise than as the Person that loves, and the Person that's loved, become in some measure one; but becomes one only metaphorically, as it can be inferred from this Passage of the Scripture, *Matt. vi. Where your Treasure is, there will your Heart be also.* The same must be said of the Will considered in particular, *and as divine*; for as it is infinite, it makes one according to the infinite Propensity towards the Thing loved.

It is objected, 2. That he who is God by himself, is God by virtue of his Procession, and consequently is semblable in Nature to his productive Principles; but the Holy Ghost is God by himself: Therefore is God by virtue of his Procession, and consequently semblable in Nature to his Principle, *viz.* to the Father and to the Son.

I answer by a Distinction of the major; if his Procession requires by itself, and of its Nature, a Similitude in Nature with the productive Principle, the major is true; but not if it does not require it: But the Holy Ghost is God by himself, in that Sense that he is God in himself, and according to his Entity, so that he must necessarily be God; but he is not God by himself in that Sense that he is such by a Procession, which of its Nature requires a Similitude in Nature with its productive Principle. And this is illustrated by the Example of *Eve*, who by herself, and essentially, was a Man; and notwithstanding was not such, by virtue of her Procession from the Rib of *Adam*, which did not require necessarily

the human Nature, for God could have made something else of that Rib.

If I be asked, *Whence, then, the Holy Ghost has his Divinity?* I'll answer, that he has it from the divine Nature that is communicated to him; which identifies to itself all that is in God.

From what we have said it can be inferred, 1. That we reject the Opinion of *Richard of St. Victor*, of *Alensis*, and *Major*, who affirm that the Procession of the Son is more properly a Generation than that of the Holy Ghost, and consequently, that the Son is properly called begotten, because he has received from the Father a second Nature, such as the Holy Ghost has not received from the Father and the Son. How little probable does that Opinion appear, particularly from that though the Son should not receive a second Nature from the Father, he should still be begotten, and his Procession be a Generation, because it would be the Origin of a Living from a Living in a Similitude of Nature. For that Fecundity is not absolutely required in the Begotten.

To these can be added, that if the Son must have the Fecundity of his Generation, that he may be called begotten, he should have it such as it is in the Father, to be entirely semblable to him in Nature: But he has not such a Fecundity, since the Father has a Fecundity for Generation and Spiration; and the Son for Spiration only: Whence it follows, that the Son is not precisely to be said begotten, because he receives a second Nature from the Father. It can likewise be added, that it would follow hence that the Son is said begotten, because he is spiritual, since he is no otherwise fecund but as Spirator; which would be an Absurdity; since he is Son by that Relation only, which regards precisely the Father, and whereby he is established in the Ratio of the second Person: But he does not regard the Father, and is not established in the Ratio of the second Person by Spiration, but by Filiation: Therefore, &c.

It may be inferred, 2. That we reject likewise the Opinion of *Suarez*, who maintains that the Son is, and is said begotten, because he receives formally the last Difference of the divine Essence, *viz.* the actual Intellection, which he imagines to be the last constitutive Difference of the divine Essence; the Reason I have for rejecting this Sentiment is, because Generation does not only import a Similitude in a differential Degree of Nature, but likewise in a generical Degree: And because that Opinion supposes a differential Degree of Nature, and constitutive of the actual Intellection.

Notwithstanding what *St. Augustin* says, *lib. 15. de civit. c. 6.* that the Wisdom of God be nothing else but his Essence; for he only understands it in a real and identical, and not in a formal and virtual Sense. And if you say that the Intellection of God is of his Essence precisely considered; I'll answer that that is true of the radical Intellection, but not of the actual.

But, say you, *is not Life or actual Intellection, one of God's great Perfections, therefore it must be his Difference?*

I answer by a Distinction; in the Affirmative, if it be understood of those Perfections, which are like Properties: And in the Negative, if by Perfections are understood substantial Perfections. For as in Man there is a radical Intellection, which is a substantial Perfection constituting Man; and an actual Intellection which is in the Manner of an Accident: Likewise in God there is a radical Intellection, which is like a substantial Degree, constituting God; and there is an actual Intellection which is like a Property, and is conceived to flow from a substantial Degree.

It can be insisted, that there is no greater Reason why the actual Existence in God be an essential Degree of Being; and the actual Intellection not an essential Degree of Understanding: Therefore, &c.

I answer this in denying the Major; and the Reason of the Disparity is, that unless the actual Existence was essential to the Degree of Being; it would follow that it would be as accidental; and follow hence, that God's Being should be reduced to an actual Existence by another Being: As the Creatures, because they do not exist essentially, receive their Existence from another; and how much this is repugnant to the divine Perfection is apparent, from what I have said in my Treatise of God

and his Attributes, under the Letter G. But no Repugnance follows from the Distinction made between radical and actual Intellection.

It is inferred, 3. That we reject likewise the Opinion of *Torres* and others, who affirm, that the Procession of the Son is called Generation rather than that of the Holy Ghost; because by it the Son proceeds as an Image representing the proper Characters of the Father: But the Holy Ghost does not proceed in the same Manner. The Reason we have for not approving this Sentiment is, that the Ratio of Generation does not require essentially such a Representation, but only a Representation and Similitude in Nature; as it appears from our Definition of Generation. And it can even be said, that when the Fathers require in general, in the Son, a Representation of the Characters of the Fathers, they only require that Representation which is according to Nature, and not that according to the proper and personal Characters of the Father.

We'll ask next, *which are the Principles of the divine Processions?*

Before I answer this Question, we must observe, 1. That by the Name of Principle is understood here that whence something is.—2. That as in human Things we consider two Principles, *viz.* The Principle *quod*, or which produces in his Person: And the Principle *quo*, or whereby, either remote or near; the remote Principle is Nature itself, and the near is the productive Power: Likewise in the Divinity we can consider the same Number of Principles.—We ask here, what must be established in the Divinity for the Principle *quod* of the divine Processions; and what for the Principle *quo*, either near or remote? These pre-observed,

I answer, *That the Principle quod of the divine Processions, is the Person producing, v. gr. the Father is the Principle quod of the Procession of the Son; and the Father and the Son the Principle quod of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. The remote Principle quo, is the divine Essence, and the nearest is the Understanding and Will.*

I prove the first Part of my Answer, *viz. that the productive Person is the Principle quod, v. gr. the Father is the Principle quod of the Procession of the Son, and the Father and the Son the Principle quod of the Procession of the Holy Ghost*: Because the Principle *quod* is that to which belongs the Virtue of producing, and which is said to produce by itself: But to the Father, with respect to the Son, belongs the Virtue of producing, and the Father is said to produce by himself. Likewise, the Father and the Son, with respect to the Holy Ghost, are said to breathe by themselves: Therefore, &c.

I prove the second Part, *viz. that the divine Essence is the remote Principle quo of the divine Procession*; because that is the remote Principle *quod* that produces something, if not immediately by itself, at least by other Principles of which it is the Root, as it appears from the Example of human Nature; for by the generative Power whereof it is the Root, it reaches the Generation of Man: But the divine Nature, if not immediately by itself, at least by some other Principles, whereof it is the Root, reaches the divine Essence; therefore, &c.

I prove the third Part, *viz. that the near Principle quo of the divine Processions, is the divine Understanding and Will*. Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *John i. In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. And 1 John v. For there are three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost*. Where the Son is called Word; but the Word has the Understanding or intellective Power for his immediate Principle: Therefore, &c.—And the Holy Ghost, *Rom. v. and xv.* is particularly called Charity; and to it as to a Cause, the created Charity is attributed; and thus he is understood to be an uncreated Charity, and consequently proceeding from the Will.

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Chrysostom, lib. 7. The-saur. c. 1.* and *St. Basil* on this of *John i. In the Beginning was the Word. Why, says he, the Word? That what proceeds from the Mind may be understood*. By *St. Cyril, The Son*, says he, *is called Word and Wisdom, because he is immediately, and indivisibly from the Under-standing*.

By Reason, because the Understanding and Will are that whereby the Suppositum produces immediately the Terms. For the Understanding is that whereby the Father produces immediately the Son, which for that is called the *Word*. *John i. and Apocalyp. 15.* he is also called *Wisdom*. *Prov. viii. and Ecclesi. xxiv.* the *Image*, *Hebr. i.* for the Ratio of Image belongs properly to the Understanding; for the Knowledge of the Understanding is by the Assimilation of the Understanding with the Object, and by an expressed vital Species. The Will is that whereby the Father and Son produce the Holy Ghost, whereby the Holy Ghost is commonly called the Love and Charity of God.

This is confirmed from that unless the Son should proceed by the Understanding, and the Holy Ghost by the Will, we could not explain why the Procession of the Son should be rather called a Generation than that of the Holy Ghost; nor say why the Holy Ghost should be called Love rather than the Son; likewise why there should be rather two Processions than one; and why not more than two.

From what we have said it is easily inferred how much our Sentiment differs from that of *Durand*, who pretends that the proximum Principle *quo*, of the divine Processions is the divine Nature as secund, and not the Understanding and Will; which Sentiment is very near a-kin to Error, and dangerous in the Faith.

It is objected, that what is common to all the Persons is not a Principle of Production; otherwise each divine Person should be said generating and spirating; but the Understanding and Will are common to all the divine Persons, since each of them is intelligent and willing: Therefore, &c.

I answer by a Distinction of the major; in the Affirmative, if what's common be not considered as having some Adjunct, *v. gr.* a Relation to the Term; but in the Negative, if it be considered as having some Adjunct, *v. gr.* the aforesaid Relation. To the minor, I say, that it is true that the Understanding and Will are common to the three Persons, when they have a single Relation to the Object known and willed; but it must be confessed that they are not common, when besides that Relation to the Object, they have likewise another Relation, *viz.* to the Term produced.

From this Answer it is inferred, that these two Principles of the divine Processions, *viz.* the *Dictio* which is an Act of the Understanding; and *Spiration*, which is an Act of the Will, are notional Acts.

If I be asked, whether they be distinct from the *essential Intellection and Volition*? I'll answer, that they are only distinguished as the including and included; for the *Dictio* and *Spiration* import and include Intellection and Volition, but are not included in the essential Intellection and Volition; since besides Intellection and Volition, they import something else, which is not included in the essential Intellection and Volition, *viz.* a Relation to the Term produced.

From this I'll pass to the *divine Relations*; asking first *what, and how many there are Relations in general?*

To which I answer, 1. *That Relation, taken in general, is that the whole Being thereof is to refer the Subject in which it is, to another as to a Term.*

I answer, 2. *That Relation considered in general, is divided into several; and particularly, 1. Into a real Relation, and a Relation of Reason. 2. Into a transcendent, and a categorical.*

I prove the first Part, or first Division of Relation into *real, and Relation of Reason*. Because Relation is either that which imports an Habit of something to another independantly of the Operation of the Understanding, and thus is real, as *v. gr.* the Relation of the Image to the Original: Or is that Habit of something to another, which is only imagined in the Mind, and has no Reality on the Part of the Thing, and that is a Relation of Reason, such is the Relation of the Species to the Genus, and of the Predicate to the Subject.

I prove the second Part, or the second Division of Relation, which is into *transcendental, and categorical, or predicamental*; because Relation is either that which consists in the essential Habit of a Thing to another, and thus is *transcendental*, such is the Relation of the Matter

Matter to the Form of the Creature to God, and of the Power to its Effect.

If I be asked, *Why it is called Transcendental?* I'll answer, that it is called *Transcendental*, because it is not confined within the Limits of a single Category, but runs through several Categories; for Matter is in the Predicament of Substance, and Power in the Predicament of Quality. Or Relation is that which consists in a certain accidental Habit of a Thing to another, and the whole Being thereof depends from another, and thus is a categorical or predicamental Relation; such is Paternity, the whole thereof depends from the Son, to whom it refers the Fathers.

From this Definition of both *Relations*, is inferred a double Difference between them. 1. That the *transcendental Relation* is essential to the Subject, and inseparable from it; but the *categorical*, accidental, and separable. 2. That the *transcendental* does not require necessarily that its Term should exist actually, as it appears from the Example of the Power of generating, for though it should be reduced to Action, it would notwithstanding retain always a Relation to it: But the *categorical* requires a Term actually existing, as it appears from the Example of the Relation which the Image has to its Original; for that Relation of both Extremes requires an Existence.

I answer, 3. That *Relation considered in a more particular Manner*, viz. *as it is in God, is of two Sorts*, viz. *one ad intra, and the other ad extra*. Because the *divine Relation* is either that, which in God has a Subject and Term, and thus is *ad extra*, such is the Relation of the Father to the Son, and of the Father and Son to the Holy Ghost, and *vice versa*; or is that the Term thereof is without God, and that is *ad extra*, such is the Relation of the Creator.

But the Relation which is *ad extra*, is subdivided into that of Origin, and that which is not of Origin; for it is either that which is founded on the Production either active or passive, and has an Analogy with the created Relation, which is founded on the Action and Passion, and thus is a Relation of Origin; or is that, which tho' it be in God, is not, notwithstanding, founded on the Production, either active or passive, such is the Relation of Similitude and Equality between the divine Persons.

Note, *En passant*, that we are to treat here of that Relation only which is *ad intra*, and particularly of that of Origin. Therefore these pre-observ'd,

We'll ask, *If, and how many real Relations there are in the Divinity, and whether they be all Perfections?*

To which I answer, 1. That *there are in God certain real Relations between the Persons*; which I prove by the Scripture, the Councils, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture; which call the divine Persons by the relative Names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, *Matt.* the last Chapter. For it is certain, that the Father is the Father of some Son, and the Son the Son of some Father. It appears, likewise, of the Holy Ghost, that he is from some Spiration, since he proceeds by Love, he imports a Relation to his Principle, or that Love is of somebody that loves.

By the Councils, particularly the second of *Toledo*, who say in his Confession of Faith, that the divine Persons are referred to one another by Relations. And by that of *Florence*, *Sess.* 18. where *John the Theologian*, speaking for the *Latins*, says, that it is certain among all the Doctors, that the sole Relation multiply the divine Persons.

By the Fathers, particularly *St. Augustin*, *Lib.* 5. *de Trin.* c. 5. where he says, that the Father and Son are not thus called according to their Substance, or absolute Being, but according to their relative Being.

By Reason; because the divine Persons are distinguished really between themselves, as we have proved already: But they are not really distinguished but by real Relations; since they are not distinguished between themselves by the divine Essence, which is common to all the Persons; and there is no other Foundation of a real Distinction between the said divine Persons: Whence it follows, that no Body dares to say, without rendering himself subject of *Sabellianism*, that God is Father only,

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or that the Son is Son only, according to Reason, and not according to the Thing, *i. e.* mentally, and not really.

It is objected, that according to the Philosophers, all real Relation supposes two Extreams really distinct between them: But the divine Relations, viz. Paternity and Filiation, do not suppose, but constitute two Extreams really distinct between them; because the Father and Son are no otherwise distinguished than by those Relations: Therefore the divine Relations, viz. Paternity and Filiation, are not real.

I answer by a Distinction of the *Major*, in the *Affirmative*, in the Things created; and in the *Negative*, in the divine. The Reason of this Distinction is taken from that created Relations are Accidents; therefore it is not surprising, if they suppose Subjects in which they are inherent, and real Subjects, if the Relations be real, and even require subjects *realiter* distinct, if they be opposed really, since Things really opposed, cannot be in the same Subject. But the divine Relations are Substances, and not Accidents; therefore do not suppose Subjects to which they are inherent, but subsist by themselves, and are distinguished by themselves.

I answer, 2. That *there are four Relations of Origin in the Divinity*, viz. *Paternity, Filiation, active Spiration, and passive Spiration*. Because there are only two Processions in the Divinity, each whereof has two opposite Respects, viz. of the proceeding to his Principle, and of the Principle to his proceeding Term: Therefore there are only four Relations of Origin.

It is objected, that if there were four Relations in the Divinity, there should be four Things, four real Beings in God: Which cannot be said without Absurdity; therefore, &c.

I answer by denying the *Major*; because tho' every one of them be real; every one of them, notwithstanding, is not distinguished really from the other; for the active Spiration is not distinguished really from Paternity and Filiation, as the Essence is not distinguished really from the three Persons, though the Essence be real, and the Persons real. Whence we do not say that they are four Things, but three only. For there only is a Multiplication of Things, where a real Distinction is found.

I answer, 3. That *every one of the said Relations, as well according to their being in, as according to their being ad, are Perfections, though not simply simple*.

I prove the first Part, viz. *that the said Relations, considered according to their being in, are Perfections*; because thus consider'd, they are certain hypostatical Forms terminating the divine Nature. It matters not whether they be distinct from the divine Nature or not, they are always real Perfection.

I prove the second Part, viz. *that consider'd according to their being ad, they are Perfections likewise*. Because it is the Sentiment of the Fathers, and particularly of *St. Cyril*, *Lib.* 1. *Theaur.* c. 6. where he says, that the Father is perfect, not only as God, but likewise as Father. It is also the Sentiment of *John Damascenus*, *Lib.* 1. *de fide*, c. 11. where he calls Perfections the personal Properties of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And because that which has the Ratio of a true Being, has, likewise, some Perfection, since by his Perfection he is established in the Ratio of such a Being: But the Relations of Origin consider'd likewise, according to their being *ad*, have the Ratio of a true Being, since consider'd thus, they are real; therefore they are Perfections. I prove the third Part, viz. *that tho' those Relations be Perfections, they are not notwithstanding Perfections simply simple*. Because Perfections, simply simple, according to *St. Anselm*, in the *Monologium*, are such as are better than those which are opposed to them, and which do not exclude from the Subject in which they are, an equal Perfection, but are compatible with it: But the Perfections of the Relations are not so: For, *v. gr.* the Paternity is not better than the Filiation which is opposed to it, and expels it from the Subject in which it is, because it is not compatible with it in the same Subject. Therefore the Perfections of the Relations are not simply simple.—What are they then? they are only simple Perfections.—If I be asked, *what's understood by such Perfections?* I'll answer, that by them are understood, either those which have something of Imperfection;

fection; or those which exclude an equal or a greater Perfection from the Subject they are in. But I must not be understood in this Place, as if I called the Perfections of the divine Relations simple, because they have something of Imperfection; since I call them simple, only because they exclude an equal or greater Perfection from the Subject they are in, and are incompatible with it.

I may be asked here, *which is the Foundation of such Relations?*

To which I answer, that Diction and Spiration, or what is the same, notional Intellection, and notional Volition, are commonly established for Foundation of those Relations; because, in some Measure, we must reason of the divine Relations of Origin, as we do of the created: But the created Relations are founded on Action; therefore, &c.

We'll ask next, *If, and how the divine Relations are distinguished, either between themselves, or from the Essence, and from the essential Attributes?*

To which I answer, *that the divine Relations, at least those which are of Origin, are really distinguished between themselves.* Because those Things are really distinguished between themselves, between which there is some real Opposition; but between the divine Relations, and even those which are of Origin, there is some real Opposition; for it is of the Ratio of every Relation that there should be a relative Opposition between the relative Terms; therefore the divine Relations are distinguished really between themselves: And thus Paternity is distinguished really from Filiation, and likewise the active Spiration from the passive.

Notwithstanding that the active Spiration be not distinguished really from Paternity and Filiation; because the active Relation has no Opposition with those two Relations, as it has with the passive Spiration.

I confirm this by the Council of *Lateran*, held under *Innocent III.* which *Cap. Damnamus*, forbids admitting a Quaternity of Things in the Divinity; and it would be a Quaternity, if the active Spiration was distinguished from Paternity and Filiation; therefore, &c.

It is objected against my Answer, that the Things which are the same with one Third, are the same between themselves; but the divine Relations are the same Thing with the divine Essence as with a Third; for the divine Essence is really the Paternity, Filiation, and passive Spiration: Therefore they are not really distinguished between themselves.

To which I answer by a Distinction of the major, *viz.* in the Affirmative, in Things created and finite; and in the Negative with regard to the Mystery of the blessed Trinity. The Reason of the Negation is, that the divine Relations have an Opposition between themselves, wherefore they cannot be mutually identified, tho' they have no Opposition with the Essence, and therefore are identified with it.

I answer, 2. That *the divine Relations are not distinguished really from the divine Essence, and from the essential Attributes, but virtually only.* Which Answer is sufficiently proved in my Treatise of God, and of the divine Attributes under the Letter G.

I may be asked here, *Whether the Attributes, either absolute or relative, include the Essence in their Conception and Mission.*

To which I answer by a Distinction: In the Affirmative, in an identical Sense; and in the Negative, in a virtual Sense.

I prove the first Part of my Answer, *viz.* that *they include it in an identical Sense*, because *St. Augustin* insinuates it, *lib. 6. de Trin. c. 10.* in these Words: *They are single*, says he, *in the single, and all in the single, and single in all, and all in all, and one All*; and because the Essence and all the Attributes, either absolute or relative, are one and the same very simple Entity, in an identical Sense, since they have no Distinction between themselves from the Part of the Thing.

I prove the second Part, *viz.* that *the Attributes, either absolute or relative, do not include the Essence when conceived virtually, nor vicissim.* By what I have said on this Subject, in my Treatise of God and his Attributes, where I have taken Notice of various Kinds of Distinctions, and of those which are essentially included in the

Essence of God, and of the Predicability of the Attributes.

From this I'll pass to the *Number of Substances or Personalities, and likewise to the Number of Existences, Entities, and Things in God.* Asking first, *whether there be only three Substances in the Divinity, and those relative; and whether there be not likewise an absolute one?*

To which I answer, 1. *That there are only three Substances or Personalities in God, and those relative.*

I prove the first Part, *viz.* that *there are three Substances in God*; because the Councils insinuate it, and particularly the second of *Constantinople*, *Can. 8. Anath. 1.* where we read these Words: *Whoever does not confess that one Deity is to be adored in three Substances or Persons, let him be Anathema.* The same Thing is found, though in different Terms, in the second Epistle of *Pope Agathon*, approved by the third Council of *Constantinople*, *Act. 8.* where it is said, that the hypostatical Union is made in the Subsistence, wherefore it is called hypostatical; and because, as we have proved in the Beginning of this Treatise, there are in this Mystery three Persons in one Essence, and therefore three Personalities or Subsistences; for the Persons are formally constituted by the Subsistences in the Ratio of the subsisting; and in the Mystery of the blessed Trinity the Concrete or constituted, substantively taken, are not multiplied, unless the Forms whereby they are constituted be multiplied.

I prove the second Part, *viz.* that *those three Subsistences or Personalities which are in God are relative.* Because there is no absolute Subsistence in God, as I'll prove hereafter; which is confirmed by the Mystery of the Incarnation, in which that of Subsistence of the Word which terminates both Natures, *viz.* the divine and the human, is not absolute and essential, otherwise it would be common to the three Persons, and it could be inferred hence that they were all three incarnated, which is an Heresy.

I prove the third Part, *viz.* that *there are no more nor no less than three Persons*; because suppose that there are two Processions properly said in God, it follows that there are no less than three Persons, for there must be first one to produce the second, and a first and second together to produce a third. And suppose that there be no more than two Processions, it follows that there are no more than three Persons, the first to produce the second, and the same first and second together to produce a third; because there is but one Term of one immanent divine Procession, exhausting the productive Faculty of that Power whereby it is produced, since the Term produced is as infinite as the productive Power.

I answer, 2. That *besides those three relative Subsistences above-mentioned, there is no absolute one in God*: Because a Person properly said, constitute a Person in an intellectual Nature; for what makes the compleat intellectual Nature subsist, the same Thing constitutes the Person: But there is no absolute Person in God, otherwise there would be four Persons, against what has been defined by the Church: Therefore there is no absolute Subsistence in God, but only three relative ones.

This Sentiment is confirmed from that if besides the relative Subsistences, and antecedently to the others, there was some absolute Subsistence, it would be inconceivable how the divine Essence could be communicated besides to the three divine Persons, since that absolute Subsistence would render the divine Nature incommunicable to another as to a Suppositum. Or certainly it could not have the Ratio of a proper Subsistence, since it is of the Ratio of a Subsistence as such, and consequently of the Ratio of a divine Subsistence, to render the Nature incommunicable to another as to a Suppositum: But it is of Faith, that it is communicable, and is communicated to all the three Persons; therefore it must be inferred, that besides those three relative Subsistences, which constitute the Persons in God, and antecedently to them, there is no absolute Subsistence.

It is objected, 1. That it is not of the Ratio of a Subsistence as such, to render the Nature incommunicable to another as to a Suppositum, otherwise it should become each Subsistence; for what becomes the superior essentially, becomes likewise the inferiors: But that does not become each Subsistence, since it does not become the Subsistence of the Father, the Subsistence of the Father

not hindering the divine Nature from being communicable, since it is actually communicated to the Son: Therefore, &c.

To which I answer by denying the Major; and say that that becomes likewise the Subsistence of the Father; for though the Subsistence of the Father in the Divinity does not hinder the divine Nature which is in the Father from being communicated, viz. to the Son and the Holy Ghost, as I have proved it when I have treated of the divine Fecundity, and divine Processions; it hinders notwithstanding, the divine Nature as affected by the Personality of the Father, from being communicable. For the Father neither does, nor can communicate his Subsistence to the Son and to the Holy Ghost. Therefore, &c.

It is objected, 2. That no Perfection is to be denied to the Divinity; and that an absolute Subsistence being a Perfection; it should be admitted in the Divinity.

To which I answer, that no Perfection excluding an Imperfection, ought to be denied to the Divinity; but not otherwise, and an absolute Subsistence being not a Perfection which excludes all Imperfection; it ought not to be admitted in the Divinity. That an absolute Subsistence does not exclude all Imperfection, appears from that it is needless, and what it could do, is supplied by the relative Subsistences; and because it would introduce something repugnant in God, by rendering, and not rendering the Nature incommunicable. It would render the Nature incommunicable, for that's the Office of a Subsistence; it would not render it, because it would be communicated to the relative Subsistences, and thus would become a Term, so as to be notwithstanding terminated further.

It is objected, 3. That a created Nature exists before it has its Faculties to operate, and produce a Term: Therefore likewise, the divine Nature subsists before the divine Processions are established; and as it cannot subsist first but by an absolute Subsistence: There must be then an absolute Subsistence in God.

I answer this, by denying the Consequence; the Reason of the Disparity is, that the Faculties, Operations, and Terms of Operations of a created Nature are Accidents, whence it is not surprizing if a created Nature subsists before it has its Faculties, Operations, and Terms of Operations; for a Thing must be compleated substantially before it has its Accidents. But in the Divinity the Faculties, Operations, and Terms of Operations are Substances, and thus do not suppose a previous Subsistence of the divine Nature; for who could believe that a Subsistence precedes a Substance which it terminates?

We'll ask next, *If besides the absolute Existence, which is in God, there are also three relative Existences; and whether the three Persons can be said three Beings, three Things, and three Unities?*

Before I answer this Question, we must observe that it is not asked here, whether there be an absolute Existence in God, since I have proved sufficiently that there is, in my Treatise of God and his Attributes, otherwise it could not be conceived how there could be an Eternity and an absolute Immensity, which supposes God existent. But the Question is, whether there be three relative Existences in God? These pre-observed,

I answer 1. That there are not three relative Existences in God; for the Manner of existing does not add a new Existence to the Thing which it modifies, as it appears from various Examples. Human Nature, v. gr. whether it exists by itself, as in us, or in another as in Christ, does not acquire a new Existence, but only a new Manner of existing: But the divine Substances are the Manner of God's Existence: Therefore they do not add a new Existence, but modify, only, the absolute Existence of God. Whence it is not surprizing if the ancient Fathers make no Mention of relative Existences in God.

Which Sentiment I confirm by this reasoning: Because if there were three relative Existences really distinct in God, there would be likewise three Durations really distinct, since each Existence has its Duration, as Duration being nothing else but a Continuation of Existence; and thus it would follow that there were three Eternities, and consequently three Eternals, as there are three Persons, because of the three divine Personalities: and to admit three Eternals, is against this of St. Athanasius in his Sym-

bol, not three Eternals, but one Eternal, which must be understood substantively.

I answer 2. That the three Persons in God can be called three Things not simply, but with Addition, and relatively. Because the ancient Fathers insinuate it, particularly St. Augustin, lib. 1. de doct. Christ. Where he says, that the Father and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are three Things to be enjoy'd; and St. Anselmus, lib. de incarnat. verbi, c. 3. where he speaks thus, Nothing forbids calling the two Persons the Father, and the Son, two Things; and because, unless the three Persons were three Things, they could not be distinguish'd between them really; but they are distinguished really: Therefore they are three Things.

But I have said, not simply, but with Addition and relatively, to give to understand, that though they are said three Things, they are notwithstanding but one in Essence; and they differ in that from the Things created, which if they be supposed to be several, can be said simply several, since they can be in no one Thing, at least a singular one, one and the same Thing.

I answer, 3. That the three divine Persons can be said three Things, but with Addition and relatively. Because these Terms Thing and Being, and even one, true, God, are transcendental Terms, which, in some Manner, reciprocate; and this is true, whether the Existences be multiplied or not.

From this I'll pass to Notions, and to those Properties and Acts which are called notional. Asking first, what is understood by Notion, and whether, and how many Notions are to be admitted in the Divinity?

Before I answer this Question, we must observe, that by the Name of Notion in God, is understood the Manner of knowing one Person as distinct from the other, or others, according to St. Augustin, lib. 5. de Trinit. c. 6. Therefore two Things are required to a Notion, 1. That that which is a Notion be signified in abstracto, because it must be signified as a Form, or quasi Form of this or that Person, whereby it is distinguished from the others. 2. That it should belong to the Origin, since it must signify the Distinction of one Person from the other; for the Persons are distinguished by the Origin. In a Word, by the Notions meant here, are understood some certain personal Properties, and like as certain Marks, whereby the divine Persons are distinguished among themselves, according to our Manner of understanding Things. These pre-observed,

I answer 1. that some Notions are to be admitted in God: Because it is the Sentiment of the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, lib. 5. de Trinit. c. 6. where he says, that other is the Notion whereby the Father is understood to beget, and other that whereby he is said unbegotten; and that the former becomes him by his Relation to the Son, and the latter absolutely with Regard to himself. And St. Basil. Epist. 43. where he calls Notion, the Form and Mark of the Person, or his distinctive Character or Sign: and says, that the Notions are Necessary to have an unconfuse Knowledge of the Mystery of the blessed Trinity. And because our Understanding is assisted in the Knowledge of that Mystery, according to its Capacity, by inadequate Conception, and rendered capable to explain it distinctly, as it will appear in the Sequel.

I answer, 2. That no more, nor less than five Notions are to be admitted in God; viz. Inascibility, Paternity, Filiation, active Spiration, and passive Spiration. Because the ancient Fathers assign that Number; and because by them only is understood the Number of three Persons distinct between themselves. Add, that so many Notions are admitted in the Divinity as there are founded on these two Respects from whom another, and he from another, since the Notions import a Regard to the divine Processions: But there are five Notions founded on the two aforesaid Respects, whereby the divine Persons are known to us as distinct, for the Father is known to us by a triple Notion, viz. 1. That by his Inascibility, he is not from another, being himself a Principle without a Principle. 2. That by Paternity and Generation he is the Principle of the Son. The Son is known to us by a double Notion, viz. 1. As he from another, viz. the Father, by passive Generation or Filiation. 2. As he is the Principle of the Holy Ghost by active Spiration, which

he has in common with the Father. *Lastly*, The Holy Ghost is known to us, *by that he is from another*, viz. *from the Father and the Son*, by a passive Spiration, which is his proper and sole Notion. Therefore five Notions are to be admitted in the Divinity, four of which, viz. *Paternity, Filiation, active Spiration, and passive Spiration*, shew sufficiently that there are three Persons really distinct, since none of the Persons can be properly said to proceed from herself by a true, and properly said Procession. But the fifth, viz. *Inascibility* shews that there are no more than three Persons; otherwise there should be assigned some other Principle distinct from the Understanding and Will, whereby the Person said inascible could be said to proceed from another.

It is objected 1. That Inascibility is nothing positive; therefore cannot be a Notion, and thus there would be but four Notions in God.

I answer, by denying the Consequence; and the Reason is, that it suffices for a Notion that it should distinguish the Person, that it should distinguish with Regard to the Origins, and that it should do it to fix a certain Number of Persons: But this can become Inascibility, though it be not positive: Therefore nothing hinders Inascibility from being called a Notion, as Unity and Simplicity, which, formally taken, are Negations, are notwithstanding admitted for Notions of the divine Essence.

It is objected 2. That Improductivity in the Holy Ghost can as well be called a Notion, as Inascibility in the Father: Therefore there are more than five Notions.

I answer, by *denying the antecedent*; the Reason of the Disparity is, that Improductivity is not necessary, as is Inascibility; for, Inascibility supposed, with the other four Notions abovementioned, is sufficiently understood the *Trinity* of Persons, their Distinctions, and the Processions of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, without the Intervention of the Improductivity. And because every Negation ought not to be ranked among the Notions, but that only which imports some Perfection, or exhibits some Dignity: And such is Inascibility, but not Improductivity, for Inascibility signifies that the Father is the Principle of the whole Deity, and himself has none. Though we must not infer hence, that the Father is more excellent than the other Persons, since there is a sovereign and most perfect Equality in all the Persons, by Reason of the Simplicity of the divine Essence, which is common to all three, and identifies them to itself.

It may be asked here, *how many of the said five Notions are to be called Relations, Properties and Persons*.

And I'll answer, that of these five Notions, four can be called Relations, as many Property, and three Persons.

I prove the first Part of my Answer, viz. *That of these five Notions four can be called Relations*; because Inascibility is not a Relation, but is rather a Negation of Relation, or the Negation of a passive Production from another Person.

I prove the second Part, viz. *That of those five Notions, four only are personal Properties*, viz. *Inascibility, Paternity, Filiation, and passive Spiration*; because of those the active Spiration is not a personal Property, it being common to the Father, and to the Son.

I prove the third Part, viz. *that of those five Notions, three only can be called Persons*. Because of those five, Inascibility and active Spiration, do not constitute Persons, as it will appear by the Sequel.

From what has been said in my Answer, it is inferred, that one Thing, viz. *Paternity*, can be called a Notion, a Relation, a Propriety, and even a personal one. A Notion, as being a Means to know the Father as distinct from the other Persons. A Relation, as being a Mean of relating the Father and Son. A Property, as becoming one Person only. And lastly, a personal Property as constituting a Person in the Being of a Person.

We'll ask next, *If, and how many, and which are the notional Acts in God; and whether it be a Power in God, with Respect to notional Acts?*

To which I answer, 1. *That there are notional Acts, which are attributed to the divine Persons*; because there are Origins in God taken both actively and passively,

whereby the divine Persons are distinguished between themselves, v. gr. to generate, and be generated, to spirate and be spirated; which Origins are notional Acts: Therefore there are notional Acts in God.

I answer, 2. *That there are two notional Acts*. Because there are so many notional Acts as there are active and passive Origins; and there being two active, and two passive Origins, there are therefore two notional Acts; consequently two more than divine Processions, which are only taken passively.

I may be asked, *If the notional Acts be of something, and in what Manner?*

To which I answer, that the notional Acts are of something, v. gr. the Son of God is not produced of nothing, but he is produced of the Substance of the Father. Which I prove by the Scripture, the Fathers, and by Reason.

By the Scripture, *Psalms cxix. From the Womb, before the Morning, I have begotten thee*; for it is not the same as if he had said *I have begotten thee of my Substance?*

By the Symbols, particularly that of *Nice*, where the Son of God is said *God of God, Light of Light*.

By Reason; because the Son of God is not only of the Substance of the Father, but of his whole Substance; in which he differs from a Son created, who is not of the whole Substance of his Father.

I answer, 3. *That there is a Power in the Divinity, with Respect to the notional Acts*. Because there is a productive Power, where there is a productive Principle; but there is such a Principle in God: For is not the Father the Principle of the Son; and the Father and Son the Principle of the Holy Ghost? Therefore there is a Power in God with Respect to the notional Acts; as it can be inferred from the Doctrine of the Fathers; for *St. Athanasius, Dialog. 1. de Sanct. Trinit.* says, that by the Name of Womb, which is attributed to the Father by the Scripture, is understood the Power of generating. *St. Augustin, Lib. 3. cont. Max. c. 12.* speaks thus, *If God the Father could not have generated a Son equal to himself, where is the Power of God the Father?* That his Omnipotency extends itself to all Faculties of producing. And *St. Cyril, Dialog. 1. de Trinit.* says, that those offend the Nature of God, who deprive it of a fecundity, and Faculty of generating.

I may be asked, 1. *What signifies the Power of generating?*

To which I answer, that it signifies not only a Relation, or the sole Essence, but the Essence with a Relation, which is like a common Principle, and not as a mere Condition.

I prove the first Part of my Answer, viz. *that the Power of generating does not signify a single Relation*; because the Essence likewise, not by itself, but with the Understanding, is the Principle of Generation, or of generating, since it is the productive Principle of the Diction whereby the Verb proceeds. For we must reason of the divine Essence, as to that, in the same Manner as we do of the Soul, which by means of a created Understanding produce Intellection: Therefore by the Understanding it is the Principle of Intellection, and consequently of the Diction; since Diction, taken at least inadequately, is Intellection, as already observed; therefore the Power of generating is not the sole Relation.

I prove the second Part, viz. *that the Power of generating is not the sole Essence, even as joined with the essential Understanding*: Because if the sole Essence thus taken was the Power of generating, that Power should be found in all the Persons, since the Essence is found in all the Persons: But it is false to say that the Power of generating is found in all the Persons, for it excludes it from the Son, and admitting only the Power of generating, where he is generated, but not whereby he generates. Whence it is not surprizing, if *St. John Damascenus, lib. de Duab. Christ. Volunt.* says, that all the Father has is in the Son, except the sole Virtue of generating, whence it follows that there is something relative included in the Power of generating.

I prove the third Part, viz. *that the Power of generating is together Essence and Relation, Essence joined with the Understanding*: Because, as already observed, it does not consist in the Essence alone, nor in the Relation alone.

Whence

Whence it follows, that it consists in both together, since it requires and embraces both.

I prove the fourth Part, *viz.* that *the Relation in which the Power of generating consists in Part, is as a Comprinciple, and not as a Condition.* Because of both is formed an entire Principle.

If I be asked, *Whether a Relation, v. gr. Paternity, as it is a Relation, compleats the Essence with regard to its being a Principle?*

I'll answer in the *Negative*; because it belongs only to a Relation to relate, and not to produce. Therefore it compleats it as it is an Hypothesis, or an hypostatical Form to which it belongs to be together, and a Manner compleating the divine Substance, and a certain productive Faculty, which joined with the Essence, forms a compleat Power, not only to be the Principle of Production, but likewise of Communication.

It may be asked, 2. *What must be established for Principle, and Term of notional Acts?*

I answer, 1. That the Principle *quod*, v. gr. of the divine Generation, is the Father himself: and the Understanding and Relation, are the Principle *quo*; that the Essence and Understanding are like a Form, in which the produced must be assimilated to the producing, with this Difference, notwithstanding, that the Essence be the remote, and the Understanding be the nearest Principle *quo*; and the Relation like the Form whereby the producing is distinguished from the produced. This Answer appears from what has been said already; for I have said that the principle *quod* of the divine Procession is that which acts, and to which it is attributed as to a Suppositum; and the Principle *quo*, that productive Faculty from which the Action proceeds.

I answer, 2. That the total Term of Generation is the Son, but that the Term which is not total is double, *viz.* one of Communication, *i. e.* the Essence with the absolute Attributes; and the other of Production, *viz.* the Hypothesis of the Son or Filiation.

I answer, 3. That the Principle *quod* of the Spiration is the Father and the Son; but that the Principle *quo* is the Will and the Relation of the active Spiration, in the same Manner, in some Measure, as it is said of the Principle *quod* and *quo* of the divine Generation. For the divine Essence joined with the Will is not a Principle sufficiently compleat, but is compleated by the Relation of the divine Spiration, not as by a single Condition *sine qua non*, but as by a Comprinciple, for the Reasons already alledged in the fourth Part of my Answer to the first Question.

I answer, 4. That the total Term of the active Spiration is nothing else but the Holy Ghost: But the partial Term is double, *viz.* one of Communication, and the other of Production. The former Term is the Essence with the absolute Attributes; and the latter is the Hypothesis of the Holy Ghost, or passive Spiration.

We'll treat next of *the Consubstantiality, Equality, Similitude, Circumincission, and Order of the three Persons in God*: Asking, first, *If there are three consubstantial Persons, equal and semblable?*

To which I answer, that *there are three consubstantial Persons*: Because the three Persons in God have equally one and the same divine Nature, and each of them is God, and the three together are but one God. It is not necessary to dwell longer on the Proof of this Answer, since we have sufficiently proved it, when we have treated of the Existence and Definition of the blessed Trinity, where I have shewn that it is nothing else but the three Persons really distinct between them, in one and the same divine Essence. And that against several Hereticks, particularly against the *Arians* and *Macedonians*; for the *Arians* denied the Divinity of the Son of God, as mentioned at large in my Treatise of *Arianism*, under the Letter A; and the *Macedonians*, that of the Holy Ghost, as mentioned in my Treatise of *Heresies*, under the Letter H.

I answer, 2. That *the divine Persons are equal among themselves and semblable.* Because that Equality and Similitude is excellently well proved in the Symbol of St. Athanasius; and because it suffices for a real Equality and Similitude between the divine Persons, that they be distinguished really, and agree in something that is Quantity and Quality, or in like Quantity and Quality; which

is the Case of the divine Persons, who are distinguished really between themselves, and agree in Quantity, not of Bulk, but of Virtue, and in divine Perfections, as in Quality; whence St. Fulgentius, *lib. de Fide, ad Petrum, c. 1.* *Equality is understood in the Father and the Son*, says he, in that *none of them precedes by Eternity, exceeds in Magnitude, or surpasses in Power.*

Which the better to understand, we must observe, 1. That there are two Sorts of Quantity, one of Bulk, which belongs to Bodies only; and the other of Virtue, which is considered according to the Virtue and Perfection of some Nature or Form.

2. That Quality can be considered, likewise, in two Manners, *viz.* one accidental or natural, such as Heat, or supernatural, such as the sanctifying Grace; and the other substantial, such as a divine Attribute.

It may be objected against my Answer, that where a Person has more Perfections than another, there is no Equality and Similitude among the Persons; and that being the Case in God, where the Father and the Son have more Perfections than the Holy Ghost, the Father having a generative Power, and the Father and Son an active spirative one; the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are neither equal nor alike.

I answer this Objection by a Distinction of the *major*: in the *affirmative*, if the Perfections, which are extensively more, be likewise intensively greater in one Person than in the other: And in the *negative*, if they be not greater intensively, I confess that there are extensively more Perfections in God, in one Person than in another, but I deny their being intensively greater; whence it must be said that there remains always an Equality and Similitude in all those Persons.

If I be asked here, *whether the Equality and Similitude be real Relations?* I'll answer in the *Negative*, because a real Relation of Equality and Similitude supposes Foundations really distinct; but the Foundations of the Relation of Equality and Similitude in God, are not really distinct; for the absolute Perfections in which they are equal, are not distinct really in each Person; for the Father has not a Justice, Omnipotency, &c. different from the Justice, Omnipotency, &c. of the Son: Therefore it follows that the Relations of Equality and Similitude are only Relations of Reason.

From what we have said, it is inferred, that the Persons are equal among themselves, not only in Magnitude, but in Power likewise; for *he thought it no Robbery (v. gr. the Son) to be equal with God*, says St. Paul, *Philip. 2.* And *John 5.* *For what Thing soever the Father doth, these also doth the Son likewise.*

We'll ask next, *If there is some Order and Priority between the divine Persons?*

Which to answer pertinently, we must observe, 1. That by the Name of Order, taken in general, is understood an Habit or Disposition of Things to some Principle, and between themselves according to Priority, and Posteriority either of Origin, or of Nature, or of Causality, or of Duration, or of Time, or of Dignity, or of Dependency, or of Situation, &c.

2. That by the Name of Order, and of Origin, taken in general, is understood an Habit of several Things between themselves, one of which is the Principle producing, and the other the produced; and not *vice versa*. These pre-observed,

I answer, 1. That, in God, *there is some Order, and even Order of Nature.*

I prove the first Part, *viz.* that *there is an Order in God*; because there is an Order where there is a Multitude without Confusion; but there is a Multitude without Confusion in God, since there are three Persons; and that Multitude imports no Imperfection, which is repugnant to God; therefore there is an Order in God.

I prove the second Part, *viz.* that *that Order is of Nature, or of natural Origin*; because it is necessary, not free; and because it is such as Nature requires, for the Father to be the first, the Son the second, and the Holy Ghost the third Person. For this Order was not invented by Men, but the Nature itself requires it; since the second Person proceeds necessarily from the first, and the third necessarily from the first and second.

If I be asked, *why that Order is rather called an Order of Nature than of Essence?* I'll answer that the Nature,